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CONTENTS.

Page

ART. I.—Government of the Church of Christ in the Apostolic Age. By Charles Elliott, A. M. 1

II.—Verbal Criticism 26

III.—Luther and the German Translation of the Bible . . 46

IV.—Mrs. Sigourney's Letters 51

V.—The Crisis; or the Present State of the Temperance Reformation 67

VI.—Review of the Memoirs of Episcopius 75

VII.—Infidelity Portrayed 86

VIII.—Geology 100

IX.—Character and Tendencies of the Catholic Religion. By Wilbur Fisk, D. D. 117

X.—Selections from the Papers of Mr. Watson . . . 103

XI.—Succession of the Church of England Examined. By Charles Elliott, A. M. 121

XII.—The Difference between Faith and Knowledge . . 152

XIII.—The Present State and Future Prospects of the Papal Church. By S. W. Coggeshall 169

XIV.—Paul at Athens 185

XV.—West River Circuit 194

XVI.—Martin Luther at the Diet of Worms 200

XVII.—Old Methodism 212

XVIII.—Review of the Rambler in North America. By Charles Joseph Latrobe 229

XIX.—Succession of the Church of England Examined. By Charles Elliott, A. M. (Continued from page 152) . . 242

XX.—A Lecture on Education. Delivered at Utica, April 2, 1837. By Rev. Prof. N. Rounds, A. M., of Cazenovia 264

XXI.—Happiness in a Cottage; or, Religion superior to the World 273

XXII.—The great Efficacy of simple Faith in the Atonement of Christ, exemplified in a Memoir of Mr. W. Carvosso . 280

XXIII.—Female Biography: Mrs. Fletcher, Lady Maxwell, Mrs. Mortimer, Mrs. Cooper, Miss Eliza Higgins, Miss Hannah Syng Bunting 291

XXIV.—The Life and Persecutions of Martin Boos . . . 302

XXV.—True and False Religion Contrasted. By P. D. . . 313

XXVI.—The Sufferings and Glory of Christ. A Sermon. By the Rev. J. H. Young, of the Baltimore Annual Conference 318

XXVII.—Observations on Watson's Theological Institutes. By W. M. B. 332

XXVIII.—Miscellaneous Notices 347

Page

XXIX.—Succession of the Church of England Examined. By Charles Elliott, A. M. (Continued from page 264) . 361

XXX.—Historical View of Universalism in the United States. By the Rev. F. P. Tracy, of the New-England Conference 390

XXXI.—The Elements of Political Economy: By Francis Wayland, D. D., President of Brown University, and Professor of Moral Philosophy. By Professor Holdich, of the Wesleyan University 405

XXXII.—Superiority of Revealed to Natural Religion. By the Rev. R. W. Allen, of the New-England Conference . . 432

XXXIII.—Our Country 443

XXXIV.—Letter to the Christian Spectator on the Witness of the Spirit. By W. M. B. 457

THE

METHODIST MAGAZINE

AND

Quarterly Review.

Vol. XIX, No. 1. JANUARY, 1837. New Series—Vol. VIII, No. 1.

For the Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review.

Art. I.—GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

BY CHARLES ELLIOTT, A. M.

Whether there are three distinct orders of clergy, viz., bishops, presbyters or elders, and deacons, in the Church of Christ, or not, has been a subject of much controversy, ever since the reformation from Popery. The members of the Church of Rome have contended that these three orders have existed ever since the days of the apostles. To the bishops they ascribe the prerogatives of *conferring ordination*, and of *jurisdiction*, not only over the laity, but the other grades of the clergy. With this they connect their doctrine of *succession* from the apostles, by which they maintain that they can trace, in an unbroken line, all their bishops to the apostles in general, and to St. Peter in particular; that they only are the properly authorized ministers of Christ, and their Church the only true Church; that without this succession of bishops, which they say belongs not to Protestantism, there is no properly constituted nor authorized ministry, no valid ordinances; in short, no Church, no salvation.

The Church of England, in Britain, and the Protestant Episcopal Church, in America, claim apostolic uninterrupted succession through Rome, so as to exclude altogether the different Presbyterian Churches, both of Europe and this country, from being true Churches of Christ, or having either true ministers or valid ordinances. And so far do some of them go as to declare that all Presbyterians, all Non-episcopal Churches, and Churches Non-episcopal in their sense of episcopacy, have no hope of salvation, except in the uncovenanted mercies of God. The Methodist Episcopal Church, of course, must share the same fate, as her ordination is founded on the principle that the body of elders have the authority of ordaining vested in them, and consequently their ordination may properly enough be denominated *presbyterial*.

With our Presbyterian brethren we have little or no controversy on this point, as we and they mutually acknowledge the validity of each other's ministry, and the efficacy of each other's ordinances.

With Roman Catholics, the Church of England, or the Protestant Episcopal Church, we have no controversy as Episcopalians, properly so called, for we ourselves are Episcopalians, and of a sounder and more scriptural character; as we shall in the sequel endeavor to prove from Scripture and antiquity. We only contend against their high church and popish principles. We oppose only their *exclusive claims*, by which they unchurch every religious society on earth, except such as are episcopal in their sense of episcopacy.

We ought, however, in passing, to remark that all of them, (except the Roman Catholics,) are not equally rigid on this point. Some, both of the English and Protestant Episcopal Churches, will grant that other Churches than Episcopal are true Churches of Christ. Others of them maintain that their kind of episcopacy alone is of Divine right, and is the apostolic plan; but they are far from excluding other Churches that differ from them in church government from the character of true Churches. The third class do exclude from the character of true, all Churches not episcopal in their sense of the term. But though these various classes are to be found in the Churches alluded to, yet their doctrines and practice, as *Churches*, is to exclude from the list of true Churches the Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Congregational Churches. Their reordaining ministers of these Churches who join their communion, and their refusing to commune or hold ecclesiastical intercourse with them, prove that they exclude these from the number of true Churches. From the Romish, English, and Protestant Episcopal Church, as claiming and practising the doctrine of exclusion, we must differ. Were they content simply to prefer their own ecclesiastical polity and usages—when these views left other Churches in possession of their just claims to our common Christianity—we would pass them by in silence. But when they attempt to unchurch other Churches of Christ, and throw them, as they do heathens, on the uncovenanted mercies of God, it is full time we would speak out and show that if the true scriptural apostolical succession be not found in the Methodist Episcopal Church, it is hopeless to look for it in the pale of those Churches who lay exclusive claims to its possession.

We maintain that these claims are too lofty, and that the principles on which they are founded, if carried out to their legitimate results, and not counteracted by sounder doctrines, are hostile to Christianity itself. The writer of this article would pass over these high pretences in silence, did he not think the simple are led astray by ideas which differ little from the old Jewish one of succession from Abraham. An examination into the government of the Church of Christ will therefore be important, that we may know whether the things in which we have been instructed are true or false.

That this subject may be clearly brought before us, we will consider the government of the Church: 1. As exhibited in the New Testament, and as it existed during the lives of the apostles. 2. In the age immediately succeeding the apostles, and as it is exhibited in the writings of the apostolic fathers. 3. As it existed in the second and third centuries, and as far as the time of Constantine the Great. 4. And finally, as it existed after the time of Constan-

tine, up to the establishment of Popery. All that we shall have room to say in a brief article may be ranged under some one of these heads. The subjects of ordination, succession, and kindred topics may be taken up in future numbers, if the discussion of them shall seem necessary.

We will begin by examining the government of the Church as it is exhibited in the New Testament, and as it existed during the lives of the apostles.

1. The first organization of the Christian Church may be referred to as preparatory to what follows. In regard to this, our information is principally derived from the Acts of the Apostles and the epistles. From these we learn that the apostles regularly established Churches, and appointed proper officers and pastors wherever there was any number of believers sufficient to hold religious meetings. The newly collected Churches were, in the absence of the apostles, instructed by those among them who were best qualified for that purpose; and who afterward were duly appointed by the apostles to fill up offices in the Churches; with the consent, however, of those over whom they were placed.

The great commission of Christ was, *Disciple*, *baptize*, and *teach* all nations. And whether this commission was exclusively intended for the apostles or not, which is doubtful, it is certain that private Christians made proselytes to the Christian faith, and then baptized and taught them. Philip, though no apostle, and probably no more than a deacon, that is, a steward, church warden, or almoner, did all to the Ethiopian eunuch which the apostles had in charge to do to all nations. He made a proselyte of him, baptized, and taught him. Ananias, a disciple or private member of the Church, was employed to baptize and teach Paul. The disciples who were scattered abroad, after the persecution at the death of Stephen, went everywhere preaching the word. Our Lord himself made proselytes, and instructed them; but left their baptism to be performed by his disciples. Though Peter was sent to open the door of faith to the Gentiles, by the conversion of Cornelius and his house, he left the charge of baptizing them to the Christian brethren who attended them. Paul says of his mission, that Christ sent him not to baptize but to preach; meaning thereby, according to the Hebrew idiom, that baptizing, though a part of his duty, compared with preaching, was but an inferior part. Nothing here advanced is opposed to the propriety of limiting, for the sake of discipline, the power of baptizing and public teaching to fewer hands, when once a fixed ministry is settled in the Church, and regulations are made for its government. No reasonable man can doubt that any private Christian was then, and is now, warranted to convert an infidel to Christianity, and to teach him its principles: yet in the primitive Church there was much more liberty given to private Christians to exercise their gifts, than what most modern Churches see fit to allow.

The foregoing practice prepared the way for the establishment of a usage which generally prevailed in the days of the apostles, which is the following:—That a plurality of teachers was given to every Church. In the Church of Jerusalem there were several elders. The same may be said of Ephesus and other Churches.

Indeed, the general usage seems to have been, to ordain or appoint elders in every city, or Church, or congregation. St. James instructs the sick person to send for the *elders* of the Church. (James v, 14.) In all congregations, or at least in most, there will be more than one endowed with gifts and qualifications proper for instructing others in some degree; and the primitive usage was to leave no gift unemployed; and this will afford a strong reason for the custom. Besides, the gifts of one man will rarely meet the wants of any one congregation; as some are sons of thunder, and qualified to alarm and rouse; others are sons of consolation, and therefore suited to soothe and comfort; some are eloquent, and so are fitted to persuade. Indeed, one is Paul, another is Apollos, and another is Cephas; and so are endowed with various gifts, all of which are given for edification. Add to this, that there are wants in the people corresponding to the gifts of the ministry. Some need to be awakened, some comforted, and some built up in faith. Some require the benefit of one gift, and others of another. These were strong reasons why there were so many teachers in the primitive Church; and these reasons still remain in full force, so as to require their continuance. We may farther add, that as Christianity was then to be propagated everywhere, the increase of instructers was necessary for the purpose of extending it to every country. To all this we may subjoin, that in these times of persecution, in which the pastors were sure to fall first; it was necessary to have a sufficient supply, so that when one fell, there might always be another to fill his place. But the various wants of the people, both then and now, and the corresponding gifts of some to supply them, furnish the strongest reasons for the plurality of teachers.

2. Whether Christ appointed three orders of clergy, viz., bishops, elders, and deacons, has been warmly controverted, as has been already remarked. We may readily allow that such grades as nearly correspond to these may justly enough be looked for in the body of ministers; without running the sentiment into that of the *three orders*, in such a sense as the violent advocates for succession maintain. That there are these three orders, according to the doctrine of the Church of Rome, which makes the union of them a sacrament, under the imposing name of *holy orders*, cannot be admitted. That there are three orders, in the sense in which the Protestant Episcopal Church and the English Church contend for, cannot be proved by Scripture. That there are grades of difference in the *one order* of clergy,—the first serving as an initiatory process to the full ministry; the second embracing the pastorship of the flock; and the third exercising a general supervision of both flock and pastor, we think can be fully shown both from Scripture and antiquity. But the advocates of the *three orders*, as they are termed, maintain that their distinctions are founded in Scripture, and authorized by the example of the primitive Church. Let us see how this is supported by Scripture.

We are told by high churchmen, that the apostles, the seventy disciples, and the deacons correspond with diocesan bishops, presbyters, and deacons in their Church. We shall now speak of the seventy disciples. From Luke x, it is evident our Lord sent them, as he did the apostles, to preach the Gospel. Their commission

ended at the death of Christ, or was resolved into the common ministry, by the appointment of others; as there was no renewal of their authority, and they are not mentioned in the Acts or the epistles. They can never be considered as constituting an *order*, as is maintained by those who adduce them for this purpose. The seventy received not their mission from the apostles, as presbyters do from bishops, but immediately from Christ, as the apostles themselves. They were plainly sent on the same errand, and with the same power with the apostles.

In order to support the theory in question, there are two parallel passages of Scripture quoted. The first is, (1 Cor. xii,) "And God hath set some in the Church; first, apostles; secondarily, prophets; thirdly, teachers; after that, miracles; then gifts of healing, helps, governments, diversities of tongues." The other is as follows, (Eph. iv,) "And he gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ." It is certainly out of place to quote these passages to establish three orders of ministers, composed of bishops, presbyters, and deacons; when there are *five* grades, distinctions, or orders mentioned, viz., apostles, prophets, teachers, evangelists, and pastors, to say nothing of miracles, gifts of healing, &c. But the real truth seems to be this, that there was one great *work* to be accomplished, the work of the *ministry*, and the design of it was *to edify* and *perfect the saints*. To accomplish this, various gifts were bestowed on ministers, so as to qualify them to teach and feed the Church of God. A subordination of some, and a precedency of others, to maintain good *government*, were equally necessary for the good of the Church. But the technical division of the three orders on the one hand, and of perfect equality of station on the other, have no real support from these passages. The truth seems to lie between both these extremes, and will be found in a far less artificial composition of the Gospel ministry than any of these favorite systems. If we consider the various grades or steps by which candidates proceed in arriving at the full exercise of the pastoral charge, according to the regulations of any well ordered Church—if we consider the various gifts possessed by different ministers—if we attend to the stations which eminent talents, piety, experience, and age, enable some to fill; and if we look at the need which some have of control, and others to be brought out to more extensive usefulness; perhaps we may find a better solution of these two passages of Scripture than the strong adherents to exact parity, or to the three distinct orders, will furnish us from their systems. The right solution of the passage seems to be the following: some of these distinctions, from their nature, must have ceased with the apostolic age; while others of them must be kept up as long as good ecclesiastical rule will be observed.

3. The deacons made mention of in the New Testament were not a distinct order of clergy; nor did they, as deacons, belong to the clergy at all.

That the deacons are not an order of clergy at all, is evident from the original institution of their office, as well as the Scripture statements of their qualifications. The account of their institution

is in the following words: "And in those days, when the number of the disciples was multiplied, there arose a murmuring of the Grecians against the Hebrews, because their widows were neglected in the daily ministration. Then the twelve called the multitude of the disciples *unto them*, and said, It is not reason that we should leave the word of God, and serve tables. Wherefore, brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business. But we will give ourselves continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the word. And the saying pleased the whole multitude: and they chose Stephen, a man full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, and Philip, and Prochorus, and Nicanor, and Timon, and Parmenas, and Nicolas a proselyte of Antioch, whom they set before the apostles: and when they had prayed, they laid *their* hands on them," (Acts vi, 1–6.) On this we may remark, 1. The manner in which they were appointed. They were chosen by a vote of the Church, and ordained by the imposition of the apostles' hands, and by prayer. 2. Their character as exhibited here and in 1 Tim. iii, they should be men of good report, full of the Holy Ghost and of faith; grave, sincere, temperate, &c. 3. The purpose for which the office was established, was to *serve tables*, so as to relieve the apostles from this work, and enable them to attend to the *ministry of the word*. There was διακονια τραπεζων, *the deaconship*, or *ministry of tables*, which the apostles formerly filled, in connection with the διακονια λογου, *ministry*, or *deaconship*, or *service of the word*. The ministry of tables had for its sphere the care of the poor and widows. The ministry of the word was preaching the Gospel. The apostles performed the duties of each. Both services became too onerous for them, and they could not *leave the word*, in order to *serve tables*, therefore the deacons were appointed, not to preach, but to take care of the poor, and attend to such business as was connected with the temporal concerns of the Church.

The deacons, by virtue of their office as deacons, were not authorized to preach and baptize. It is true, we learn that Philip preached to the eunuch, and Stephen did the same to the Jews; but this does not prove that preaching was a part of their office as deacons, because, 1. Stephen and Philip may have preached like all other qualified persons in the primitive Church, such as those who were scattered abroad after the persecution, on the death of Stephen; Ananias, who instructed Paul, Priscilla and Aquila, who taught Apollos, or such as any well instructed Christian in our days, many of whom occasionally may deliver religious instructions to great advantage. 2. Stephen and Philip may have been authorized evangelists previous to their being appointed deacons, and there was no more inconsistency in their becoming deacons, than there was in the apostles' filling that office before the appointment of the deacons. 3. These two deacons may have been appointed to the office of evangelist after their induction into the office of deacon. Accordingly Philip is, at a subsequent period, called an evangelist. (Acts xxi, 8.)

There were, also, *deaconesses* in the primitive Church. That the office of female deacons was of apostolic institution, though we are not informed of the occasion and manner of their appointment,

there is no reason to doubt, since mention is made of it in the New Testament. Phebe is denominated by Paul, (Rom. xvi, 1,) "a deaconess, εσαν διακονον, of the Church of Cenchrea." And the directions given in the fifth chapter of the First Epistle to Timothy have always been considered as regarding those women who were appointed to this office. Like that of deacons, it did not belong to the ministry of the word, but to that of tables. The duty of these females was to visit those of their own sex who were sick, in distress, or in prison; to instruct female catechumens, and assist at their baptism; and perform for females those offices which could not be done by men. They were mostly widows who had been mothers, usually of forty, fifty, or sixty years of age. They were ordained to their office by the imposition of the hands of the bishops; as the apostolic constitutions mention the ordination of deacons, and the form of prayer used on the occasion. (Lib. viii, c. 19, 20.) Pliny also, in his celebrated epistle to Trajan, (xcvii,) is thought to refer to them when speaking of two female Christians put to torture, "quæ ministræ dicebantur," who were called deaconesses. In the tenth or eleventh century the order became extinct in the Latin Church; and in the Greek Church about the end of the twelfth century. The argument which we deduce from the order of deaconess is the following:—It certainly did not embrace a ministry of the word. This is allowed on almost all hands. We infer, therefore, from its identity with the order of deacons, that the latter was also confined to the service of tables, as well as that of deaconess.

In the primitive Church, the deacons had the charge of the poor and the distribution of the alms of the Church. They also assisted in administering the eucharist, and performed the rite of baptism; but both by the authority of their bishops. (See authorities on the office of deacons in Miller, p. 55. Bangs on Episcopacy, p. 14.)

The office of deacon seems to form a novitiate or preparatory step toward the presbyterate or episcopate. This seems to be taught by St. Paul. "They that have exercised the office of a deacon well, purchase to themselves a good degree, and great boldness in the faith which is in Christ Jesus." (1 Tim. iii, 13.) The *good degree*, καλον βαθμον, seems to refer to a higher grade of office, and of course that of the eldership. The great boldness, or πολλην παρρησιαν, *great liberty of speech*, seems to refer to the office of teaching the great doctrines of Christianity, and in expounding the Scriptures and preaching. It seems to have been a practice of the primitive Church to select the most grave and steady of the believers to be employed as deacons; the most experienced and best qualified of the deacons, to the rank of elders; and the most able and pious of the elders, to the office of bishops. Besides, as all were to be *proved* in an inferior station before they were advanced to the superior; so the private members were eligible to the deaconship; and the deacons were permitted to exercise in some of the functions of the eldership preparatory to their occupying that office, in order to afford the Church some evidence of their qualifications for that office. Stewards and class leaders in the Methodist Episcopal Church, deacons in the Baptist, elders in the Presbyterian Church, and church wardens in the Protestant Episcopal Church, perform

substantially the duties, and occupy the station which deacons filled in the apostolical Church. The office of deacons in the Roman Catholic, the Church of England, and the Protestant Episcopal Churches, has very little in common with the college of deacons appointed by the apostles. The same, to some degree, may be said of the deacons in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Nevertheless, no special injury can arise merely from modern deacons being confined to the ministry of the word, when the ministry of tables is not neglected. When the original *office* is filled, though under another name, all is well enough. The only difficulty is, the claiming for modern deacons *to be a distinct order of clergy*, and by this means creating technical or artificial distinctions in the ministry, and thus forming a theory which, to say the least, contributes very little toward the promotion of true religion. In conclusion, we must subtract the office of deacon from the three orders of clergy, for which high churchmen so strenuously contend; and leave it conversant with its primitive duties in the service of tables, resigning the deaconship of the word to the clerical order, embracing in the latter, or connecting with it, those preparatory steps included in licensing, and the modern deaconship of preaching and baptizing.

Our next inquiry will be respecting elders and bishops, wherein we will examine whether they are two distinct orders of clergy, or one order comprising two distinct, yet connected offices.

The following view of the office of deacon is Wesley's note on the institution of this order, in Acts vi, 1–6. "In the first Church, the primary business of apostles, evangelists, and bishops, was to preach the word of God; the secondary, to take a kind of paternal care (the Church being then like a family) for the food, especially of the poor, the strangers, and the widows. Afterward, the deacons of both sexes were constituted for this latter business. And whatever time they had to spare from this, they employed in works of spiritual mercy. But their proper office was, to take care of the poor. And when some of them afterward preached the Gospel, they did this not by virtue of their deaconship, but of another commission, that of evangelists, which they probably received, not before, but after they were appointed deacons. And it is not unlikely that others were chosen deacons, or stewards, in their room, when any of these commenced evangelists."

4. According to the accounts given in the New Testament, bishops and elders are of one and the same order of clergy. Before we proceed to give the direct proofs of this, it will not be amiss to give the meaning of the words bishop and elder, according to their proper etymologies, and as they are applied to persons in other offices beside the Christian ministry.

The word επισκοπος, *episcopos*, which we render bishop and *overseer*, indifferently, is derived from επισκοπεω, *to inspect, observe, oversee, visit, superintend, to look diligently* or *take earnest heed;* and this again is derived from επι, *upon*, or *intensive*, and σκεπτομαι, *to see, behold.* The word επισκοπεω is rendered in Hebrews, (xii, 15,) *looking diligently;* and in 1 Pet. v, 2, *taking the oversight.* The term επισκοπη, *inspection, oversight, superintendence*, is used in the following places:—"Because thou knewest not the time of thy επισκοπης,

visitation." Luke xix, 44. "They may glorify God, in the day επισκοπης of visitation." 1 Pet. ii, 12. "And let another take his επισκοπην, bishopric." Acts i, 20. "If any man desire επισκοπην, the office of a bishop." 1 Tim. iii, 2. The Greek word επισκοπος signifies properly *inspector*, *overseer*, or *superintendent;* any one of which is more significant and expressive of the original one than the word *bishop*, the current one with us. The name was given by the Greeks to those who had the oversight of their games, and who presided at their courts of justice. It is said the name was first given to clerks of the market, who inspected what was bought and sold. In the Septuagint it denotes an *overseer*, or *inspector*, or *superintendent*. It is used to signify an overseer of the army; (Num. xxxi, 14.)—of workmen; (2 Chron. xxxiv, 12, 17.)—of the house of the Lord; (2 Kings xi, 18.)—as an overseer of the priests and Levites; (Neh. xi, 14, 22.) Joseph was an overseer of Potiphar's family; (Gen. xxxix, 14.) Eleazer, the son of Aaron, is called by this name, from overseeing the tabernacle and its furniture; (Num. iv, 16.)

In the New Testament, bishop or overseer is applied solely to spiritual rulers. The name imported what their business was,—to watch over, care for, and instruct the people. It is given by St. Paul to the elders at Ephesus, who had the *oversight* of Christ's flock; (Acts xx, 28.) It is applied to designate the same description of persons in other places; (Phil. i, 1; 1 Tim. iii, 1; 2 Titus i, 7.)

The name *elder* means, literally, one advanced in age; the same as *older*, the comparative of *old*. Hence, also, aldermen, or elder-men, a grade of civic officers. The word elder is used to translate the Greek word πρεσβυτερος, *presbyter*, which also signifies older, or more advanced in age than others; and is derived similarly to the English word, for it comes from πρεσβυς *old*. Both presbyter and elder, therefore, signify primarily persons advanced in age, or older than most others; but as the elderly or more aged persons were more wise, prudent, grave, and so best qualified to teach and rule, the word was used to signify those who bare rule, or taught in Church or state. In Egypt the Hebrews had elders, whom they acknowledged as chief men who bare rule over them. Of this sort were the 70 or 72 men whom Moses associated with him in the government. Such also were those who held the first rank in the synagogues as presidents or rulers. Beside such, there were elders that ruled in every city; and who generally held their courts in the gates, or some other public place. (Ruth iv, 2; Ezra x, 14.)

The elders or presbyters in the Christian Church were governors or rulers, and were the same order with bishops, overseers, or superintendents. Such elders were united with the apostles in the council of Jerusalem. The Apostles Peter and John call themselves elders. (1 Pet. v, 1; 2 John 1; 3 John 1.) The elders or presbyters, then, embraced all that were in authority in the Christian Church, whether they were *bishops*, or *overseers*, or *seniors*, in knowledge and experience. For those who were *eldest* in years, or far advanced in knowledge and experience, would naturally be preferred to all others as proper persons to instruct and govern the Church. From these elders, in process of time, the episcopi, or bishops, seem to have been selected. The name presbyter is ex-

pressive of *authority; bishop*, of *duty*. The former implies the *dignity* and *power* of a *ruler*, the latter conveys the idea of *work*, or of executing a precise *task*.

That elders and bishops are of the same order we have the most complete proof from the New Testament; for that the terms επισκοπος, *episcopos*, *bishop*, and πρεσβυτερος *presbyteras*, *presbyter*, are used promiscuously, no person of any information will pretend to deny. Two or three passages will put this beyond all doubt.

We will first introduce the twentieth chapter of the Acts. Here we are informed St. Paul, "from Miletus, sent to Ephesus and called the elders of the Church," (ver. 17.) And when they were convened, he addresses them thus:—"Take heed, therefore, unto yourselves, and to all the flock over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you επισκοπους, overseers, or bishops," (ver. 28.) Now, there can be no doubt but that the same persons who, in the seventeenth verse, are called elders, in the twenty-eighth verse are named overseers or bishops.

Another passage we find in the Epistle to Titus, proving the very same thing. "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldst set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee," (ch. i, 5.) And in ver. 7, speaking of the same persons, he says:—"For an επισκοπος, bishop, must be blameless." Here the persons whom he calls elders in the 17th verse, he calls bishops, superintendents, or overseers, in the 28th verse.

A third passage, equally pertinent, we find in the First Epistle of Peter, in the fifth chapter. "The elders which are among you, I exhort, who also am an elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory which shall be revealed: feed the flock of God which is among you, επισκοπουντες, *exercising the office of bishops*, or *taking the oversight thereof*, not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind," (verses 1, 2.) Here the apostle exhorts those that were elders, among whom he also ranks himself, to exercise the office of bishops, or to take the oversight of the flock, and feed them: by which we learn that those who were elders were also to act the part of bishops, or rather overseers, inspectors, or superintendents.

That these persons who are here called bishops were not an order corresponding to the present diocesan bishops, appears from their *number* and the *work* allotted to them. At Ephesus there were several persons called elders or bishops. That the apostle did not convene Asian diocesan bishops, as some are pleased to call them, is clear beyond reasonable doubt. For those overseers, or elders, are said to be those της εκκλησιας *of the Church*, certainly the Ephesian Church in that city alone, or therein and its vicinity. Were these elders diocesan bishops, the apostle, we think, would not call them the elders of the Church of Ephesus, but the elders of the Church in general, or the elders of the Church in Asia. Besides, the apostle being in haste to go to Jerusalem, there was not time to collect together the bishops or elders of Asia. These, then, could not have been diocesan bishops; seeing a plurality of them must have been in Ephesus; a circumstance that can never agree with modern prelacy. There was also a plurality of bishops at Philippi; so

Paul writes to them, "Paul and Timotheus, the servants of Jesus Christ, to all the saints of Christ Jesus, which are at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons," (Phil. i, 1.) It is certainly no less than trifling to say, "Philippi was a metropolitan see, and so might have several bishops." For, according to this passage, there is no difference between bishops and presbyters; all the presbyters of this Church having the title of bishops, or overseers. St. Peter, also, in the passage just quoted, speaks of a plurality of elders, who were also overseers or superintendents in the Church to which he writes; which goes far to establish the views given respecting the plurality of elders, or bishops, at Ephesus and Philippi. But the point is completely settled from the instructions given by Paul to Titus, who was authorized to appoint *elders in every city;* and this was the common usage of the apostolic times, as we have already seen. So Paul and Barnabas ordained elders in every Church. (Acts xiv, 23.)

Besides, the *work* of these primitive bishops, or elders, was such as leaves no doubt that they were not diocesans. They were to *feed* the flock, or Church of God; and hence they were to *rule* also, for to feed implies both. They preached to and instructed the people over whom they were overseers; a work which a diocesan bishop never does, nor indeed can do. And the people were to *know*, *esteem*, and *love* them as those who laboured among them and admonished them. But diocesan bishops whom, ordinarily, the hundredth part of their diocess never see nor hear, cannot be those bishops by whom the flock is admonished. Moreover, we cannot suppose that the feeding here spoken of was such as a modern bishop exercises throughout his charge; for they were to feed the flock which was *among* them, and among them as pastors in their special charges.

5. An argument in favour of modern diocesan episcopacy is founded on the addresses in Rev. ii, and iii, to the *angels* of the seven Asiatic Churches. That these angels were not bishops such as high churchmen maintain, we have sufficient proof.

Many have shown, from ancient Jewish writings, that there was an officer of the synagogue who had the name of *angel*, whose business it was to read, pray, and teach, in the synagogue. And from hence the term angel came to be applied to the principal pastors in these Churches. "In each Church there was one pastor, or ruling minister, to whom all the rest were subordinate. This pastor, bishop, or overseer, had the peculiar care over that flock." (Wesley on Rev. i, 20.) By the angel of each Church we are to mean no more than the presiding officer or pastor, in charge, who was the angel or messenger of God to them, to instruct and govern them. To him, as moderator or president, the epistle is directed, not as pointing out his state, but the state of the Church under his care. That he was a diocesan bishop there is no proof; but the contrary. The style or manner of expression, however, is manifestly different from that of the Acts of the Apostles, and the epistles. In them, the pastors in every Church are always spoken of in the plural number. Here the singular number is used, and a name given which is not commonly applied to those in the ministry, ordinary or extraordinary. The Apocalypse was written about the year 96.

The Acts and the epistles of Paul and Peter were written between 33 and 66. In the time then of the writing of the Apocalypse, it appears, the president, bishop, or angel, of the Church, was addressed as an individual; but the representative of the other elders and the whole Church over which he presided. For in their meetings of elders, or of official members, as well as in congregational meetings, it would be necessary, for the sake of order, that one should preside, both in the offices of religion, and in their consultations; so this president, chairman, or minister, who had the pastoral charge, is here addressed under the name of angel. It will be difficult here, as elsewhere, to find an exact example on the one hand for exact parity, or on the other hand of a distinct order of clergy superior to elders. Nevertheless, the advocates of high episcopacy find here the exact models for their metropolitan and diocesan bishops. That the seven angels were seven bishops, pastors, or elders, in charge of these seven Churches respectively, having a greater or less number of deacons and elders, and probably several congregations, or domiciliary Churches, connected with each pastor's charge, is much nearer the truth than any other scheme. This presbytery, or body of elders, composed of the deacons, presbyters, and president, or angel, forming a college of official members, transacted their business in regular form and order. This view is clearly supported by the account given of the apostolical Churches, in the Acts and epistles; and is confirmed by the writings of the apostolic fathers, Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, Barnabas, and Hermas.

6. To what has been said in the foregoing remarks, it is usually objected, "That most of the names of offices, in Scripture language, are not so uniformly applied to the particular offices as not to be occasionally applied to others. Thus the term *deacon* is applied to the apostles themselves; John and Peter call themselves *elders;* and Christ is called *apostle* and *elder*," &c. To this it may be replied, That in Acts 20th chapter, it is manifest, the ordinary pastors of Ephesus were styled bishops; for in no period of episcopacy, according to the present acceptation of the word, was there a plurality of bishops in one city and Church. It is true the term *apostle* is applied in one place (2 Cor. viii, 23) to a lower order than the apostles properly so called. But the expression there used is αποστολοι εκκλησιων *apostles*, or *messengers*, of the *Churches*, not apostles of Jesus Christ, or apostles simply, without any addition, which are the common expressions used to designate the apostles properly so called. It cannot be denied but that these terms are used with greater latitude of meaning than in the ordinary application. Nevertheless the ordinary and peculiar application is supported by so many clear passages as to be quite indubitable. On the contrary, one single passage from the apostolic writings has not yet been produced, in which it appears from the context that the two terms, presbyters and bishops, mean different orders. Nay, the words uniformly mean the same order. The Apostle Paul, in the directions he gave to Timothy, about the supply of Churches with proper ministers, takes particular notice of two orders, and no more. One of them he calls bishops, or overseers; and the other deacons, ministers, or servants of the Church, who took care of the

poor, some of whom preached occasionally, and which office was also, in many cases, the first step toward the exercise of the full ministry. Now, if by bishops St. Paul means such as the modern ones are, it is strange he should give no directions about the qualifications of presbyters, who had the inspection of the flock; at the same time that he is very particular about the qualifications of deacons, although they are an order much inferior to the other. And if he here means by bishops only presbyters, it is equally strange that he would overlook the office of bishops, provided it were invested with the prerogatives of modern prelacy. Besides, St. Paul, in addressing the Philippians, says, "To all the saints at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons." And these bishops were the ordinary pastors of the Church; for most Churches had, in primitive times, many elders, bishops, or pastors. Now if there was a bishop, in the modern sense, at Philippi, it is strange that the apostle should neglect so notable a person as the diocesan. And indeed Polycarp, in writing about 60 years after to the same people, mentions only two orders, presbyters and deacons. Now whether we call their pastors *bishops*, with the apostle, or *presbyters*, with Polycarp, is a matter of no consequence, as it is evident that both spake of two orders among them, and not of three; and whenever one of these names is employed, the other is dropped. (See Campbell on Eccl. History, pp. 67, 68.)

Farther, the sacred writers, when addressing single Churches, address their ministers in the plural number; which, though it be compatible with some difference of rank, precedency, or official preeminence, can scarcely be thought consistent with so material a difference as a distinct order of clergy. Thus the apostle to the Thessalonians:—"We beseech you, brethren, to know them which labor among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you," (1 Thess. v, 12.) In the Acts also, all the stated pastors are considered as coming under one denomination. Thus Paul and Barnabas "ordained *elders* in every city," (Acts xiv, 2, 3.) When a collection is made for the saints at Jerusalem, it is sent to the elders. And if the pastors of any Church are sent for, that they may receive proper directions, they are called *elders*. In the account we have of the council of Jerusalem, (Acts xv,) the pastors are five times distinguished by this appellation from either the apostles or private Christians, or both. Nor do we find a single hint, in the whole book, like any thing of different classes of presbyters. The name επισκοποι, *bishops*, or *overseers*, occurs there but once, where it is applied to the same individuals, who, in the same chapter, (Acts xx,) are termed πρεσβυτεροι, *elders*.

The word πρεσβυτερον, *presbytery*, though it occurs sometimes in the New Testament, as applied to the Jewish sanhedrim, or council of elders, is found only in one passage (1 Tim. iv, 14) applied to a Christian council. The sense of the word presbyter, as well as the application of the word presbytery, or council, determines its sense in this place, viz., the college of presbyters or elders.

7. The identity of *character*, *duties*, and *powers* ascribed, in Scripture, to presbyters as well as bishops, proves the identity of their *order*, as well as their *name*.

The inspired writers, when speaking of ministers of the Gospel,

by whatever names they are distinguished, give the same description of their character; represent the same gifts and graces as necessary for them; enjoin upon them the same duties; and exhibit them as called to the same work, and as bearing the same office. To prove this, let us attend to some of the principal powers vested in Christian ministers, and see whether the Scriptures do not ascribe them equally to presbyters and bishops.

(1.) That presbyters had in apostolic times, as they now have, authority to *preach the word*, and administer the sacraments, is undeniable. Now these are constantly represented in the New Testament, as the highest acts of ministerial authority. The powers of *ordaining* ministers, and *governing* the Church, are not represented as functions of a *higher* order than these: the reverse, indeed, is plainly and repeatedly taught. Preaching, and administering sacraments are, therefore, the highest acts of ministerial authority; they are far above ordination and government, as the *end* is more excellent than the means, as the *substance* is more important than the *form*. The presbyters, then, as they are empowered to execute the most dignified and useful duties of the ministerial office, can have no proper superiors in that office. The high church system, then, by depressing the *teacher* for the sake of elevating the *ruler*, inverts the order, and departs from the letter and spirit of Scripture. The language of Scripture is, "Let the presbyters who rule well, be counted worthy of double honor, especially they who labor in the word and doctrine." From these premises, we may conclude that the officer who is authorized to preach and administer the sacrament cannot be of an inferior order with the scriptural bishops.

(2) The power of *government*, or of ruling the Church, is also committed to presbyters. Indeed, the true meaning of the word *presbyter*, in its official application, is a *church ruler* or *governor*. Hence the oversight or government of the Church is expressly assigned to presbyters as their proper duty. The elders to whom St. Peter directs his first epistle, had this power. To them it is said, *Feed the flock of God, taking the oversight thereof—neither as being lords over God's heritage.* These declarations clearly point out the power of ruling in the Church. The caution not to tyrannize, or "lord it over God's heritage," proves that the power of governing was vested in the elders.

The case of the elders of Ephesus is still more decisive. They were *overseers* or *bishops over the flock;* they were also *to feed the Church of God.* The word ποιμαινειν, to *feed*, as a shepherd his flock, implies *watching over*, *guiding*, and *ruling*, as well as *feeding*. Here the *government*, as well as ministering in the word, is vested in the elders. No mention is made of any person who had the right of *jurisdiction*, or the whole ruling power, vested in him, or over a larger share of it than others. On the contrary, the apostle declares to these elders, that the Holy Ghost had made them bishops even of the Church of Ephesus; he exhorts them to rule that Church; and leaves them in possession of the high sacred trust.

But the passage just quoted from 1 Tim. v, is conclusive on this point. "Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honor, especially they who labor in word and doctrine." Here the power of government is ascribed to elders; in direct opposition to

high church claims, which confine the power of jurisdiction to the bishops alone. Besides, *bearing rule* in the Church, is also here represented as a less honorable employment than preaching, or *labouring in word and doctrine.*

(3.) The Scriptures represent presbyters as empowered to ordain, and as actually exercising that power.

There are three instances in which this power seems to be exercised in ordination, or in a separation to the ministry, equal to an ordination. The first case is the imposition of hands on Paul and Barnabas by Simeon Niger, Lucius, and Manaen, prophets and teachers. (Acts xiii.)

The next instance is that of Timothy, (1 Tim. iv, 14; 2 Tim. i, 6,) by Paul and the presbytery.

The third instance is that of Paul and Barnabas, who ordained elders in every Church throughout Lystra, Iconium, &c.; Acts xiv. See Miller on this topic, p. 29–36.

8. As Christ gave but one commission for the Gospel ministry, this office is properly one.

The commission was originally given to one order of ministers; viz., the eleven apostles. (Matt. xxviii, 18–20; John xx, 21–23.) This commission embraces the highest and fullest ecclesiastical power that has been, is, or can be possessed by any of the ministers of Christ. It conveys directly a right to preach, to administer sacraments, and by inference, to ordain other men to the work of the ministry. This commission did not expire with the apostles, but is directed equally to their successors in all ages. But who are their successors? Undoubtedly all those who are authorized to perform the functions which the commission authorizes, that is, to preach, and to administer the sacraments. Every minister of the Gospel, therefore, who has these powers, is a successor of the apostles, is authorized by this commission, and stands on a footing of official equality with those to whom it was originally delivered, so far as their office was ordinary or perpetual. It is remarkable, that in this commission, preaching the word and administering the sacraments, are the most prominent and important duties of the Christian ministry. The power of ordaining others is not mentioned; and we infer only that it is included because the minister's office is to continue to *the end of the world.* We must therefore infer that all who have a right to preach and administer sacraments, have a right to take a part in *ordaining;* because it is absurd to suppose that the former functions, containing the burden of the commission, should belong to a lower grade of clergy, while the latter, which is included by way of inference, is reserved for a higher order. Those who possess the most distinguished powers conveyed by the commission, must possess the whole.

There is no way of evading the force of this argument, but by supposing that the ministerial powers conveyed by this commission were afterward divided; and that while some retained the *whole*, others were invested with a *part* of these powers. On the merits of this, we will not now pretend precisely to determine; although we will state, that the principal error connected with this matter, is the assumption that the mere *imposition of hands* is every thing in ordination, and that one or two persons are officially concerned in the

business; whereas several persons, or even grades of persons are concerned, and other rites are as important as imposition of hands, which was used only in some cases, and in others not at all. An *eligible* person must first be fixed on, as is clear from the qualifications required of deacons and elders. The private members of the Church are *first* to move the candidate toward ordination to the ministry, as is plain from the case of the seven deacons,—from the manner of electing an apostle in the place of Judas,—from that scrutiny implied by Paul's instructions, requiring the candidate to be of good report,—and last of all, from the general usage, (of which some shadow yet remains,) of accounting those only eligible to the ministerial office who received the approval of the Churches. Next to the private Church members, the body of ministers are to have a voice. And the mere *act* of ordination by imposition of hands was sometimes omitted; when used, it was performed mostly or altogether by more than one person, and these, too, sometimes of a grade inferior to those whom they thus set apart by public authority. But this point can only be touched here. A larger space at a future time will be devoted to its discussion. We will only now say, that the superstitious and punctilious particularity with which mere imposition of hands has been observed, argues a great want of the substantial integral parts of ordination among those who so warmly contend for this rite, and lay so much stress upon it.

9. Before we proceed farther, it may be pertinent to inquire whether the Christian ministry be formed on the model of the Jewish priesthood. It is contended, "That as there were in the temple service a *high priest*, *priest*, and *Levites*, so there should be *bishops*, *priests*, and *deacons*, in the New Testament Church."

To this allegation we reply, that Scripture does not support this argument; but, on the other hand, contradicts and destroys it. The Jewish priesthood, as such, was a typical and temporary institution, which had both its accomplishment and termination in Christ. (See Heb. vii.–x.) For since the great sacrifice was *offered up once for all*, Christ himself is *the great High Priest of our profession*; it is profane to represent any human officer in the Christian Church as standing in his place. There was, however, an intimate connection between the two dispensations, and between the ministers of the one, and those of the other. But the analogy, as contended for above, between bishops and high priests, has no scriptural support. The words *priest* and *priesthood*, in the New Testament, are never applied to the Christian Church. For though the word *priest* is a corruption of the word *presbyter*, this is a modern use and derivation of the word priest, and originated since the canon of Scripture was closed. In the original Hebrew of the Old Testament, the name given to priest, is expressed by a word, which in the Septuagint is always rendered Ἱερεύς, *Hiereus*, i. e., a *consecrated person*. Now this word is never used in the New Testament to designate any description of Christian ministers. Accordingly the writers of the New Testament, when referring to the Jewish economy, call their ministers *priests*, and their office the *priesthood*; while they uniformly apply to the ministers of the Christian Church the names *elders*, *bishops*, *deacons*, &c.

If the Levitical priesthood be the model for the Christian ministry,

it will then follow, that as there was one high priest over the Jewish Church, so there must be one bishop over the Christian Church. Consequently we must have a pope, as the vicar of Jesus. Christ, in the place of diocesan episcopacy. Indeed, the whole argument belongs to the Roman Catholics, and they only can use it with any show of reason. The argument, as a mere sophism, may serve the cause of popery, but cannot sustain that kind of episcopacy which prevails in the Church of England, and in the Protestant Episcopal Church in America.

10. It has been on the one hand maintained, and on the other hand denied, that the Christian Church was founded after the model of the Jewish synagogue.

Perhaps, in this matter, as in many others, the truth lies nearer the middle than in the opinions of those who maintain the extreme sentiments. That the Christian Church was formed, to some extent, after the model of the synagogue, there seems to be sufficient evidence. The synagogue worship was that part of the Old Testament Church, which, like the decalogue, was moral and spiritual, and therefore, in its leading characters proper to be adopted under any dispensation. Accordingly Christ attended and taught in them; and the apostles and other Christian ministers did the same. The place where Christians met, is once called synagogue, (James ii, 2.) And the names teacher, elder, overseer, minister or deacon, angel or messenger, are borrowed from the synagogue. The name *temple* is never applied to a place of Christian worship. And the names of *priest* and Levite are never applied to Christian ministers. In short, there is a constant and studied avoidance of temple names and offices, and an adoption of synagogue terms and offices, in the Christian Church. The great reason against innovating by the introduction of the temple service names, is, not because the names are in no sense applicable, (that is not pretended,) but because, first, they are unnecessary; secondly, their former application must unavoidably create misapprehensions concerning the nature of an evangelical ministry; and thirdly, because the inspired penmen never did apply to it those names. Indeed, the name, the mode of worship, the titles of the officers, their characters, duties, and powers, their mode of appointment, of the Christian Church, bear a strong resemblance to the synagogue organization. Our limits, however, do not now allow us to enlarge. (See Miller, p. 36–44, and 277–284. Bowen, p. 320. Campbell, sub voce; synagogue, in the index.)

11. Many who have been convinced that bishops and elders were not two orders according to the views obtained from the New Testament, have yet maintained that the origin of modern episcopacy, is found in the apostolate itself. And here we may inquire whether this was one of those extraordinary offices which was in its nature temporary, and did not admit of succession. The apostles may be considered in a twofold view, viz., either in their general character as preachers of the Gospel and administrators of the sacraments; or in what is implied in their special character of apostles of Jesus Christ. In the first view, they are the predecessors of all who, to the end of the world, shall preach the same Gospel and administer the sacraments, whether they are called bishops, priests, elders, presbyters, preachers, ministers, or deacons. Now it is

asserted, that not in their general character as preachers of the Gospel, but in their special functions as apostles, modern diocesan bishops are their proper successors, presbyters and deacons being the successors only of those who were, in the beginning, ordained by the apostles. But that the apostles had no successors in their special character as apostles, we contend, for the following reasons:

(1.) It was necessary to constitute an apostle, that he should have been one who had seen Christ in the flesh, after his resurrection, in order to be a witness of this great event, the foundation of the Christian faith. St. Peter makes this a necessary qualification for an apostle, when one was about to be chosen in the place of Judas: "Wherefore of those men which have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, beginning at the baptism of John, unto that same day that he was taken up from us, must one be ordained to be a witness with us of his resurrection." (Acts i, 21, 22.) The same requisition for an apostle is frequently spoken of in several places in the Acts of the Apostles, (Acts ii, 32; and iii, 15; and v, 32; and x, 41; and xiii, 31.) St. Paul, also, claims this mark of an apostle: "Am I not an apostle? Am I not free? Have I not seen Jesus Christ our Lord?" (1 Cor. ix, 1.) "And last of all, he was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time." (1 Cor. xv, 8.) And the design of Christ's appearing to him was, "to make him a minister and a witness of those things which he had seen." (Acts xxvi, 16.) The office of apostle then, in this respect, could not have existed after that generation had passed away.

(2.) The apostles received their commission immediately from Christ, and not through any human ordination or appointment. The first twelve were appointed by Christ himself, and St. Paul is careful to show that he got his authority from the same source. He observes, "Paul, an apostle, not of man, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father." (Gal. i, 1.) And again, (ver. 11, 12,) "But I certify you, brethren, that the Gospel which was preached of me is not after man, for I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ."

(3.) The apostles also possessed the power of conferring miraculous gifts by the imposition of their hands. This the apostles exercised to a great extent; and Paul claims it in his epistle to the Corinthians in proof of his apostleship: "Truly the signs of an apostle were wrought among you in all patience, in signs and wonders and mighty deeds." (2 Cor. xii, 12.)

(4.) They were Divinely inspired and instructed in all the doctrines of Christianity. It is true, there were others beside them who were inspired; but then this gift has ceased, so that none claim to succeed them in its possession.

(5.) Their mission was of a different kind from that of any ordinary pastor or preacher. They were to "go into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature," to Jews and Gentiles. It is true, the apostles may be called bishops or overseers; yet not in the same sense in which others may be so called, whether ancient or modern. They were universal bishops, having the whole earth for their charge, and they were all colleagues one of another. As far as they can have successors, in exact strictness, they must be

found among *missionaries*, who preached Christ where he was not before preached. Indeed, both the words are of the same import; as the word missionary, through the French, may be traced to *mitto, to send*, as the word *αποστολος*, *apostle*, comes from *αποστελλω, to send* or *send forth*. Whatever name the person may go by who is *sent* to uncultivated fields, and who imitates apostolic example in preaching the Gospel, is properly the apostolic man. But in the sense in which the apostles proper are so denominated, it is nothing less than the height of arrogance for any to claim to be their successors.

St. Chrysostom says, "The apostles were constituted of God rulers; not each over a separate nation or city, but all were intrusted with the world in common." To have limited themselves to any thing less than the whole world, would have been disobedience to the commission. If, through age or infirmities, any of them were confined to one place, that place might naturally fall under their inspection. And even this, if it did happen, is all that gave rise to the tradition, (for there is no historical evidence that it was so,) that any of them were bishops or pastors of particular Churches. And in some instances, the tradition has originated from the circumstance that the first pastors in such a Church were appointed by such an apostle.

(6.) On the death of an apostle no one was ever substituted in his room. When the original college was extinct, the title became extinct with it. The election of Matthias in the room of Judas, is no exception, as it was previous to their entering on their charge. It was Christ's intention that twelve missionaries of those who had attended his ministry on earth should be employed as ocular witnesses of his resurrection, as appears from the passage already quoted, (Acts i, 22, 23.) But afterward, when James, the brother of John, was put to death, there is no mention made of a successor. Nor does the admission of Paul and Barnabas to the apostleship form any exception from what has been advanced; for they were introduced, not as successors to any one, but were especially called by the Holy Spirit, as apostles, particularly to the Gentiles. And in them also were found suitable qualifications for the apostolate.

Upon the whole, we may safely conclude that the apostles, in their special character as persons who had an immediate call from Christ himself, were eye witnesses of his resurrection, possessed the power of conferring spiritual gifts, were Divinely inspired with the knowledge of all truth, were commissioned to go with plenary powers throughout the world, and who, at their death, had no proper successors, either in name or office. Therefore, neither diocesan bishops, nor any other bishops, nor any class of clergy whatever, constituted an *order*, or does *now* constitute an order that can properly be such a one as the apostolate was.

The apostles, however, did exercise a general authoritative superintendency over the universal Church, ordering the conduct of ministers and the affairs of Churches. In the infancy of the Church this was necessary. Being under the immediate guidance of the Holy Ghost, they were to the primitive Church what the New Testament is to us. But it does not follow that they must have successors in the extensive jurisdiction which they undoubtedly

exercised over ministers and Churches. Among others this apostolic authority was exercised over *Timothy*, *Titus*, and *Epaphroditus*, whom high Churchmen call *diocesan bishops*. The exercise of this power must be *ordinary* or *extraordinary*. If it was an extraordinary power, then the whole jurisdiction of the apostles over other ministers of the Gospel arose from their extraordinary character, and the particular situation of the Church, and expired with them. If, on the other hand, this was the exercise of an *ordinary* power; then it must follow, that there is a warrant for the permanent order of ministers in the Church, *superior* to *diocesan bishops*, invested with authority over them; thus making *four*, instead of *three* orders.

Such are the consequences of loosely inferring from assumed scriptural examples the ordinal distinctions of the clergy. In this, as in other matters, the truth lies in a sober mean; equally distant from both these extremes. A general superintendency may be both scripturally and usefully maintained, under suitable restrictions and under the guidance and control of the body of presbyters, upon whom its authority reposes, and to whom its incumbents are accountable as to their creators and peers.

What has been said does not affect the lawfulness, expediency, or Scripture authority of the episcopal model. It only exposes the arrogance of those who pretend to a *jus Divinum* or *Divine right* to establish a novel order of ministers, proclaim them the successors of the apostles, and pronounce the sentence of excommunication upon every religious body which refuses to act on an assumption so profanely arrogant. Such are the style and language of the *self-constituted*, or *irregularly constituted* high Church clergy, who claim apostolic succession for a class of men, whom, by a strange misnomer, they call bishops, but who preach little, and are confined to the narrow limits of a diocess. Is it at all likely that the dignified prelates of the English and Roman Churches can as reasonably claim the apostolic character, as the laborious, self-denying men who toil and suffer for the benefit of their flocks, without any of these pretensions to an exclusive priesthood?

12. In support of diocesan episcopacy it has been asserted that Timothy and Titus were bishops of Ephesus and Crete, whose business it was to exercise such extraordinary acts of jurisdiction as are now claimed by diocesan bishops.

Timothy and Titus are denominated *evangelists*, which literally means *preachers of the Gospel*, or *bearers of good news*. The writers of the four Gospels are called after this name. Philip, the deacon, is so called. Such was Timothy, and such probably was Titus, though not so named in the New Testament. Such also were Mark and Luke, not merely as writers of their gospels, as this name was given them in modern times; but because they assisted the apostles. Luke was long the companion of St. Paul. Mark is said to have attended Peter. Mr. Wesley, in his preface to the First Epistle of Timothy, says, "While he (Timothy) was yet but a youth, he was taken by St. Paul to assist him in the work of the Gospel, chiefly in watering the Churches which he had planted. He was, therefore, properly (as was Titus) an itinerant evangelist; a kind of secondary apostle, whose office was to regulate all things in the Churches to which he was sent; and to inspect and reform whatsoever was

amiss, either in the bishops, deacons, or people." Dr. George Campbell says, "The work of an evangelist appears to have been to attend the apostles in their journeys for the promulgation of the Gospel; to assist them in the office of preaching; especially in places which the Gospel had not reached before. The evangelists assisted also in settling the Churches; always acting under the direction of the apostles, and bearing messages from them to those congregations which the apostles could not then personally visit, serving to supply their places in reforming abuses, and settling order," (Lectures on Eccl. Hist. p. 78.) Evangelists, according to Eusebius, were persons appointed "to lay the foundations of the faith in barbarous nations, to constitute them pastors, and having committed to them the cultivation of those new plantations, to pass on to other countries and nations." This description of evangelists exactly corresponds to what is said respecting them in the New Testament. Dr. Miller, of Princeton, says, "They were not *settled pastors*; but *itinerant evangelists*."

But the great controversy concerning Timothy and Titus, is, whether they were diocesan bishops, the one of Ephesus and proconsular Asia; and the other of Crete. Against the opinion that Timothy and Titus were settled diocesan bishops, according to the views of Romanists and high Churchmen, we furnish the following reasons:—

(1.) Timothy and Titus, as evangelists, were *to do the work of evangelists*. According to Eusebius, just quoted, this work was utterly inconsistent with the character of a local diocesan bishop.

(2.) They had no authority given them to ordain successors to themselves, in their particular office as evangelists. They ordained *elders* in every city; but we have no account that they ordained fixed bishops, or persons of the same jurisdiction with diocesan bishops. In this respect, then, these pious evangelists differed from all diocesan bishops, who are fixed to one place, and generally preach very little.

(3.) The appointments for Timothy and Titus, the one at Ephesus, and the other in Crete, were not permanent but temporary.

As for Titus, he was left in Crete *to set in order the things that are wanting*, and *ordain elders in every city*. Having therefore done that work, he had done all that was assigned him in that station. St. Paul sends for him, the next year, to Nicopolis, (Tit. iii, 12) And so, according to Bishop Pearson's Chronology, he was left at Crete only in A. D. 64; and departed thence in A. D. 65. Indeed, Titus appears to have been almost constantly itinerating and organizing Churches We may trace him in his successive journeys from Syria to Jerusalem; thence to Corinth; from Corinth to Macedonia; back again to Corinth; thence to the island of Crete; afterward to Dalmatia; and, as some suppose, back again to Crete. This is very unlike the Churchman's bishop.

As for Timothy, St. Paul exhorted him to abide at Ephesus when he went into Macedonia. Now, as he writes to the Church of Philippi, in Macedonia, in the year 62, and that he should be shortly with them, (Phil. i, 25, 26, and ii, 24,) so he went thither in 64, and wrote his first epistle to him in 65. Two years after this he sends for Timothy to Rome, (2 Thess. iv, 9, 21) where he continued,

according to the ancient writers, till the death of St. Paul. We find him at one period with Paul, at Philippi and Thessalonica; a little afterward at Athens; then at Thessalonica again. Some years after this we find him successively at Ephesus, Macedonia, and Corinth; then returning to Ephesus; soon after revisiting Corinth and Macedonia; then going to Jerusalem; and last of all travelling to Rome, where the sacred historian leaves him.

(4.) The postscripts to the Second Epistle to Timothy, and the Epistle of Titus, in which the former is called bishop of Ephesus and the latter of Crete, are of no authority in deciding this question. These postscripts make no part of the sacred text. They are not found in some of our best and most ancient manuscripts. They are not the same in all copies, and some of them are evidently false. They were introduced later than the end of the fourth century, by careless or ignorant transcribers. They were excluded from the earliest English translations; and for a long time after their introduction they were printed in italics, to show that they were without authority. Indeed almost all recent, sober critics acknowledge that these postscripts are no part of Scripture.

(5.) Committing the charge of ordaining presbyters and deacons to Timothy and Titus, was no evidence that there was no such power in the presbyters or bishops, who had been ordained in those places before. Indeed it is doubtful whether any were ordained in Crete and Ephesus, before Timothy and Titus were appointed to visit these places. The directions given to both Timothy and Titus show that they relate to the planting of Churches, by supplying them, for the first time, with regular pastors. And this seems to be one part of an evangelist's duty. It is more than probable there were no ministers ordained at Crete before the arrival of Titus there. One qualification for a bishop or minister in charge was, that he should not be a *novice*, or one *newly* converted; time being required to prove men before they could be intrusted with the care of the Church; therefore the apostles used not to *ordain* ministers in any place till their second or subsequent coming. The first mention that we have of the ordination of elders in every city, is in the fourteenth of the Acts; whereas, many thousands were converted to Christianity, in different places, long before. Therefore, although the Gospel had been preached at Ephesus and Crete some time before the deputations of Timothy and Titus to these places; yet we have no proof that any regular ecclesiastical organization had taken place, and they, as special missionaries, were appointed to organize in form the yet unorganized Churches. But admitting there had been numbers ordained in Crete and Ephesus, which is possible, this does not prove that the body of presbyters could not ordain. Indeed, there is no decisive proof that either of these ministers of Christ formally and individually ordained any ministers; for in all or most instances of ordination recorded in the New Testament, a plurality of ordainers were present and officiating. And though we are not informed that any ordainers accompanied Timothy and Titus, we cannot affirm there were none such. Yet the whole force of the high Churchman's argument depends upon the assumption that these two evangelists were *singly* invested with the *whole* ordaining and governing power, in the dioceses supposed to be assigned to each.

Ordination to the ministry does not suppose a higher order. Aaron, the first high priest under the former dispensation; and after him Eleazar, his son, were solemnly consecrated by Moses, who was the sole steward and superintendent over the house of God. But all succeeding high priests were consecrated by persons of an inferior grade to Moses and the high priest ordained. It seems necessary that the foundation of the Church should be laid by Moses; but the superstructure was committed to meaner hands. The priesthood, once established, was sufficient of itself for filling up vacancies. And it is reasonable that the case in this respect should be similar in the Church of Christ. Whatever then of extraordinary power the evangelists possessed, as those that laid the foundation of Churches, the inference that a higher order of clergy, independently of the other grades, possess solely the right of ordination in the Christian Church, is neither scriptural, reasonable, or salutary.

(6.) If Timothy and Titus were diocesan bishops, then the apostles sustained a higher office. It is evident that the apostolical character was superior to that of the evangelists; and Paul always addresses Timothy and Titus in a style of authority. And these themselves, though subject to the apostles, possessed, in their turn, an episcopal authority over the presbyters of Crete and Ephesus. Thus, again, *four* orders of clergy are created, according to the system of high Churchmen, instead of three. If, to avoid this difficulty, they grant either that the authority of apostles over Timothy and Titus was extraordinary; or that the authority of Timothy and Titus over other ministers was so; they surrender their principal argument for diocesan episcopacy. Indeed the instructions given to Timothy and Titus do not exactly quadrate with any ordinary ministry that ever obtained in the Church. But if we must have corresponding successors to these extraordinary ministers, we should retain their number and their titles. Why have we not still our apostles and evangelists, and prophets, and governments, and helps, and tongues, and interpreters, and miracles, and discerners of spirits, as well as they?

(7.) Timothy and Titus received no ordination to their work. Now, as bishops, in the modern and ecclesiastical sense of the term, receive an especial ordination, by which they are constituted bishops, they differ materially from the character of Timothy and Titus. We learn that Timothy received ordination by the presbytery; but there is no account of his receiving more than one ordination, and that by presbyters associated with St Paul. Whether Titus was ordained at all by the imposition of hands, is nowhere stated. Now, as no person could be a bishop, according to high Episcopalians' views, without an especial ordination for the purpose, the example of Timothy and Titus is quoted without success, to authorize the modern diocesan plan.

(8.) During the three first centuries, neither Timothy nor Titus was called bishop. It is enough to quote, on this point, Dr. Whitby, who was a high Churchman. In his preface to the Epistle to Titus, he says, "The great controversy concerning this, and the Epistles to Timothy, is, whether Timothy and Titus were indeed made bishops; the one of Ephesus and the proconsular Asia; and the other of Crete. Now, of this matter, I confess I can find nothing

in any writer of the first three centuries, nor any intimation that they bore that name."

For the foregoing reasons, it is evident that Timothy and Titus were not diocesan bishops according to the modern scheme.

But if by bishops we only understand persons who had authority to ordain others or superintend their appointment, and to govern the clergy of their province, and to exercise rule over more than one single congregation; then Timothy and Titus had this superintending or episcopal jurisdiction, and so might be called bishops in a qualified sense. For, 1. The jurisdiction of Titus extended over all Crete, as is evident from these words, "For this cause, left I thee in Crete, that thou mightest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city." (Titus i, 5.)

2. The jurisdiction of Timothy appears to have extended beyond one congregation in Ephesus. St. Paul preached there three whole years, publicly and from house to house, exhorting them night and day. (Acts xx, 20, 31.) He also declares that a great and effectual door was open to him at Ephesus. The probability is, there were several congregations at Ephesus, though it is called only one Church.

3. The jurisdiction belonging to them in their respective districts, over which they had charge, extends both to the clergy and laity.

As to Timothy, he was set over the house of God, (1 Tim. iii, 14, 15.) That in that house he was to appoint elders or bishops; (ch. v, 22,) but they must be such as are duly qualified for that work; (ch. iii, 2, 7,) to appoint deacons. He was to receive accusations against elders and to rebuke them, (ch. v, 19, 20,) which plainly shows that there was a right of judging and censuring offenders in Timothy, by virtue of his office. He also had power to charge others not to teach any other doctrine than that which they had received, (ch. i, 3,) to command and teach with authority, and not to suffer his authority to be despised, (ch. iv, 11, 12.) And all these seem to pertain to the *trust* committed to him, (ch. vi, 20.)

As to Titus, he was to set in order the things which were wanting to ordain elders in every city; and to admonish and reject heretics.

In short, while the powers exercised by Timothy and Titus seem to be greater than those of pastors in charge of one single congregation; these powers do not well correspond to those claimed by modern diocesans. Nevertheless, the following inferences appear to us as legitimately drawn from the powers invested in Timothy and Titus.

First, That a degree of superiority exercised by some over other pastors, cannot be contrary to the Gospel rule. Or in other words, that the nature of Church government does not imply a perfect equality among the governors of it. The apostles, if they pleased, might have appointed persons in any other Churches, as well as those of Crete and Ephesus, to exercise such jurisdiction as that which these two exercised.

Secondly, That it is not unscriptural for men to have jurisdiction over more than one particular Church or congregation, for such a power Timothy had over many elders, and Titus over all Crete. Had such a power been contrary to the nature of Church government, St. Paul would not have permitted it, much less appointed it, in any of the Churches which he planted.

Thirdly, And hence also it appears, that the governing of Churches, or the ordaining of elders in them, was not so limited to the persons of the apostles but that it might be intrusted to others in the Church after their decease. It remains only to inquire whether they did intrust any person in such a manner as is certain Paul did Timothy and Titus.

Fourthly, Such powers were invested in others, as appears from these words: "The things which thou hast heard from me, confirmed by many witnesses, commit thou to faithful men who shall be able to teach others also." Titus was to ordain elders in every city. Those then were the successors who were appointed elders or bishops, and of these there were several, as we have seen, in each Church. The body of elders or presbyters were therefore the successors of the apostles, as those who possessed the supreme rule in the Churches. And though the apostles appointed Timothy or Titus to exercise jurisdiction in Crete and Ephesus, yet those who retained the powers originally exercised by the apostles and evangelists as far as these powers were continued, were the body of elders, who chose their pastors in charge, or bishops, in deference to the views and interests of the people, and who also exercised a controlling influence over their superintendents corresponding to those transmissible powers with which the apostles and evangelists were ordained originally.

13. But though presbyters or bishops appear to have been perfectly co-ordinate in ministerial powers during the days of the apostles; yet we have reason to believe that, for the sake of convenience, a certain priority or presidentship was allowed to some one of distinguished gifts and graces in each college of presbyters. Perhaps the following quotations from Dr. George Campbell of Scotland will present this in as unexceptionable a light as can be found elsewhere, especially as he was a Presbyterian, and contended for the entire parity of ministers as it regards their order. In discussing the subject of the apocalyptic angels, after having expressed his opinion that in the consistories and congregations of the primitive Christians, one presided, he proceeds, (Lectures on Ecc. Hist. Lect. v, p. 83): "A regulation of this kind all sorts of societies are led to adopt from necessity, in order to prevent confusion in conducting business, and those Christian societies would also fall into it by example. They had adopted the name πρεσβυτεριον, *presbytery* or *senate*, from the name frequently given to the Jewish sanhedrim. The term πρεσβυτερος, *elder* or *senator*, they had also borrowed from the title given to the members of that council. Nothing could be more natural, than to derive from that court also the practice of conducting their affairs more decently and expeditiously by the help of a president." Not that they were formed exactly on the same model. Their different uses must have required different modes of procedure. But as in the synagogue, he that presided and conducted the worship and reading of the law was called the angel of the synagogue; so it appears that he who had the chief management in the Church or congregation, was styled the *angel of the Church*, which accounts for the chief pastor among the seven Asiatic Churches being so denominated.

An example they also had, in the apostolic college itself, in which

Peter appears, by the appointment of his Master, to have presided; though in no other particular was he endowed with any power or privilege not conferred on the rest, who were, in respect to apostleship, his colleagues and equals. He is, indeed, made a principal foundation of the Church, (Mat. xvi, 18,) but they also are foundations, (Eph. ii, 20, and Rev. xxi, 14.) The power of binding and loosing, that is, of pronouncing without danger of error, the sentence of God in either retaining or remitting sins, was first conferred on Peter, (Mat. xvi, 19,) but afterward on them all, (Mat. xviii, 18; John xx, 23.) Yet when he professed his faith in Christ as Messiah, and his name was changed from Simon to Cephas, or Peter, there seems to be some degree of pre-eminence bestowed on him. (See Campbell, p. 81.) Peter also *first* preached the Gospel after the resurrection, to Jews, and to the uncircumcised Gentiles. He thus speaks of it afterward himself: "Brethren, ye know that God made choice among us, that the Gentiles, by my mouth, should hear the word of the Gospel." This is called in another place, "opening the door of faith to the Gentiles," and shows in what sense Peter got the "keys of the kingdom of heaven." Yet there is nothing here that is given to him more than that he should be first in this great work, for Paul was afterward more eminent and successful than he.

"That Peter, however, was considered as the president of that college, appears from several particulars. One is, he is not only always named first in the Gospels, and in the Acts, but by Matthew, who was also an apostle, he is called *πρωτος*, *the first*, which I imagine is equivalent to president or chief. *Πρωτος Σιμων* the first Simon. It is not the adverb *πρωτον* that is here used, which would have barely implied that the historian began with his name, but the adjective or epithet *πρωτος*. This is the more remarkable, in that he was not first called to the apostleship, for his brother Andrew was called before him. Sometimes when the apostles are spoken of, Peter alone is named; thus, 'Peter stood up with the eleven,' 'they said to Peter and the rest of the apostles.' These, I acknowledge, are but slight circumstances taken severally, but taken in conjunction, they are strong enough for supporting all that I intend to build upon them. For nothing is here ascribed to him as peculiar but the presidentship, or the first place in the discharge of the functions of an apostle common to them all. He was not among the apostles as a father among his children, of a different rank, and of a superior order, but as an elder among his younger brethren, the first of the same rank and order. 'Be not ye called Rabbi, for one is your master, even Christ, and all you are brethren; and call no man father upon the earth, for one is your Father, who is in heaven.' It is perhaps unnecessary to add, that whatever was conferred on Peter was merely personal, and did not admit succession. Some keen controvertists on the Protestant side would be apt to censure what has been now advanced in regard to the apostle Peter, as yielding too much to the Romanist. Yet, in fact, nothing at all is yielded. The bishop of Rome has no more claim to be the successor of Peter, than the bishop of London has, or indeed any pastor in the Church. It is but too commonly the effect, though a very bad effect, of religious controversy, that impartiality and even judgment are laid aside by both parties, and each considers it as his glory to

contradict the other as much, and to recede from his sentiments as far, as possible.

"Now, though what has been advanced in regard to the apostles should not be deemed sufficiently established; yet that one, either on account of seniority, or of superior merit, habitually presided in the presbytery, will still remain probable, for the other reasons assigned, the obvious conveniency of the thing, the commonness of it in all sorts of councils and conventions, particularly in the sanhedrim and synagogue; the only rational account that, in consistency with other parts of Sacred Writ, or with any Christian relics of equal antiquity, can be given of the address, in the singular number, to the pastors of the seven Churches severally, in the apocalypse; and I may add, the most plausible account which it affords of the origin of the more considerable distinction that afterward obtained between bishop and presbyter."

"It may farther be observed, in support of the same doctrine, that some of the most common appellations, whereby the bishop was first distinguished, bear evident traces of this origin. He was not only called προεστως, but προεδρος, president, chairman; and by periphrasis the presbyters were called οι εκ του δευτερου θρονου, they who possessed the second seat or throne, as the bishop was πρωτοκαθεδρος, he who possessed the first. Thus he was in the presbytery as the speaker in the house of commons, who is not of a superior order to the other members of the house, but is a commoner among commoners, and is only in consequence of that station accounted the first among those of his own rank. The same thing might be illustrated by the prolocutor of either house of convocation in England, or the moderator of an ecclesiastical judicatory in Scotland. Now as the president is, as it were, the mouth of the council, by which they deliver their judgment, and by which they address themselves to others, it is natural to suppose, that through the same channel, to wit. their president, they should be addressed by others." (Camp. Ecc. Hist. pp. 85–87.)

In regard to the government of the Church in the age immediately preceding the apostles, and as it is exhibited in the writings of the apostolical fathers, the brevity necessary to be observed in communications for this Magazine, as well as the numerous quotations necessary to present this part of the discussion in a clear light, prevents us from introducing it at length or in form. The evidence from this source may be given at a future time if necessary. It is proper now, however, to remark, that the modern doctrines of the successionists receive no countenance from the epistles of Clemens of Rome, Polycarp, and Ignatius; but on the other hand, complete proofs can be collected from them, to show that the additions and changes which high Churchmen have introduced into the government of the Church of God, are solemnly condemned by the government which obtained immediately after the death of the apostles, and as it is described or referred to in the writings of the apostolical fathers.

In regard to the nature of the episcopacy which obtained in the second and third centuries, and as far as the time of Constantine, we will only make a few remarks, though a long article for this alone would be needed.

It appears from the most ancient records, as well from the New Testament as the earliest Christian fathers, that there was a number of co-ordinate pastors appointed by the apostles to each Church or congregation, called indifferently, bishops or elders. And with these were associated the deacons, whose first charge was to serve tables; but who also preached or exhorted occasionally, and whose office seems to have been, in some respect, a kind of gradation toward the full ministry. When a suitable number of believers were collected, they were associated together and called *εκκλησια, a Church*. The episcopacy which existed in the second and third centuries seems to have been this. Every Church had a plurality of presbyters, who, together with the deacons, were all under the *superintendency*, *oversight*, or *inspection* of one pastor or rather *bishop*. All antiquity agree in assigning to one bishop no more than one *εκκλησια* or *Church*, and one *παροικια parish*, or rather, as the word may be rendered, vicinage or *neighborhood*. The superintendency which they exercised over the people was purely spiritual. They were authorized to rule the Church, *not as lords*, but that their authority itself should be exercised *as an example to the flock*. The titles given to them in Scripture, *ἡγουμενοι guides*, *προισταμενοι*, *governors*, &c., imply this. And the people, on their part, were bound to obey them, as appears from the use of the terms by which the duty of people to their pastors is expressed, *πειθεσθε*, *obey*, *ὑπεικετε*, *submit*, &c.

But in consequence of degeneracy in the Church during the third and fourth centuries, the state of things prepared the way for the changes which were effected by Constantine the Great. The result of this was the elevation of the episcopal order above the Scripture level. Hence, in a subsequent age, Popery was established. We know it is stated in opposition to this view of the subject, that "the first successors of the apostles were wise and good men, and therefore *would not* innovate upon an apostolic institution; and if they would, they *could not*, being watched by their associates in the ministry, and by the people." To this only a brief reply can now be given. We therefore remark: 1. We have all along admitted an original distinction, which, though very different from that which afterward obtained, served for its foundation. 2. The vices and ambition of the first ministers were so far from giving rise to this authority, that it is rather to be ascribed to their virtues. 3. It were easy, on the same ground with the objectors, to evince, *a priori*, that monarchy, or the dominion of one over the many, in the nature of things, is impossible. 4. Forming the Church according to the government of the state alone accounts for the change from better to worse.

Stackhouse, who rigidly maintains that diocesan episcopacy is of apostolical authority, after employing this argument *a priori*, and answering Jerome's opinion, that presbyters and bishops were not two distinct orders, gives a view of the station which bishops filled in the primitive Church, by no means agreeing with the character of those who claim to be their successors. "This difference," says he, "however, we owe to the authority of St. Jerome, among many other fathers, as to suppose the distinction between bishop and presbyter, not only as to the honors and emoluments,

whereunto the bounty of princes has enriched the former, but even to the exercise of their office and spiritual jurisdiction, was not near so conspicuous in former ages as it is now. A bishop then thought it no disparagement to be joined with the lowest priest in the sacerdotal honor. The common appellation wherewith they addressed each other was brother, or fellow-presbyter; nor was it any disparagement to his wisdom and knowledge, in every matter of importance, to advise with the assembly of presbyters, which was held to be the senate of the Church. Nay, several things there were in a manner peculiar to the bishop's office and function, which yet he could not do without the consent and approbation of his presbyters. He could not ordain any clerks unless the presbyters were consenting to it; for they were the persons who were to offer and propose such as they judged fit to enter into holy orders: he could not hear any cause of consequence without their presence, nor determine it without their approbation, and in case he did, the sentence he gave was to be null; nor could he degrade any presbyter without the consent of a synod, wherein a majority of presbyters were usually present; or suspend him without the approbation of his chapter." (See Stackhouse's Body of Divinity on this subject, and the authorities quoted there.)

How absurd then it is for Romanists, and the members of the English Church, to contend that they are the legitimate and exclusive successors of the apostles and the humble bishops or pastors of the primitive Church. These modern LORDS have very little in common with apostles and apostolic men. And the boast of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in these high claims, is very slender; when in the place of having her genealogy up through lines of humble and scriptural bishops, she is compelled to acknowledge that her succession is through the excommunicated sect of the Scotch non-jurors, and the British parliament and king, in whose hands the ordainers of American bishops were the mere tools. Had we no better through Mr. Wesley, than the defective and null ordination of the Protestant Episcopal Church, by which our ministry would become null when exercised in any portion of Britain's dominions, we would renounce for ever the anti-scriptural authority.

For the Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review.

ART. II.—VERBAL CRITICISM.

THAT a knowledge of words is essential to a right understanding of an author, will not, we presume, be disputed by any one competent to decide correctly on this subject. And it is equally certain that in order to analyze any proposition, the terms in which that proposition is expressed must be accurately understood. But how can this be done without a thorough and critical knowledge of the words themselves? Hence the great importance of acquiring a critical knowledge of words, so as to understand their *ideal* or *radical* import, in order to qualify ourselves to become safe in-

structers of others. This is peculiarly important to all those who would aspire to be commentators of God's word.

In every art and science there are certain terms used, which may be called its *technicalities*, the understanding of which, according to the sense in which they are used by those who understand each other, or by those who profess a knowledge of that art or science, is essential to every one who would either judge of the accuracy of any thing which may be advanced in reference to that particular art or science, or become a teacher of it to others. Thus, in the theory and practice of medicine, there are certain physiological terms, technically used by physicians, well understood by them, without the knowledge of which a man cannot discourse intelligibly upon medical science, nor correctly judge of any theory which may be put forth on that subject. The same may be said of every other art and science, however common it may be. Carpenters and shoemakers may have in daily use certain technicalities perfectly familiar to themselves, and therefore well understood by even their apprentices, which might puzzle a learned man who may not have turned his attention to the peculiar meaning and application of these terms. The cook of Sir Isaac Newton might possibly have confounded him in the use of some phrases in the culinary vocabulary, the peculiar meaning of which he may never have condescended to ascertain.

From the obvious truth of these remarks, it will follow that a lecturer on astronomy, for instance, before a promiscuous auditory, who had not studied the science, if he would be understood, must first of all explain those astronomical terms by which certain parts of his theory, and the things of which he speaks, are designated. How else would an unlettered man, who had never given his mind to the study of this branch of knowledge, understand what the lecturer meant by *degrees*, whether of longitude or latitude, by *horizon, zones, nodes, conjunctions*, the *sun's parallax*, *orbits of the sun, moon and stars?* All these and other terms with which the astronomer is perfectly familiar, would be unintelligible jargon to the uninitiated into the science.

These remarks are, of themselves, sufficient to put to "silence the ignorance of foolish men," who often boast that learning is a useless acquisition to some professional men. That it is not necessary for a man to be learned in every art or science in order to be a proficient in one, we grant. A mechanic need not understand physic, nor a physician law, nor a lawyer divinity, in order to qualify him for his profession: and yet no man, who has knowledge sufficient to entitle his decision to respect, will dispute that the more a lawyer knows of divinity, the more a physician knows of law, and the more a mechanic understands of both, the less likely will be either of them to be imposed upon by artful and designing men.

But while it is generally admitted that lawyers, physicians, astronomers and statesmen, must be learned in order to make them competent in their respective professions, by an unaccountable obliquity of intellect, it is concluded by some that a minister of the Lord Jesus Christ needs it not—that it is in fact "a dangerous thing,"—so dangerous that we should scrupulously avoid every

thing which looks toward a learned ministry. While we wish to treat all such persons with due respect, we mean so far as to use all proper means to obviate their objections, and to bear with their infirmities in a becoming manner, we cannot yield to them an important principle, nor so far gratify their prejudices, as to leave them in the undisturbed possession of them. For while we admit, with all cheerfulness, "that God hath chosen the foolish things of this world"—that is, that preaching of the cross of Jesus Christ, which the wise philosophers of Greece and Rome called foolishness—"to confound the wise," to "save them that believe," we cannot so far bow to their prejudices as to concede that God ever put a man into his ministry, with the express design of instructing the ignorant, who did not himself understand, and could not explain and enforce the mind and will of God. And though we award to all such that it is by no means essential for a minister of the sanctuary to be what is called a classically educated man, yet we do mean to contend that he should be thoroughly versed in biblical literature, and so far become acquainted with those other sciences which are needful to enable him to understand, explain, defend, and apply the Holy Scriptures, to all doctrinal and practical purposes. We therefore dismiss from our theory the wild vagaries of those who wrap themselves up in intellectual indolence, and, under the vain pretence that God miraculously qualifies those whom he calls to preach his Gospel, refuse all those human helps which a laborious study would bring within their reach. This pretence we think equally dangerous with that adopted by others, who think that human learning alone is all that is necessary for a Christian minister; and hence discard all dependence upon a Divine call and spiritual qualification. If we must be destitute of the one or other of these qualifications, we confess that we should cling to the theory which makes an experimental knowledge of Divine things and a call by the Holy Spirit essential to a Gospel minister. We consider, therefore, human learning only as a useful auxiliary to the "ministry of reconciliation," but yet so necessary that a man who wilfully neglects a favorable opportunity of acquiring it, is highly culpable, a betrayer of his trust, and a sinner against the people of whom he has the pastoral oversight.

We think we cannot easily be misunderstood on this point. That we may not be, and so lose all our labor in the preparation of this article, we repeat, that a Divine call by the Holy Spirit, and a spiritual qualification, arising out of a sound experience of Divine things, under the sealing influence of God's eternal Spirit, we consider so essential to make a man a competent minister of the Lord Jesus Christ, that all the learning in the universe cannot be a substitute for that call and qualification; but we moreover believe that he who is thus called and qualified, in order to "make full proof of his ministry," must assiduously improve every opportunity in acquiring useful knowledge, and that if he neglect this most obvious duty, his call will run out, his soul will become barren, his understanding vacant, and instead of being a blessing, he will prove a curse to the people to whom he ministers. This is our judgment, not indeed hastily formed, for it has "grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength," until it has become a settled prin-

ciple in our theological creed—and the more firmly fixed because we believe it strictly Wesleyan, taught and practically illustrated in the establishment of his societies, and in all his instructions to his ministers; and hence it follows that, so far as we have departed from it in theory or practice, we have made a retrograde movement from Wesleyan Methodism.

We have fixed our attention upon that branch of criticism called *verbal*, for two reasons. 1. Because it is most important to the student himself. Words are the signs of ideas; and therefore unless he understands the words of his author, it is not possible that he should learn any thing from consulting him. 2. Because this sort of knowledge is the most difficult to acquire. We may indeed acquire the orthography and pronunciation of a language, and thus read and speak it without understanding its import. In this manner children learn to speak and read their mother tongue without understanding its meaning, the same as parrots learn to talk without understanding what they say. And for the same reason many persons, for the want of affixing definite and accurate ideas to terms, are never instructed from what they hear or read.

This sort of criticism is distinguished from others in this way:—It puts the man who uses it in the attitude of a learner. He who sits down to criticise a work with a view to decide upon its merits, assumes the office of a severe judge, and pronounces, *ex cathedra*, on its style, its doctrines, and on its tendency, with all the authority of a master. But he who is studying to ascertain simply the meaning of an author, takes the place of a humble learner, who wishes to be instructed by what he reads. When he has mastered this part of his task, he may then take a bolder stand, and become the criticiser of his author's performance, because he now fully comprehends the import of his words. It will be perceived at once that no man is competent to judge of any literary work until he has so far mastered the language in which it is written, as clearly to understand its phraseology.

We do not mean to say that he who assumes the office of a critic always performs the most important service to the reading community. If, indeed, he be a proficient in the science of criticism, has a comprehensive knowledge of the subject on which an author has written, and is actuated solely with a view to do good, to shed light upon the minds of his readers, he cannot well do otherwise than render a service to the cause of literature and science. But how many there are who undertake to pronounce upon the works of others, who are themselves destitute of those qualifications essential to a right understanding of their subject—who are actuated by a malignant disposition, or by feelings of jealousy and rivalship, either of which defects totally disqualifies them for impartial judges. Such certainly are unfit for the high office they have assumed, as the administrators of rewards and punishments among the candidates for literary distinction.

But what is necessary to enable a man to succeed in this branch of criticism? May not a man be able to dissect words, to trace them to their roots, and to give them their literal signification, and yet not understand the real meaning of an author? We think he may—though we allow that no man is qualified for the sort of cri-

ticism for which we now contend, unless he can do this with some tolerable accuracy. Words often change their signification, and hence are not used by every author in the same sense. This shows the necessity of studying the *history* of language, and being able to trace words up to their radical or verbal import. But words are more often used *figuratively*, in which case, though a knowledge of the *literal* is essential to a right understanding of the *figurative* sense of a word, yet a mere literal interpretation derived from its etymological or verbal signification, will not of itself give us the meaning of our author. It is important, therefore, that we should

1. Ascertain the *object* which a writer proposes to himself in putting his pen to paper. This will enable us to enter into his views, to appreciate his motives, and to comprehend his design—all which is necessary to enable us to understand his words, and more especially those which are emphatical.

2. We should take into consideration the *times* in which the author wrote. This comprehends not only the exact era of his writing, but the state of the people, their geographical, political, moral, and religious state, as well as their state of mental and literary improvement.

3. We should ascertain the leading proposition the author designs to establish, or the particular doctrine or duty he aims to illustrate and enforce.

4. Nor is it less necessary to understand the peculiarity of style which predominates throughout his writing. This will enable us to account for certain forms of expression, and to ascertain with greater precision the meaning of important words which may occur in the discourse. This last mark applies with peculiar force when the sacred writings are under consideration; for nothing is more certain than that they used terms in a peculiar sense, so much so as to distinguish them from all other writers whatever.

For an illustration of these rules of interpretation, let us refer to St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. Who can rightly comprehend the words *law*, *works*, *justification*, *faith*, *election*, *predestination*, *Sabbaths*, *new moons*, *Jews*, *Gentiles*, and a multitude of other important phrases which occur in this deeply argumentative epistle, without taking into consideration the grand *object* he had in view, the *state* of the people to whom he wrote, the great and *leading truth* he designed to establish, as well as the *peculiarity of style* which characterizes St. Paul's writings? The same remarks will apply to all the sacred writings, and indeed with less or more force to all ancient authors.

5. Another important qualification to enable a man to use this sort of criticism safely and to advantage, is the *grammar* of language. Though language, written as well as spoken, existed long before that analysis of language was cultivated called *grammar*, yet it is not possible adequately to understand an author, so as either to criticise his style and doctrine, or to enter into a verbal examination of his sentences, without an accurate knowledge of the several parts of speech. Unless the student know whether a word is used as a *noun* or a *verb*, and, if the latter, whether in an *active* or a *passive* sense, how can he accurately understand the meaning of an author? Equally important is it that he should be

able to distinguish the *tenses* of the verb, as well as the *cases* of the noun, if he would succeed in his critical investigations. When he is able to reduce a sentence or compound word to its elementary principles, so as to ascertain the radical meaning of the words employed, he may then, and not till then, undertake the office of a verbal critic, and endeavor to fix the precise meaning of an author whom he may consult.

6. In consulting the sacred Scriptures—and indeed all ancient authors—that we may comprehend adequately their meaning, it is not only necessary that we should understand their language, but it is equally essential that we should acquaint ourselves with their history, their geographical situation, their peculiar customs, their proverbial modes of speech, their civil and ecclesiastical polity, as also the history and customs of the people with whom they were, at different times, associated, or with whom they came into collision, in their disputes and wars. This item comprehends a vast compass of knowledge, but without which a student may in vain seek a solution of many passages of sacred Scripture. Every one, who is at all conversant with those venerable records of truth, knows that there are in them almost perpetual references to historical facts, to geographical boundaries, to civil institutions, and religious ceremonies, not as respects the Jews only and the early Christians, but also as respects other nations, sometimes distinctly named and enumerated, such as the Egyptians, Chaldeans, Idumeans, Edomites, and Canaanites, in the Old Testament, and the Greeks and Romans in the New Testament. Now, without some tolerable acquaintance with these nations, which can be acquired only from history and geography, how is it possible for us to understand the point of an allusion to those peculiar customs and usages by which they were severally distinguished?

Did, indeed, the same habits exist among us as were prevalent among them, we might not find it so difficult to comprehend these things. But though the customs of oriental nations are much less fluctuating than they are among us and the nations of Europe, yet they have varied less or more, so that many things which were perfectly familiar to the minds of those who wrote in those days, are now obsolete, and have been substituted by others, perhaps, however, equally unintelligible to all who have not an intimate and thorough acquaintance with their civil and religious history. It must therefore be evident to every one, that none are competent to make a thorough and critical investigation of those words and sentences which refer to these ancient and antiquated customs, with which the sacred Scriptures abound, but those who have travelled over the records of antiquity, and familiarized themselves with those national peculiarities by which those nations, some of whom are now swept from the earth, were at that time distinguished.

This branch of knowledge is especially necessary to enable us to understand the bold and lofty figures with which the Scriptures abound. It is well known that, among all the books ever written, either ancient or modern, there are none so distinguished by their figurative language, by trope and metaphor, as the Holy Scriptures. These metaphors are taken from history, from natural scenery, from warlike fetes, from civil and religious customs, rites, and cere-

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monies, from architectural and other monuments, from friendships and antipathies, from their mountains and valleys, flocks and herds. Now, though we may ascertain the *literal* meaning of the words used by those authors without an acquaintance with all these things, yet it is impossible to understand the point of the allusion, the suitableness of the figure, so as to perceive the analogy between the literal and figurative meaning, unless we have been made acquainted with the facts and things whence the metaphor is taken. Who, for instance, can comprehend St. Paul's allusion to the Grecian games, though perfectly intelligible to him and his readers, without a knowledge of the manner in which they were celebrated? Equally unintelligible must be Daniel's interpretations of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, and the writing upon the wall in the king's palace, to those who are ignorant of the history of those times. These are selected merely as an illustration of our meaning, in this branch of the subject.

7. Though we may rely with confidence upon the general faithfulness of our translation of the sacred Scriptures, yet an acquaintance with the language in which they were written is no trifling acquisition to the biblical student. We do not intend to say that this is essential to qualify a man to become a minister of the Gospel. In this respect the times are altered. Time was, and especially at the memorable era of the Reformation, as well as for many years subsequent to that event, when all the learning in the world was locked up in a foreign language; and hence the several nations of Europe agreed, by common consent, to make the Latin tongue a general medium of communication with each other. Law, physic, and divinity were taught in this language. To this and to the Greek language, all went, as to a common source, for information; and what they learned from this source, they communicated to others, generally, through the medium of the same language. Indeed, it seemed to be a common impression, that the people in general, those of them who did not understand Greek and Latin, had nothing to do with a knowledge of letters, nor with the sciences, and hence no pains were taken to instruct them. This may account for the fact that the Holy Scriptures were denied to the people, and the strenuous manner in which they were withheld from them by the Catholic priesthood, even after the lights of the Reformation had dispelled in some measure the clouds of ignorance and superstition.

But this bright era, so much deprecated by those who profess to have the keys of knowledge, and whose interest it is to keep the doors of information locked up from those people, broke the spell by which the human mind had been so long held in this enchantment, and gradually poured upon the world the light of truth through the medium of their vernacular language. The translation of the sacred Scriptures into the languages of Europe, by which the treasures of Divine knowledge were laid open to the people, created a new era in the history of literature and science. It has taught mankind that an Englishman is just as capable of acquiring knowledge through the medium of his own language, as a Grecian or a Roman was, by means of the Greek or Latin. And another effect, no less beneficial in its results, has been, that the literal

ture which had been locked up in the cabinets of princes, and was unapproachable by the common people in consequence of having been taught in the learned languages, is now made accessible to all who can read and understand their mother tongue. Not only the sacred Scriptures, but all books of knowledge, have been faithfully translated into English, and plentifully diffused in the community, and thus put within the reach of all who have the leisure, disposition, and other means of acquiring information. This is a reformation in literature, no less important for the human mind, to enable it to emancipate itself from the thraldom of ignorance, than was the reformation in religion and morals for the deliverance of the soul from the degrading and ruinous slavery of sin.

These facts are mentioned to show that the same necessity does not now exist for a critical knowledge of ancient languages as did formerly. These fountains of knowledge have been opened by learned and scientific men, whence the streams of truth and knowledge have flowed out to water the land. Of these streams all may drink and be refreshed without being able to ascend to the fountain whence they flow. But, we do not wish to be misunderstood upon this subject. We do not mean to say that because there have been wise and learned men heretofore, to whose indefatigable diligence we are so much indebted, that the necessity for a succession of them ceases to exist. All we mean to say is, that such have been the results of their pious and learned labors in cultivating this prolific field, that we may now "reap that on which we have bestowed no labor," having been furnished—thanks to their learned industry—with such helps, that though we cannot work with the same tools, we need not despair of participating with them in the rich reward at last—provided we improve our high privileges with a wise and conscientious diligence.

With these remarks in behalf of those who may think it their duty and privilege to labor in the Gospel field with less polished implements than their predecessors, we proceed to say, that still it is an unspeakable privilege to be able to trace the streams of truth to their fountain, that we may ourselves test the integrity and faithfulness of those translations which have been transmitted to us from our ancestors by comparing them with their originals. Neither is this a small advantage. The truth of God always has had, has now, and doubtless always will have enemies—learned, acute, philosophical, and philological enemies. These will, as they ever have done, avail themselves of every aid which ingenuity, impelled on by a malignant hatred to Christianity, can possibly invent. They will impugn the integrity of translations, and to sustain themselves in their opposition, resort to philological criticisms, to verbal distinctions taken from the original Scriptures, and all this with a view to invalidate the Divine authority of the word of God. These enemies must be met and vanquished. But how is this to be done? Shall the theologian content himself with a mere spattering knowledge of things, and thus allow the learned infidel to triumph over him and deprecate ignorant dolt? This would be a triumph greatly to be that amid the friends of truth. And it is a consoling thought, truth and error for conflict which has been carried on between during which the enemies of revelation

have resorted to every artifice that learning and ingenuity could invent, the cause of truth has always had such able and learned advocates to defend it, that it has stood firm, not only because it "was founded upon a Rock," but because its friends were able to meet their antagonists on their own ground, to contend with them with their own weapons, and to overthrow them with the strong arm of truth. Did the enemies of revelation resort to history, ancient and modern, to geography, geology, and tradition, to invalidate the authority of the Holy Scripture? Its advocates, in setting up their defence, showed that they were equally well acquainted with all these topics, and that, when rightly understood and applied, instead of militating against the truth, they all contributed to its defence and establishment? Did their antagonists resort to their philological criticisms to show that our conscientious translators had mistaken the words of the sacred writers, or had wilfully perverted their meaning? How triumphant have been the vindications! The heterodox Socinian has gained less to his cause by resorting to his criticisms upon the original words of Scripture, than the orthodox theologian has by the manner in which he has been able to repel his attacks. This, to be sure, is a homage we owe to truth. But it is likewise a homage to that love of learning and sound knowledge which truth inspires. Let but its friends lay down their weapons, and cease to ply themselves with those helps which an acquaintance with the learned languages affords, and the enemies of the truth would soon spring up in increased numbers and boldness, and bid defiance to the "armies of the living God."

8. Another qualification equally essential for a right understanding of words, is a careful attention to the *synonymes* of a language. That there are a multitude of words nearly synonymous in sense is obvious, not only from the numerous classes of words which are found in every language which has been highly cultivated and long used as a living language, but also from the very fact that all lexicographers resort to the use of one or more words of more familiar import, to explain others whose meaning is not so apparent. To study, therefore, the nice shades of difference between the meaning of words of kindred signification, as well as the exact sense in which the several terms of synonymous meaning are used, together with the sense designed to be affixed to any important word by the author who uses it, is the imperative duty of all those who would accurately comprehend the meaning of an author or speaker.

9. Above all other things, a sincere and ardent *love of truth* is indispensable to a student in this, as well as in every other department of knowledge. A child comes to the study of his alphabet without any of those prepossessions and prejudices with which a person has to contend, who has already formed his creed, or made up his judgment respecting the truth or falsity of a proposition or theory. Hence, it is often affirmed that a *childlike simplicity*, by which is meant an honest intention, should characterize the man who is in the pursuit of truth. The child listens attentively to the lessons of his teacher, receives with honest simplicity all his instructions, and with the most implicit confidence reposes himself upon the wisdom and fidelity of his instructer. It is this disposition of mind which qualifies him to receive what is imparted without hesitation and with so

much facility. It is true that the child, not having a judgment to distinguish between truth and error, is liable to be imposed upon by a designing instructer; and that very simplicity of mind which characterizes childhood, makes it therefore the more important that lovers of truth only should have the charge of youth.

But something of this same simplicity, this oneness of intention, this honest desire to know the truth and to follow it, should possess the minds of all those who come to the investigation of any word or proposition. Those who approach this or any other subject with prepossessions for or against any particular theory, are perpetually liable to make their prejudices the key to unlock the meaning of words, and their preconceived opinions the basis of truth. Such, certainly, are not qualified to judge impartially. And this remark applies with peculiar force when the study of the sacred Scriptures is undertaken.

9. But here the question arises, how shall a man qualify himself for this sort of criticism? Can he, unaided and alone, acquire that knowledge of the structure of language which is essential to enable him to trace out the etymology of words, to ascertain their radical signification, and to apply them in speech or writing to the purposes of instruction? Can he, in this way, accurately understand the use of metaphorical terms, peculiar modes of speech, and the numerous allusions to customs now obsolete, to nations now extinct?

To all general rules there are exceptions. As a general rule, then, we think none but those who are destitute of the knowledge we are commending, will affirm that all this can be accomplished without the aid of a competent instructer. Whatever may be awarded to some giant minds, impelled on in the pursuit of knowledge by an irrepressible desire for usefulness,—and there have been a number of such,—it must be admitted, as a general truth, that to excel in any branch of literature and science, there must be a foundation laid in youth by suitable instruction, and this foundation must be built upon by a constant and persevering application of the mental and moral powers to those subjects which naturally strengthen and expand the mind.

But even those who have acquired literary distinction chiefly by their own efforts, have had some of the advantages of an early education. It may indeed be doubted whether any man could even acquire a knowledge of the alphabet of his mother tongue, unless he had some one to teach him. And without at least this amount of knowledge, what progress could any one make? When, however, a man has had the common advantages of a school education in his youth, has contracted a taste for improvement, and has the facilities now so generally afforded to all for the acquirement of literature and science, he may, by suitable application and persevering industry, climb the hill of science and enjoy the pleasures of surveying the pleasant fields of knowledge spread out before him. Let not such, therefore, be discouraged. Though they may have to labor hard and long, yet what they thus acquire, will be the more deeply radicated in their understandings and hearts, the more highly prized and faithfully applied to practical purposes.

But if these would acquire an accurate knowledge of words, they

must not only read books, but they must see to it that they thoroughly understand them. Many greatly err on this point. They run so hastily through a treatise that they are little profited from what they read. For such there is no excuse. Helps there are enough, and more than enough. The difficulty is to select the best. Dictionaries must be consulted on all words of dubious import. And in consulting these, care should be taken to trace derivative and compound words up to their respective roots or primitive elements.

It is true that most of our English dictionaries are very defective in respect to etymology. They are mere definers of terms; and though their definitions may be in the main accurate, yet they leave your mind uninformed as it regards the verbal signification of the words they explain. Before *Webster* appeared, *Bailey* had done most in this department of philological criticism; and even now no student should be destitute of his valuable dictionary. Webster has been mentioned. He has indeed, by his learned labors in the field of philology, done much to clear away the rubbish which had been accumulating for ages around the roots of our language. In the department of etymology certainly, he has opened to the student a path by which he may ascend to the fountain whence issue those streams which, dividing in different directions, have flowed over those fields of human language now occupied by the nations of the earth.

His work, however, is not complete. In giving us the etymology of our language, he has left unexplained those original words whence the English terms are derived. Take, as an instance of what we mean by this defect, the word CHRONOLOGY. Webster tells us that it comes from the Greek, χρονολογια, and that it signifies, "the science of time; the method of measuring, or computing time by regular divisions or periods, according to the revolutions of the sun or moon, of ascertaining the true periods or years when past events or transactions took place, and arranging them in their proper order according to their dates." All this is accurate enough. But still, the mere English reader is no more instructed from the quotation of the Greek word, than if it had been entirely omitted, or its place supplied by some Egyptian hieroglyphic. If the lexicographer had told us that the Greek word χρονολογια is a compound term, made up of two simple Greek words, χρονος, which signifies *time*, and λογος, which signifies, a *word*, a *discourse*, or *an oration*, we should then have had the idea expressed by the word itself, and likewise a reason why, in its anglicized form, it was adopted to designate that branch of science which relates to the computation of time, and the dates of certain transactions.

Take another word as illustrative of this defect in etymology—*Theopathy*. This we are told is from two Greek words, θεος and παθος, neither of which is explained—and signifies "religious suffering—suffering for the purpose of subduing sinful propensities." Very well—this is the popular meaning of the word. But does the mere English reader derive any such idea from the insertion of those two Greek words? Certainly not. Had Dr. Webster told his readers that θεος, means *God*, and παθος, *suffering*, *disease*, or *calamity*, their minds would have been conducted up to the radical import of the words, and thence seen a reason why it is defined to

mean *religious suffering*, because a more literal interpretation would be, *suffering for God*, that is, in the *cause of God*.

Let us select one more example of this defective manner of etymological definitions—*Archeology*. Webster justly informs us that this is from the Greek, αρχαιος and λογος, "a discourse on antiquity; learning or knowledge which respects ancient times." Here we have again a popular definition of the word *archeology;* but not a single ray of light to conduct us to the radical or verbal import of those two Greek words, whence the compound term *archeology* is derived, or rather anglicized, for it is nothing more than a foreigner arrayed in an English dress. Had the author informed us that Αρχαιος, means *ancient*, and that this comes from αρχη, signifying *origin*, or *source*, the *beginning*, and that λογος, as before, signifies a *discourse*, we should have immediately discovered the appropriateness of the term *archeology*, when defined to mean a *discourse on antiquity*.

These examples have been selected to show the great importance of being able to trace words up to their source for a right understanding of them, and also that we may see the reason why they were so used at first, and adopted into our own language. They moreover show what an essential service that man would render to the cause of science and literature, who should furnish the world with a lexicon of such a character, that the student might be able to trace, at a single glance, every word up to its source, and to find the ideal, verbal, or radical signification of each.

It is true, that by going from one dictionary to another,—from Webster to Ainsworth—from Ainsworth to Schrevelia—from him to Buxtorf, Parkhurst or Gesenius—and then wading through Boyer, and some dozen of others, Spanish, Italian, German, Dutch and Anglo-Saxon lexicons, and a few medical dictionaries, we may finally arrive to a satisfactory knowledge of the word, the precise meaning of which we are in pursuit of. The objection, therefore, that a dictionary of the description we have suggested, would be unwieldy from its bulk, and expensive from the labor and cost of preparing and printing, is obviated from the single consideration of its untold utility; but more especially from the fact that it would supply a desideratum in the department of philological literature, the want of which is principally felt, we should suppose, by every scholar, and every man of reading. Besides, what would be the expense and labor, in comparison to that which is now exhausted in going from stream to stream, until we are wearied with research, before we arrive at the fountain head?

With a view to show still farther the importance of being able to trace words to their primitive source, I will select an instance of English words which are not derived directly from either the Greek or Hebrew, but are used to represent the same idea as other words of similar import in those languages. Take, for a sample, the word ETERNITY. Turning to an English dictionary, I find this word coming to us from the *Latin*, *æternitas*, and its definition to be "duration or continuance, without beginning or end." I turn to a Latin dictionary, and find about the same definition. In neither of these, therefore, can I find the original idea whence this definition itself is derived. I therefore go to the Greek term αιων, which is generally,

in the Bible, rendered *eternal*, and find it to signify "a long period of time, an age, indefinite duration, comprehending time, whether longer or shorter, past, present, or future." This does not satisfy me. I therefore turn over and examine those passages in the Old and New Testament, where this word and its cognates are found, and I learn, indeed, from these, considered in connection with their respective contexts, that the above definitions are in the general accurate; but still, I wish, if possible, to get a more precise and definite idea of the meaning of this most expressive and comprehensive term. I then take up a Hebrew dictionary, and look for the root of the words which our translators have rendered *eternal*, *eternally*, and *eternity*. This I find to be עלם, (*olim*,) and that its verbal signification is, *to hide*, *to conceal;* and I think I discover in this verb a most expressive idea, as much so as any one word can express it, of that *invisible* eternity which lies *hidden* from human view; and also perceive a reason why a great man defined time to be "a fragment of eternity, broken off at both ends." While meditating upon the meaning of this word, as expressive of that eternity past and to come, which is completely *hidden* from my view, I feel a sacred, an indescribable awe come over my mind, as if I were standing before the incomprehensible Jehovah, about whose throne are "clouds and darkness," while he "draweth back the face" of it from human view. Eternity is then an undefinable something *hidden* from men's view, perfectly beyond the grasp of the most improved and expanded intellect.

That this is the idea which ought to be attached to this word, I mean a something which has neither beginning nor end, I am farther convinced, by examining the several places where it occurs in the sacred Scriptures, for I find it used adjectively in reference to the supreme Being, as denoting his never ending duration—such as the *eternal*, the *everlasting God.*

These examples are quite sufficient to show the vast importance of this branch of knowledge, the proper understanding of words; and likewise the great help to its acquisition which would be afforded by a lexicon which should lead us back, step by step, from our mother tongue, up to the source whence each word is derived, with a familiar and accurate explanation of their primitives; as well as to those terms in other languages for which ours stand as proper representatives. Now, if the labor bestowed in Johnson's quarto dictionary, and is now bestowing upon Richardson's, in quoting authorities from numerous English authors, in support of their definitions, were expended in furnishing the world with a complete etymological dictionary, much of time and labor would be saved to the critical student. Let us, however, be thankful for what we have. Some master and benevolent spirit may yet arise to bless the world with the desideratum.

We must not be understood as wishing to detract aught from the merits or to depreciate the excellence of the dictionary we have more especially named. If our judgment were worth recording, we should say that it is far the best, the most perfect of any we have; and Americans ought to indulge in an honest pride,—if that passion may be enrolled among the virtues,—that one of her sons has arisen to cast such a flood of light upon the page of her litera-

ture. As a philologist, *Noah Webster*, in spite of all the obloquy attempted to be cast upon him by contemporary writers, will stand among the first—if not, indeed, in the very first—rank of those who have dug about the roots of our language, and exhibited their branches, as they have shot out from the common and original stock.

But in spite of our efforts to be brief, we perceive that we are spinning out our thread to an undue length, before we come to the thought with which we designed to close. We wished to assault, and, if possible, to prostrate an enemy which is stalking through the fair plains of literature and science, with an intent to pluck up by the roots the young trees we have planted ere they have had time to take firm hold of the earth. And the remarks we have to make on this branch of the subject, will furnish a farther answer to the question, "How shall we best qualify ourselves for this work of verbal criticism?"

We have already shown some of the methods by which this may be done. But these, however assiduously we may apply ourselves to the subject, and however apt scholars we may be, are slow and tedious. We venture to affirm that the same student will acquire more real knowledge in one month under the tuition of a competent teacher, than he would in six months without one. And the sooner he begins in this work the better. While the mind is young and flexible, the body active and vigorous, is the fittest, indeed, the only proper time, to lay a foundation for mental improvement, and for the acquirement of useful and extensive knowledge.

Hence, from both these considerations, the importance of having literary institutions for our youth. We do not wish to train them especially for the work of the ministry, but chiefly to imbue their minds with sound learning, and to make them thorough scholars. For theological schools, as such, we have no predilection. We have no wish to take a young man and educate him for the ministry the same as we would educate a man for the profession of law, of medicine, or for a statesman. And yet we would, were it the will of Providence, that all our ministers were thorough scholars; for sure we are that no science demands the exercise of greater powers of intellect, of more critical acumen to develope its principles, to scan its doctrines, to defend its truths, and to enforce its precepts, than does the science of divinity. Nor can a man lay the foundation for those high attainments in theological knowledge and verbal criticism with greater facility than by availing himself of the advantages of these seminaries of learning in the days of his youth; and then, if after that God shall see fit to call him to the work of the Christian ministry, he will be qualified to enter upon it with all that enlightened piety and chastened zeal which distinguish God's most favored servants; as well as with a reasonable prospect of succeeding in the discharge of his high and holy duties.

It is often said that if God prefer learned men for his work, he will doubtless call them to it. Without stopping to expose the impiety of such an assertion, we may ask, How shall God call learned men when none such are to be found? Or does the objector suppose that learning will spring up among us in the same miraculous way that he presumes his minister is to be called and

qualified to preach the Gospel? He professes not to undervalue learning. He loves to see and hear a minister of Jesus Christ evince the depth of his researches, the power of his eloquence, and the conclusiveness of his deductions. And he is perfectly willing, yea, very desirous that his minister should exhibit these eminent attainments, provided he mingle with them a suitable degree of scriptural zeal and fervency of devotion. But he objects that he should acquire these things in a college!

But wherefore? Are college walls so polluted that they contaminate all who come into contact with them? Those especially which are under the supervision of men who fear God and work righteousness? Have not our colleges, as well as academies, been hallowed by some of the most blessed revivals of religion with which the Church has been favored in these latter days?

Let then our youth be sent there, not, as before said, to receive a theological training for the ministry, but to receive a literary and scientific training, such a one as will fit them for any department either in the Church or state, to which the providence of God shall call them. When thus prepared by human instrumentality,—you may say in faith and piety,—if the Lord delight in these more than others, he will doubtless call them to his work. But if you hold back the means essential to accomplish this work of literary and scientific cultivation, it is the height of presumption to say that if God wishes learned men he will select such. We ask again, if there be none such—and there would be if all were of the mind of our objector—how can he select them and send them forth? You might with equal propriety neglect to manure and cultivate the earth, and then cantingly say, if the Lord see fit to fill your barns with the choicest of the hay and wheat, he will select and deposit them therein, as to say, while you grudgingly withhold the means of education from our youth, if the Lord prefer a learned ministry he will call and qualify men to become such.

But you will say, probably, there is no call for us to expend our time and money to found colleges and educate our youth, because there are enough such already. Hold, a moment! Now you contradict your own principles. Just now you thought learning unnecessary. Do you not perceive that if all were of your opinion, there would be no man of learning in the universe? If it be not your duty—provided you are able—to contribute to the advancement of literature and science, it is not the duty of any one. If all, therefore, were to imitate your conduct, we should not long have Bibles to read, books for our edification, nor schools for our children. But if our forefathers had adopted this heartless theory, neither you nor any of us would at this day have had a single book in our mother tongue. Neither Bible, Prayer Book, Psalm, nor Hymn, would now adorn our shelves, nor preacher alarm our consciences. We might have been, not only Pagans, wandering in all the mazes of polytheism—worshippers of many gods—but barbarians under the influence of savage ferocity. If, then, you value the Bible, love and adore the one living and true God, and are thankful for the living ministry of Jesus Christ, show your gratitude by helping to found colleges, establish academies, and to train up men in the knowledge of letters. There is no alternative. You must either

go back to savage barbarism, or go forward under the light of a sound education. Take your choice, and act accordingly.

It is a serious inquiry, how many the ignorant and covetous have prevented from becoming extensively, eminently, and permanently useful, by their fanaticism and penuriousness? The providence of God has thrown upon our hands a numerous progeny, and has said to us as a Church, *Take those children and nurse them for me.* Shall we, for fear that *much learning will make us mad*, throw those out of our enclosure upon the wide world, and then expect God, in a miraculous way, to take them up and thrust them back upon our hands, whether we will or not? How preposterous is this! If, therefore, you wish your sons to shine in the Church of God, let them receive the polish of an academical education; and then may you look up to God with a pious faith, and expect him to call and send them forth in quest of lost souls. Then may you expect to see them digging in the golden mine of Gospel truth, and spreading before you those rich gems with which it abounds. These shall be the ones who shall be qualified to search out those truths which lie deeply imbedded in that inexhaustable mine. Then shall not your ears be stunned, and your heart wounded by an awkward and affected display of a learning that is false, with a philosophy which "dazzles only to blind," and with an air of importance which is the offspring only of inexcusable ignorance coupled with a disgusting vanity. If the heart be sanctified by grace, and the mind imbued with knowledge, the tongue will speak forth the words of truth and soberness, with an eloquence and pathos which shall enlighten the understanding, at the same time that it moves the affections to "things above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God."

But we cannot better express ourselves upon this branch of the subject, than by adopting the language of the last General Conference. That enlightened body, in their Pastoral Address, have taken the following enlarged view of this subject:—

"The next thing to which we would call your attention, as connected with our prosperity, is the cause of education. We rejoice to witness the growing interest which has been felt and manifested in this branch of our work for a few years past. In the cause of education we include Sabbath and common schools, academies and colleges. Experience and observation, if not, indeed, the common sense of every individual, demonstrate, that unless we provide the means of education for our children and youth, they will be led from us to other communities, where these means are more abundant, and are put within the reach of every one. Should this unhappily be the case, the consequence is inevitable, that the children and the youth of our community will depart from us, and we shall be compelled to mourn over the melancholy fact, that they will have been brought under the influence of doctrines and usages which we honestly believe will be injurious to their present and future happiness. Such, indeed, is the eager desire for intellectual improvement, and the facilities for its attainment in other directions, that unless we furnish means to gratify this laudable desire, our children and youth will avail themselves of those thus offered them from other quarters, and be induced to throw the

weight of their influence into an opposite scale. This consideration admonishes us of our duty in this respect, and in a language which cannot be misunderstood, reminds us of our high obligations to enter more fully and unitedly into this field of labor.

In many places we fear that Sabbath schools are either entirely neglected, or but partially attended to; while in others these nurseries for juveline improvement are suffered to languish for want of that attention to their interests which their importance demands. We would therefore urge upon all concerned, a steady, active, and uniform attention to these appendages to the Gospel ministry. Nor are we less solicitous that all our brethren and friends should be mindful of their duty in selecting such teachers for primary schools as shall secure to their children the double advantage of elementary instruction and religious and moral improvement.

But it is to the higher branches of education, such as are taught in academies and colleges, that we would especially call your attention. Of the former we have under our patronage upward of twenty—of the latter, seven, and two others are in contemplation. Though the academies may be sustained without drawing largely upon the pecuniary resources of our people, and may therefore be safely multiplied to an indefinite extent, yet it is manifest that colleges, in order to answer the end of their institution, must be liberally endowed. And such is the condition of our country in respect to these institutions, that though some of the state legislatures have made small endowments for their support, we must depend chiefly upon our own resources for their continuance and prosperity. Hence, to increase their number without adequate funds in hand or in prospect, for their support, is to weaken their influence, if not ultimately to endanger their existence.

Such, however, is their importance to the interests of our community, so closely are they identified with our character as a Church, and so intimately connected with our other institutions which are deemed essential to our growth, and to that influence which we ought to exert over the public mind, that we cannot but regard it as a sacred duty to nourish and sustain them by all the means at our command. If, indeed, at this crisis of our history, when these literary institutions have just begun to put forth their energies, and to exert their improving influence upon our youth, and upon the Church generally, they should be allowed to languish for want of pecuniary means, the effect would be to throw us back for years in this branch of intellectual and moral culture. This is an event, however, which we cannot allow ourselves to anticipate without very painful emotions, but which can only be prevented by a united and simultaneous action in their favor, by our wealthy and benevolent friends. That there is ability in the Church adequate to sustain a suitable number of these nurseries of learning, and fountains of knowledge, were proper means adopted to call it into active exercise, we cannot doubt; and we, therefore, affectionately exhort all the annual conferences, within whose bounds colleges are established, or who have pledged themselves to aid in their support, to exert themselves in this laudable work, to make haste to redeem their solemn pledges; and we would also invite the attention of all our brethren and friends to a hearty co-operation in whatever

measures may be devised by the conferences to establish these institutions upon safe and permanent foundations, not only by contributing of their substance for their support, but also by patronizing them as extensively as their means will allow, by sending their sons to be educated, as well as by offering their fervent prayers to God for his blessing to rest upon them."

We cannot but indulge the hope that these sentiments, coming as they do from the highest judicatory of the Church, and enforced as they are by all those considerations which a just regard to the welfare of the present and future generations can urge, will have their merited weight upon the minds of all our readers. For what has already been done on this subject, we record our gratitude, and conclude by offering our fervent prayers that God may continue to smile upon our efforts in this cause, and abundantly bless our youthful institutions, and all to whom their interests are confided.

Art. III.—LUTHER AND THE GERMAN TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE.

Martin Luther, as is well known, was an Augustinian monk, a Saxon by birth, and though of poor and obscure parentage, received a good classical education, considering the age of mental darkness in which he lived, and for several years was professor of philosophy and divinity in the university of Wittemberg. He possessed so vigorous an intellect that one of his principal enemies had to acknowledge, "*Friar Martin has a fine genius.*" He was a man of unbending integrity, fearless courage, untiring perseverance, and of considerable genuine piety. The purity of the motives, however, by which he was actuated in originating the Reformation, has been rashly assailed by the elegant historian, Mr. Hume; and by others of less information, of as little candor on such subjects, and of equal opposition to Biblical Christianity.

But this foul blot, of having acted from feelings of resentment, produced by disappointment, in not being permitted to publish indulgences,—which was done in that part of the country by the infamous Tetzel of the Dominican order of monastics,—which infidels and the bigoted adversaries of the Protestant religion have meanly endeavoured to fix upon his Christian character, has been wiped away by the hands of more impartial narrators of the times.

There is a striking similarity, in some points at least, between Luther, the great Saxon reformer, and John Wesley, the eminent English revivalist; and between the first reformation, in which the former was the principal instrument, and the second, in which the latter was so honorably and successfully engaged for more than half a century. They were both *learned* men; one a professor in a German university, the other a diligent student, and some time fellow of Lincoln college, Oxford, in England. One found in the library of his monastery a neglected copy of the Holy Scriptures, and studied it so closely that his monkish companions were astonished at his intense application and his wonderful success in the

acquisition of knowledge; the other, in company with his brother Charles, Mr. Morgan, and Mr. Kirkham, though not confined within the walls of a cloister, spent some evenings each week in reading carefully the Greek Testament, and became so attentive to the means of grace, and to their whole exterior conduct, as to gain in the college, by way of derision, the appellation of "the godly club." They were both violently persecuted by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of their respective countries; but the persecutors of Luther were Catholics, while those of Wesley were generally Protestants. Both translated the Scriptures into the vernacular tongue of their countrymen, and wrote commentaries. By the first a visible change was produced in the aspect of popery; by the second, an entire revolution in the moral condition of the Establishment. The Church of Rome was fast asleep in the midst of her abominations; and the Church of England, beside her immoralities, had lost the spirit and substance of religion, in the letter and shadow. The reformation of Luther has spread and exerted a beneficial influence over almost every country in the world, except Pagan and Mohammedan; and that of Wesley and his faithful followers has stamped some of its prominent features on all the orthodox Protestant Churches in Christendom.

But Luther possessed not the *deep piety*, the clear views of evangelical doctrines, the discriminating, logical mind, the perfect self-government, and the extensive almsgiving spirit of Wesley. He was very well calculated to give a powerful shock, at the first onset, to the hierarchy of Rome; but not properly qualified to follow up that assault in a prudent manner, by devising a better system, watching the openings of Providence and the signs of the times. He came down over the rough surface of popery, as the mountain torrent rushes impetuously over the craggy rocks in its course; with this difference, that he broke down and bore on before him the absurdities of the whole system. But he was not the most suitable person to cut out a *new* channel, deep, wide, and even, for the stream of evangelical truth to flow in; and, indeed, the Christian princes of Germany, favorable to the cause of the reformation, were apprized of this, and therefore selected Philip Melancthon, the calm, pacific, judicious associate of Luther, to draw up the celebrated Augsburg Confession of Faith, for the government of the Churches.

No sooner, however, had Luther himself experienced the blessed tendency of the Holy Scriptures to enlighten the mind, correct erroneous sentiments, and better the heart and conduct, than he formed the praiseworthy design of translating the word of God into the common language, for the general benefit of his brethren, particularly in the lower ranks of life. He began with the seven penitential Psalms, the vi, xxii, xxxviii, li, cii, cxxx, cxliii; and styles the whole book of Psalms "a little Bible," and the summary of the Old Testament. Next in order, appeared the New Testament; then the Pentateuch and the other historical books of the Old; these were followed by the poetical books,—including the entire book of Psalms,—and the four major and twelve minor prophets. This translation was commenced in A. D. 1517, and ended in 1532; consequently he was engaged in it about fifteen years. In revising

this version of the Scriptures, he was assisted by several eminent professors and other learned men, among whom the pious and amiable Melancthon occupied a very conspicuous place.

The circulation of this translation of the Bible among the inhabitants of highly favored Germany, aided the infant cause of Protestantism more efficiently than perhaps all the other efforts of the justly celebrated reformers. Well did the Roman Catholics know this, *and well they know it still!* Hence their unwearied exertions from the very dawn of Luther's day—and, indeed, for centuries before it—to the present hour, to keep the word of Truth, in the *vernacular tongue*, out of the hands of the common people. It is the *sword* of the *Spirit;* it is the *source* of *light;* and "*knowledge* is *power*." But *their* song has been, and they have sung it to the tune of the "dark ages,"—"*Ignorance* is the mother of devotion!" Let *knowledge* be in the *heads* of the *priests*, and gross *darkness* cover the *minds* of the *people;* and *power* will be in the *hands* of the *former*, while the *latter* will crouch submissively to the nod of the *tyrannical lords.*

The Epistle of St. James was at first rejected by Luther, because it appeared to favor the Romish doctrine of justification by works; and to contradict the doctrine of justification by faith alone in the death of Christ, advocated by St. Paul. So was likewise the Revelation of St. John; because it appeared to him incomprehensibly mysterious. But after he had been taught the truth more perfectly, he changed his mind.

Mr. Horne states that Luther's Bible, as it is generally called, became the basis of ten other translations, viz., the Lower Saxon, in 1533; the Pomeranian, in 1588; the Danish, in 1550; the Icelandic, in 1584; the Swedish, in 1541; the Dutch, in 1560; the Finnish, in 1642; the Lettish, in 1688; the Sorabic, in 1728; and the Lithuanian, in 1735;—on each of which he has made some useful observations in his Introduction to the Critical Study of the Holy Scriptures—large edition.

It would require several lengthy articles, rather than a single sheet of the contracted limits of the present, to notice fully the numerous important passages of Scripture, in the Old and New Testaments, of which the German translation differs materially from the English;—a difference, however, that in no considerable degree affects any particular fundamental doctrine, or moral precept of the Bible, unless we except, as to one passage at least, the Divinity of Christ; and, as to several others, the doctrine of predestination. But the last of these is not viewed as one of the essentials of Christianity; for certainly a rigid Calvinist and a rigid Arminian can both enjoy the love of God, and gain heaven, notwithstanding their firm adherence to directly opposite religious creeds. I will therefore select but a few of the many examples I have noticed in reading the German Bible, compared with the English, which will immediately be recognized by those who are familiarly acquainted with the sacred writings.

It is very remarkable that the verb rendered *curse*, and in some places *blaspheme*, in the English, is I believe invariably translated "*bless*," in the German. For instance, 1 Kings, xxi. 13, "Naboth did *blaspheme* God and the king," is rendered by Luther, "Naboth

hat Gott und dem Koenige *gesegnet*," i. e., "has *blessed* God," &c. So likewise Job i, 5, "It may be that my sons have sinned and *cursed* God in their hearts," verse 11, "But put forth thy hand now and touch all that he hath, and he will *curse* thee to thy face;" chap. ii, 5, "Touch his bone and his flesh, and he will *curse* thee to thy face;" and verse 9, "*Curse* God and die;"—are all translated "*bless*," instead of *curse*, in the German.

Without carefully considering the circumstances of the case in each of these places, and the evident connection they have with a very explanatory context, one might be led to the immediate conclusion that *blaspheme* and *curse*, in the above quoted passages, are doubtless correct; and *bless*, therefore, entirely improper; but it is nevertheless admitted, by the best commentators and Biblical critics, that the latter word is in strict accordance with the original, and that, consequently, the German is right, and the English wrong.

On the first of these passages, 1 Kings xxi, 13, or rather on the tenth verse, Dr. A. Clarke remarks in a note on the place, "The words literally are:—Naboth hath *blessed* God and the king; or, as Parkhurst contends, 'Thou hast blessed the false gods and Molech.' And though Jezebel was herself an abominable idolatress, yet, as the law of Moses still continued in force, she seems to have been wicked enough to have destroyed Naboth, upon the false accusation of blessing the heathen Aleim and Molech, which subjected him to death, by Deut. xii, 6; xviii, 2–7." It seems very reasonable, however, to suppose that Naboth was accused of having *blasphemed God* his *Maker*, by which he forfeited his *life*, and of having *cursed* the *king*, which was viewed in the light of *treason*, and through which his *property* was *confiscated* to the *government*; and it was his *vineyard* Ahab desired to possess.

Job i, 5, is rendered by Dr. J. M. Good, in his valuable commentary on this book, "Peradventure my sons may have sinned *nor* blessed God in their hearts." And by Dr. Clarke, "It may be that my children have blessed the *gods* in their hearts;" in imitation of their idolatrous neighbors.

In the German, chaps. i, 11, and ii, 5, are both, in part, proposed as questions. "Was gilts, er wird dich ins angesicht segnen?" What avails it? he will bless thee to the face. Dr. Clarke has it, "If he will not bless thee to thy appearances." That is, if thou continuest the hedge about him, and about his house, and about all that he hath on every side, and refusest to touch his bone and his flesh, he will be perfect, and fear thee, and eschew evil still; but let him be placed in adverse circumstances, and he will bless thee only according to the dispensations of thy providence. But this was not the fact, for Job blessed God for *taking away* as well as for *giving*.

It is thought that the language of Job's infidel wife, in chap. ii, 9, "Dost thou still retain thine integrity? curse"—properly bless, "God and die!" is strongly ironical. As if she had said, "Dost thou still serve and bless God, when he has taken away thy sons, and thy daughters, and all thy worldly substance, and has smitten thee with sore boils from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot?—Then *bless on* and *die!*

Daniel iii, 25. Nebuchadnezzar, speaking of the four men in the fiery furnace, says, "The form of the fourth is like the Son of God."

The German of this is, "Der vierte ist gleich, als waese er sin sohn der goetter." The literal English of which is, "The fourth is like, as though he were a son of the gods." Of the English as above quoted, Dr. Clarke observes, "A most improper translation. What notions could this idolatrous king have of the Lord Jesus Christ? for so the place is understood by thousands." He says the term "signifies *a son of the gods;* that is, a *divine person* or *angel:* and so the king calls him in verse 28—*God hath sent his angel and delivered his servants.* And though even from this, some still contend that it was the angel of the covenant, yet the Babylonish king knew just as much of the one as he did of the other." The doctor's view of the sonship of Christ might have assisted in drawing out this note; but it is evidently very just, and a sufficient comment on the text.

Matthew xx, 23, "But to sit on my right hand and on my left, is not mine to give, but *it shall be given to them* for whom it was prepared of my Father." This text is thought by some to favor the doctrine of Christ's inferiority and subordination to the Father, or to oppose his essential divinity; and to support the doctrine of election, connected with the final unconditional perseverance of the saints. The German, and every orthodox commentator I have yet seen, omits the words in italics, *it shall be given*, introduced or interpolated by one translator to make up the supposed sense of the speaker; and the passage can be interpreted consistently with the analogy of faith, and the whole tenor of the Bible, only by reading it as in the German. "Is not mine to give but to them for whom it is prepared of my Father." It surely belongs to Christ, as the Redeemer and Judge of men, to dispense to them hereafter rewards and punishments, according to the moral character of their actions.

The punctuation of the Scripture is of merely human authority; and in many places a slightly different pointing gives an entirely different meaning to the passage. Let one example suffice for illustration.

John xiv, 2. "In my Father's house are many mansions: if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you." Luther placed a *comma* instead of a *period* after the word "you," in the first sentence; and read it in connection with the third verse, thus:—"In my Father's house are many dwelling places; if it were not so, I would have said unto you, I go to *prepare* a city for you. And were I even to go to prepare a city for you, I would come again, and receive you unto myself; that where I am ye might be also." This is, no doubt, what the Saviour *intended* should be understood by his words; for heaven has been prepared for the rightous "from the foundations of the world,"—or, from eternity in the purpose of God. This example may teach us that as the punctuation of the Bible, as well as the division of it into chapters and verses, the summaries of the chapters, and the subscriptions at the close of the several epistles in the New Testament, is not of divine authenticity, it should influence us in our interpretations of Scripture so far only as it agrees with the context, with real or verbal parallel passages, supports the character of an infinitely perfect Being, and conduces to the glory of God, in

accomplishing or favoring the great object originally proposed—the salvation of man.

But I must close, as I have extended my observations beyond what I originally intended already. The importance of the subject is my only apology. I. H. Y.

Hollidaysburg, Pa., January 14.

MRS. SIGOURNEY'S LETTERS.

Letters to Young Ladies. By Mrs. L. H. Sigourney.—Fourth Edition. New-York. Harper & Brothers, 1837. Pp. 259.

That female education is a subject of primary importance, is no longer to be denied. Its due estimate forms one of the noblest characteristics of the era in which we live. Since the time when woman was seen "last at the cross, and earliest at the grave," no age has gone by in which her rank in the scale of being has been so duly appreciated. It is woman's own effort that has effected this change. The writings of Hannah More, Felicia Hemans, and other female authors of whom Europe boasts, have not only rescued their sex from the imputation of mental inferiority, but have shed a glorious lustre on the intellectual character of our common race. To this illustrious list, America may justly add the name of Lydia H. Sigourney.

The poetry of Mrs. Sigourney has long been familiar to the reading public. It has been generally and justly admired in her own country; and its praise has been echoed back from Europe. It displays great brilliancy of fancy, and sweetness of versification. But it is its moral beauty that constitutes its most striking charm. In purity of thought, in tenderness of sentiment, in devotional pathos—the melodious strains of our fair countrywoman have seldom been surpassed by any efforts of the uninspired muse.

But it is in the department of prose, that we now present this accomplished writer to our readers. The third edition of her "Letters to Young Ladies," in which the author so greatly extended and improved her original plan as to make it, in fact, a new work, was published in this city, toward the close of December last. We understand that the demand for the work was so great, that the edition, though a large one, was all sold in the course of a few weeks. The fourth edition is now published.

We mention the avidity with which this work, in its present extended and matured form, has been sought after, as a circumstance creditable to the literary taste of the age. It deals in no fiction; it recounts no romantic adventures. Its appeals are plain and practical. It treats woman, not as the gay insect of a day,

but as a rational, accountable, immortal being. It seeks not merely to gratify her fancy, but also to give expansion to her understanding, and sensibility to her conscience. It aims to make her useful and happy here, and to prepare her, by an increase of knowledge and piety, for the companionship of angels hereafter.

The volume before us treats of the acquisition of knowledge, industry, domestic employments, health and dress, manners and accomplishments, and the culture of the moral, social, and religious duties. Beside a preface, and an appeal to the guardians of female education, it contains sixteen letters addressed to young ladies, the object of which is to elevate the literary, moral, and religious character of the sex.

The author presses upon the youth of her sex the importance of knowledge. But it is not only the culture of the intellect that she urges. *The education of the heart* is her favorite theme. From that garden, whence come the issues of life, she seeks to root out every weed, and in it to plant and cherish every lovely flower. She presents religion decked in its own heavenly rainbow; and urges its acceptance in accents so gentle, so bland, so full of the milk of human kindness and Christian love, that we would fondly hope she could not plead in vain with the tender youth of her sex.

The style of the author is marked with the same sweetness of diction that distinguishes her verse. It is simple, precise, and yet glowing with poetic fervor. The work everywhere abounds with historical and classic allusions, evincing that the memory of the author is "rich with the spoils of time." But we proceed to sustain our remarks by extracts from the work.

In her preliminary address to the guardians of female education, the author shows the influence of woman on society, especially under a republican government; and hence she infers the paramount importance of her intellectual and moral culture. The address throughout is very eloquent. We select a large portion of it in the following copious extract.

"Is it not important that the sex to whom nature has intrusted the moulding of the whole mass of mind in its first formation, should be acquainted with the structure and developements of mind?—that they who are to nurture the future rulers of a prosperous people should be able to demonstrate from the broad annal of history the value of just laws, and the duty of subordination—the blessings which they inherit, and the danger of their abuse? Is it not requisite that they on whose bosom the infant heart must be cherished should be vigilant to watch its earliest pulsations of good or evil?—that they who are commissioned to light the lamp of the soul should know how to feed it with pure oil?—that they in whose hand is the welfare of beings never to die, should be fitted to perform the work, and earn the plaudit of Heaven!

"That the vocation of females is to teach, has been laid down as a position which it is impossible to controvert. In seminaries, academies, and schools, they possess peculiar facilities for coming in contact with the un-

folding and unformed mind. It is true, that only a small proportion are engaged in the departments of public and systematic instruction. Yet the hearing of recitations, and the routine of scholastic discipline, are but parts of education. It is in the domestic sphere, in her own native province, that woman is inevitably a teacher. There she modifies by her example, her dependents, her companions, every dweller under her own roof! Is not the infant in its cradle her pupil? Does not her smile give the earliest lesson to its soul? Is not her prayer the first messenger for it in the court of heaven? Does she not enshrine her own image in the sanctuary of the young child's mind so firmly that no revulsion can displace, no idolatry supplant it? Does she not guide the daughter until, placing her hand in that of her husband, she reaches that pedestal, from whence, in her turn, she imparts to others the stamp and coloring which she has herself received? Might she not even upon her sons engrave what they shall take unchanged through all the temptations of time to the bar of the last judgment? Does not the influence of woman rest upon every member of her household, like the dew upon the tender herb, or the sunbeam silently educating the young flower; or as the shower, and the sleepless stream, cheer and invigorate the proudest tree of the forest?

"Admitting, then, that whether she wills it or not, whether she even knows it or not, she is still a teacher—and perceiving that the mind in its most plastic state is yielded to her tutelage, it becomes a most momentous inquiry what she shall be qualified to teach. Will she not of necessity impart what she most prizes, and best understands? Has she not power to impress her own lineaments on the next generation? If wisdom and utility have been the objects of her choice, society will surely reap the benefit. If folly and self-indulgence are her prevailing characteristics, posterity are in danger of inheriting the likeness.

"This influence is most visible and operative in a republic. The intelligence and virtue of its every citizen have a heightened relative value.—Its safety may be interwoven with the destiny of those whose birthplace is in obscurity. The springs of its vitality are liable to be touched, or the chords of its harmony to be troubled, by the rudest hands.

"Teachers under such a form of government should be held in the highest honor. They are the allies of legislators. They have agency in the prevention of crime. They aid in regulating the atmosphere whose incessant action and pressure cause the life blood to circulate, and return pure and healthful to the heart of the nation.

"Of what unspeakable importance, then, is *her* education who gives lessons before any other instructer—who preoccupies the unwritten page of being—who produces impressions which only death can obliterate—and mingles with the cradle dream what shall be read in eternity? Well may statesmen and philosophers debate how *she* may be best educated who is to educate all mankind.

"The ancient republics overlooked the value of that sex whose strength is in the heart. Greece, so susceptible to the principle of beauty, so skilled in wielding all the elements of grace, failed in appreciating their excellence whom these had most exquisitely adorned. If, in the brief season of youthful charm, she was constrained to admire woman as the acanthus leaf of her own Corinthian capital, she did not discover that, like that very column, she was capable of adding stability to the proud temple of freedom. She would not be convinced that so feeble a hand might have aided to consolidate the fabric which philosophy embellished and luxury overthrew.

"Rome, notwithstanding her primeval rudeness, seems more correctly than polished Greece to have estimated the 'weaker vessel.' Here and there, upon the storm-driven billows of her history, some solitary form towers upward in majesty, and the mother of the Gracchi still stands forth in strong relief, amid imagery over which time has no power. But still, wherever the brute force of the warrior is counted godlike, woman

is appreciated only as she approximates to sterner natures: as in that mysterious image which troubled the sleep of Assyria's king—the foot of clay derived consistence from the iron which held it in combination.

"In our own republic man, invested by his Maker with the right to reign, has conceded to her who was for ages in vassalage equality of intercourse, participation in knowledge, dominion over his dearest and fondest hopes. He is content to 'bear the burden and heat of the day,' that she may dwell in ease and affluence. Yet, from the very felicity of her lot, dangers are generated. She is tempted to be satisfied with superficial attainments, or to indulge in that indolence which corrodes intellect, and merges the high sense of responsibility in its alluring and fatal slumbers.

"These tendencies should be naturalized by a thorough and laborious education. Sloth and luxury must have no place in her vocabulary. Her youth should be surrounded by every motive to application, and her maturity dignified by the hallowed office of rearing the immortal mind. While her partner toils for his stormy portion of that power or glory from which it is her privilege to be sheltered, let her feel that in the recesses of domestic privacy, she still renders a noble service to the government that protects her, by sowing seeds of purity and peace in the hearts of those who shall hereafter claim its honors, or control its destinies.

"Her place is, amid the quiet shades, to watch the little fountain ere it has breathed a murmur. But the fountain will break forth into a rill, and the swollen rivulet rush toward the sea;—and who can be so well able to guide them in right channels as she who heard their first ripple, and saw them emerge like timid strangers from their source, and had kingly power over those infant waters in the name of Him who caused them to flow."

The whole letter on religion is in the author's happiest manner. It seems to come from the heart, and reaches the heart. Take, for instance, the following impressive extract, designed to show how fondly the soul of the believer may cling to the image of its Redeemer when age and infirmity have palsied the physical powers, or even blotted out every earthly recollection.

"I knew a man, distinguished alike by native talent and classical acquisition. In his boyhood, he loved knowledge and the teachers of knowledge. He selected that profession which taxes intellect with the most severity, and became eminent both in the theory and practice of jurisprudence. While manhood, and the hopes of ambition, and the joys of affection were fresh about him, disease attacked him by its fearful ministers of paralysis and blindness. So he lived for years, without the power of motion or the blessing of sight. Among those whom he had served, counselled, and commanded, he was but a broken vessel. Yet light shone inwardly without a cloud. A science which in youth he had cultivated, continued its active operations, though the 'eye was dim, and the natural force abated.' Communicating power of endurance, and opening sources of profitable contemplation—it brought a cheerful smile to the brow of that sufferer, who, sightless and motionless on his bed, was counted by the unreflecting but as a wreck of humanity. And this science was religion.

"There was a man who had won eminence in the ranks of fame, and whom his country delighted to honor. Ennobled, both by erudition and integrity, he had walked on the high places of the earth, 'without spot, and blameless.' I saw him when almost a hundred winters had passed over him. Like the aged Gileadite, he was able no longer to hear the

'voice of singing men, or of singing women.' The beautiful residence which his own taste had ornamented spread its charms to an unconscious owner.. The rose and the vine flower breathed their fragrance for others, and the flocks in his green pastures, once his delight, roamed unheeded.

"I bore him a message of love from a friend of early days who had stood with him among statesmen when the nation was in jeopardy, and when mutual danger draws more closely the bonds of affection. But the links of friendship, once interwoven with the essence of his being, were sundered. Between the recollections that I fain would have restored, and the speech that clothed them, there was a 'great gulf fixed.' Both the name and image of the cherished companion had fled for ever.

"A vase of massy silver was brought forth, on which his country had caused to be sculptured the record of his services, and of her gratitude. He gazed vacantly upon it. No chord of association vibrated. The love of honorable distinction, so long burning like a perpetual incense flame on the altar of a great mind, had forsaken its temple. I felt a tear start at the humbling thought that of all he had gotten, nothing remained. At parting, something was mentioned of the Deity, the beneficent Father of us all. Those lips, hitherto so immovable, trembled. The cold, blue eye sparkled as through frost. The thin, bloodless hand clasped mine, as he uttered with a startling energy:—

> 'When by the whelming tempest borne,
> High o'er the broken wave,
> I knew thou wert not slow to hear,
> Nor impotent to save.'

"And as I slowly passed down the avenue from that patriarchal mansion, I heard his voice lifted in prayer, and learned that its spirit might survive —even when the endowments of a mighty intellect, and the precious consciousness of a pure renown, were alike effaced from the tablet of remembrance.

"Among those who serve at God's altar was one who had faithfully discharged, through a long life, the holy duties of his vocation. He lingered after his cotemporaries had gone to rest. By the fireside of his only son he sat in peaceful dignity, and the children of another generation loved his silver locks. In that quiet recess, memory was lulled to sleep. The names of even familiar things and the images held most indelible faded as a dream. Still he lived on—cheered by that reverence which is due to the 'hoary head, when found in the way of righteousness.' At length, his vigor failed. The staff could no longer support his tottering steps, and nature tended to her last repose.

"It was attempted by the repetition of his own name, to awaken the torpor of memory. But he replied, '*I know not the man.*' Mention was made of his only son, the idol of his early years, whose filial gratitude had taken every form and office of affection: '*I have no son.*' The tender epithet by which he had designated his favorite grandchild was repeated: '*I have no little darling.*' Among the group of friends who surrounded his bed, there was one who spoke of the Redeemer of man. The aged suddenly raised himself upon his pillow. His eye kindled as when from the pulpit, in the vigor of his days, he had addressed an audience whom he loved. '*I remember that Saviour. Yes—I do remember the Lord Jesus Christ.*'"

The author urges home on her fair young readers the importance of religion, with all the fervor of a mother, and all the gentleness of an elder sister. The following eloquent passage ought not to fail of doing good:—

"And now, cherished and lovely beings, just commencing to ascend the hill of life, looking around you, like timid and beautiful strangers, for the

greenest paths, or the most approved guides on your devious pilgrimage, if there was a science capable of unbounded happiness, and of continuing that happiness when age disqualifies the mind for other researches—a science which surmounts that grave where all earthly glory lays down its laurel, and fixes a firm grasp on heaven when earth recedes, how must she be pitied who neglects its acquisition? And there is such a science. And there is peril in disregarding it. Truly impressive were the words of Queen Elizabeth's secretary of state to the bishops who surrounded his deathbed: 'Ah! how great a pity, that we men should not feel for what end we are born into this world till we are just on the point of quitting it.'

"If there were a book that astonished both by its wisdom and its antiquity—that delighted alike by history, oratory, and poetry—in theory and illustration equally simple and sublime, yielding to the comprehension of the unlearned, yet revealing to the critic the finger of Deity—a book which the wise have pronounced superior to all beside, and the learned retain for daily study when all others were dismissed—how anxious should we be to obtain it, how impatient to be made acquainted with its contents. And there is such a book. And for want of the knowledge of it, how many regions of the earth are but the 'habitations of cruelty.' 'More wisdom, comfort, and pleasure, are to be found in retiring and turning your heart from the world, and reading, with the good Spirit of God, his sacred word, than in all the courts and all the favors of princes,' said one who had enjoyed the pomp and distinction of a court.

"If there were a day, when it was lawful to turn from all labor, vanity, and care—to take home to the heart only those images which make it better—and to associate in spirit not only with the good of all ages, but with cherubim and seraphim around the throne—should we not hail its approach amid the weariness of life? And there *is* such a day. The pious greet it as a foretaste of heaven's rest. The wise have pronounced its influence propitious, even upon their temporal concerns. 'I have found,' says Sir Matthew Hale, 'by strict and diligent observation, that a due observance of the duties of the Sabbath hath ever brought with it a blessing on the rest of my time, and the week so begun hath been prosperous unto me.'

"If there was a friend whose sympathies never slumbered, whose judgment never erred, whose power had no limit—a friend acquainted with all our wants, and able to supply them—with our secret sorrows, and ready to relieve them—should we not be urgent to seek his presence, and grateful to express our desires? And there *is* such a friend—such a mode of access. 'Eighty and six years, have I served him,' said the venerable Polycarp, 'and he hath never done me aught but good.' 'All things forsake me except my God, my duty, and my prayers,' said the noble statesman whose long life comprehended the reign of five sovereigns of England, and whose career had been dignified by the honors which are coveted among men."

The excellence of that knowledge which cometh down from above, compared with all earthly acquisitions, is impressively urged in the passage which follows:—

"We cannot but feel that we are beings of a twofold nature—that our journey to the tomb is short, and the existence beyond it immortal. Is there any attainment that we may reserve when we lay down the body? We know that, of the gold which perishes, we may take none with us, when dust returneth to dust. Of the treasures which the mind accumulates, may we carry aught with us to that bourne whence no traveller returns?

"We may have been delighted with the studies of nature, and penetrated

into those caverns where she perfects her chymistry in secret. Composing and decomposing—changing matter into nameless forms—pursuing the subtlest essences through the air, and resolving even that air into its original elements—what will be the gain when we pass from material to immaterial, and this great museum and laboratory, the time-worn earth, shall dissolve in its own central fires!

"We may have become adepts in the physiology of man—scanning the mechanism of the eye till light itself unfolded its invisible laws—of the ear, till its most hidden reticulations confessed their mysterious agency with sound—of the heart, till that citadel of life revealed its hermit policy: but will these researches be available in a state of being which 'eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived?'

"Will he who fathoms the waters and computes their pressure and power, have need of this skill 'where there is no more sea?' Will the mathematician exercise the lore by which he measured the heavens—or the astronomer, the science which discovered the stars, when called to go beyond their light.

"Those who have penetrated most deeply into the intellectual structure of man, lifted the curtain from the birthplace of thought, traced the springs of action to their fountain, and thrown the veiled and shrinking motive into the crucible, perceive the object of their study taking a new form, entering disembodied an unknown state of existence, and receiving powers adapted to its laws and modes of intercourse.

"We have no proof that the sciences, to which years of labor have been devoted, will survive the tomb. But the impressions they have made—the dispositions they have nurtured—the good or evil they have helped to stamp upon the soul—will go with it into eternity. The adoring awe, the deep humility inspired by the study of the planets and their laws, the love of truth which he cherishes who pursued the science that demonstrates it, will find a response among angels and archangels. The praise that was learned amid the melodies of nature, or from the lyre of consecrated genius, may pour its perfected tones from a seraph's harp. The goodness taught in the whole frame of creation—by the flower lifting its honey cup to the insect, and the leaf drawing its green curtain around the nursing chamber of the smallest bird; by the pure stream refreshing both the grass and the flocks that feed on it, the tree, and the master of its fruits; the tender charity sought from the happiness of the humblest creatures—will be at home in His presence who hath pronounced himself the 'God of love.'"

The value of learning, especially to the young, is well enforced in the following passage:—

"Considering knowledge, therefore, as an inalienable possession which scorns to be exchanged for 'jewels of fine gold', let us trace its effects upon the intellect that acquires it. We perceive that it imparts strength and dignity, that, while it enriches the casket, it enlarges its capacity. It gives ability to weigh, to compare, to decide; and a mind accustomed to such labors expands and consolidates its powers as a frame inured to healthful exercise becomes vigorous and elastic. In cases of doubt or difficulty, collecting the concentrated experience of past ages, it comes forth to act as a counsellor. To use the words of a most competent judge, 'those who are illuminated by learning, do find it whispering evermore in their ears when other counsellors stand mute and silent.'

"This argument peculiarly recommends it to the attention of the young. A time must come when the voice of the parent guide will be silent in the grave; when the pupil must pass from under the shelter of tutelage to the toils and responsibilities of life. Then it will often be necessary to decide without advice, and to act without precedent. Judgment laying aside her leading strings, must dare the steep and slippery ascent, biding

both the buffet and the blast. Then, the stores of a well balanced, well furnished mind will be put in requisition, and the mistakes of ignorance and vanity be happily avoided.

"Knowledge opens sources of delightful contemplation for domestic retirement. This renders it a peculiar protection to the young. In their fondness for promiscuous society, they are often in danger of forming indiscreet associations, or rash attachments. Knowledge makes home pleasant, and self-communion no solitude."

In her letter on industry, the author presses that duty as one, without which distinction and usefulness can never be achieved. She borrows arguments from the physical and animal world. By showing that God has stamped the principle of activity on all that he has made, she infers that it is a crime for man, the lord of this lower creation, to sink into a state of sloth. She says:—

"The little rill hastens onward to the broader stream, cheering the flowers on its margin, and singing to the pebbles in their bed. The river rushes to the sea, dispensing on a broader scale fertility and beauty. Ocean, receiving his thousand tribute streams, and swelling his ceaseless thunder hymn, bears to their desired haven those white-winged messengers which promote the comfort and wealth of man, and act as envoys between remote climes. In the secret bosom of the earth, the little heart of the committed seed quickens, circulation commences, the slender radicals expand, the new-born plant lifts a timid eye to the sunbeam—the blossom diffuses odour—the grain whitens for the reaper—the tree perfects its fruit. Nature is never idle.

"Lessons of industry come also from insect teachers, from the winged chymist in the bell of the hyacinth, and the political economist bearing the kernel of corn to its subterranean magazine. The blind pinæ spins in the ocean, and the silk worm in its leaf-carpeted chamber, and the spider, 'taking hold with its hands, is in king's palaces.' The bird gathers food for itself, and for its helpless claimants with songs of love, or spreading a migratory wing, hangs its slight architecture on the palm branch of Africa, the wind-swept and scanty foliage of the Orcades, or the slender, sky-piercing minaret of the Moslem. The domestic animals fill their different spheres, according to the grades of intelligence allotted them. Man, whose endowments are so noble, ought not surely to be surpassed in faithfulness by the inferior creation."

The author enters into the details of domestic industry, and seeks to make the youth of her sex practical and useful. She says:—

"Needlework, in all its forms of use, elegance, and ornament, has ever been the appropriate occupation of woman. From the shades of Eden, when its humble process was but to unite the fig leaf, to the days when the mother of Sisera looked from her window, in expectation of a 'prey of divers colours of needlework on both sides meet for the necks of those that take the spoil,' down to modern times, when Nature's pencil is rivalled by the most exquisite tissues of embroidery, it has been both their duty and their resource. While the more delicate efforts of the needle rank high among accomplishments, its necessary departments are not beneath the notice of the most refined young lady. To keep her own wardrobe perfectly in order, to pay just regard to economy, and to add to the comfort of the poor, it will be necessary to obtain a knowledge of those inventions by which the various articles of apparel are repaired, modified, and renovated. True satisfaction and cheerfulness of spirits are connected with these quiet and congenial pursuits."

The author commends the culture of flowers, and the study of the properties of plants, as being a pleasing and useful recreation She says:—

"The tending of flowers has ever appeared to me a fitting care for the young and beautiful. They then dwell, as it were, among their own emblems, and many a voice of wisdom breathes on their ear from those brief blossoms, to which they apportion the dew and the sunbeam. While they eradicate the weeds that deform, or the excrescences that endanger them, is there not a perpetual monition uttered of the work to be done in their own heart? From the admiration of these ever varying charms, how naturally is the tender spirit led upward in devotion to Him 'whose hand perfumes them, and whose pencil paints.' Connected with the nurture of flowers, is the delightful study of botany, which imparts new attractions to the summer sylvan walk, and prompts both to salubrious exercise and scientific research. A knowledge of the physiology of plants is not only interesting in itself, but of practical import. The brilliant coloring matter which they sometimes yield, and the healthful influences which they possess, impart value to many an unsightly shrub, or secluded plant, which might otherwise have been suffered to blossom and to die without a thought.

"It is cheering amid our solitary rambles to view, as friends, the fair objects that surround us, to call to recollection their distinctive lineaments of character, to array them with something of intelligence or utility, and to enjoy an intimate companionship with nature. The female aborigines of our country were distinguished by an extensive acquaintance with the medicinal properties of plants and roots, which enabled them, both in peace and war, to be the healers of their tribes. I would not counsel you to invade the province of the physician. In our state of society, it would be preposterous and arrogant. But sometimes, to alleviate the slight indispositions of those you love, by a simple infusion of the herbs which you have reared or gathered, is a legitimate branch of that nursing kindness which seems interwoven with woman's nature."

The following is the author's picture of a New-England farmer and his happy family. It is a sweet and touching sketch from rural life:—

"The farmer, rising with the dawn, attends to those employments which are necessary for the comfort of the family, and proceeds early with his sons or assistants to their department of daily labor. The birds enliven them with their song, and the lambs gambol while the patient ox marks the deep furrow, or the grain is committed to the earth, or the tall grass humbled beneath the scythe, or the stately corn freed from the intrusion of weeds. Fitting tasks are proportioned to the youngest ones, that no hand may be idle.

"In the interior of the house an equal diligence prevails. The eldest daughters take willing part with the mother in every domestic toil. No servant is there to create suspicious feelings or a divided interest. No key grates in the lock, for all are as brethren. The children who are too small to be useful proceed to school, kindly leading the little one who can scarcely walk. Perhaps the aged grandmother, a welcome and honoured inmate, amuses the ruddy infant, that she may release a stronger hand for toil.

"The sound of the wheel, and the vigorous strokes of the loom, are heard. The fleece of the sheep is wrought up amid the cheerful song of sisters. Remembering that the fabrics which they produce will guard those whom they love from the blast of winter, the bloom deepens on their cheek with the pleasing consciousness of useful industry.

"In the simple and abundant supply of a table from their own resources,

which shall refresh those who return weary from the field, all are interested. The boy, who brings his mother the fresh vegetables, selects a salad which his own hand cultivated, with some portion of the pride with which Diocletian pointed to the cabbages which he had reared. The daughter, who gathers treasures from the nests of the poultry that she feeds, delights to tell their history, and to number her young ducks as they swim forth boldly on the pond. The bees, whose hives range near the door, add a dessert to their repast, and the cows, feeding quietly in rich pastures, yield pure nutriment for the little ones. For their bread, they have 'sown, and reaped, and gathered into barns;' the flesh is from their own flocks—the fruit and nuts from their own trees. The children know where the first berries ripen, and where the chestnut will open its thorny sheath in the forest. The happy farmer, at his independent table, need not envy the luxury of kings."

The sisterly relationship is one of the most interesting that woman sustains. We have no spectacle on earth more lovely than that of a harmonious group of sisters, especially when the bond of nature is cemented by that of grace. This tender relationship is well portrayed in the succeeding brief extract:—

"That class of duties which rest on the basis of the nearest affinities, it would seem, might easily be performed. Nature, in pouring the blood from the same fountain, gives bond for their faithful discharge. Those who were nurtured on the same breast, and rocked in the same cradle, who, side by side, took their first tottering steps, who together shared paternal tenderness, admonition, and prayer, ought to form a bond of the firmest and fondest alliance. Clustered like pearls upon the same thread, each should live in the reflected light and beauty of the other. Twined and woven together, in the very elements of their existence, the cordage should resist every shock save the stroke of the spoiler. Encompassed and girded by the holiest sympathies, whatever may be the pressure or the enmity of the world, they should stand as the Macedonian phalanx, or still more impenetrable, as that Christian brotherhood which is to be unbroken and perfected in heaven."

The character of an elder sister, educated and pious, seeking to make her father's house the image and the gate of heaven, is drawn by our author in true and vivid colors:—

"Most of our incitements to sisterly effort will apply with peculiar force to the *oldest daughter* of the family. The right of primogeniture, though not aknowledged under our form of government, still exists under certain limitations in almost every household. It does not, indeed, as in some other countries, transmit a double portion of the paternal inheritance, or a sounding title, or a royal prerogative; since with us there are neither entailed estates, nor orders of nobility, nor monarchial succession. But Nature herself, gives pre-eminence to the first-born, who promotes the parent, at once, to the climax of enjoyment and of duty, and wakes those springs of unutterable affection which nothing but the ice of death can seal. The voice which first told the young man he was a father, will never be forgotten—though that voice was but the wail of the feeblest infant. The little hand whose touch first kindled in a mother's heart an emotion not to be defined by language, an aspiration of ecstacy never before breathed or imagined, will be leaned on in adversity or widowhood with peculiar trust—and the balm cup which it offers will be taken with complacency even to hoary hairs. There will often be found lingering in the parental bosom some mixture of that partial tenderness with which a dying patriarch styled his first-born, notwithstanding his prominent faults, the 'excellence of dignity, and the excellence of power.'

"Admitting, therefore, that priority of birth implies some degree of precedence, not in power or wealth, but in influence over the affections of the domestic circle, it should be the earnest inquiry of all thus situated how they may accomplish the greatest amount of good. The station of the eldest sister has always appeared to me so peculiarly important, that the privileges which it involves assume almost a sacred character. The natural adjunct and ally of the mother, she comes forth among the younger children, both as a monitress, and an example. She readily wins their confidence, from a conviction that, more freshly than even the parent, she is 'touched with the feeling of their infirmities.' She will sometimes be empowered to act as an ambassador to the higher powers, while the indulgence that she obtains, or the penalty that she mitigates, go down into the vale of years, among sweet and cherished remembrances. In proportion to her interest in their affections, will be her power to improve their characters, and to allure them by the bright example of her own more finished excellence. Her influence upon brothers is often eminently happy. Of a young man, who evinced high moral principle with rich and refined sensibilities, unusually developed, it was once said by an admiring stranger, 'I will venture to predict that he had a *good sister, and that she was older than himself.*'

"It has been my lot to know more than one elder sister, of surpassing excellence. I have seen them assuming the office of teacher, and faithfully imparting to those whose understandings were but feebly enlightened, the advantages of their own more complete education. I have seen them softening and modifying the character of brothers, breathing, until it melted, upon obduracy which no authority could subdue.

"I have seen one, in the early bloom of youth, and amid the temptations of affluence, so aiding, cheering, and influencing a large circle of brothers and sisters, that the lisping student came to her to be helped in its lesson—and the wild one from its sports, brought the torn garment trustingly to her needle—and the erring one sought her advice or mediation—and the delighted infant stretched its arms to hear her bird-like song—and the cheek of the mother, leaning on so sweet a substitute, forgot to fade.

"I knew another, on whose bosom the head of a sick brother rested, whose nursing kindness failed not night or day, from whom the most bitter medicine was submissively taken, and who, grasping the thin cold hand in hers when death came, saw the last glance of the sufferer's gratitude divided between her and the mother who bare him.

"I have seen another, when the last remaining parent was taken to God, come forth in her place, the guide and comforter of the orphans. She believed that, to her who was now in heaven, the most acceptable mourning would be to follow her injunctions, and to fulfil her unfinished designs. Her motto was the poet's maxim:—

'He mourns the dead, who lives as they desire.'

As if the glance of that pure, ascended spirit was constantly upon her, she entered into her unfinished labours. To the poor, she was the same messenger of mercy, she bore the same crosses with a meek and patient mind. But especially to her younger sisters and brothers, she poured out, as it were, the very essence of her being. She cheered their sorrows, she shared and exalted their pleasures, she studied their traits of character, that she might adapt the best methods both to their infirmities and virtues. To the germ of every good disposition, she was a faithful florist—to their waywardness, she opposed a mild firmness until she prevailed.

"She laid the infant sister on her own pillow, she bore it in her arms, and rejoiced in its growth and health and beauty. And when it hastened on its tottering feet to her as to a mother, for it had known no other, the smile on that young brow, and the tear that chastened it, were more radiant than any semblance of joy which glitters in the halls of fashion.

The little ones grew up around her and blessed her, and God gave her the reward of her labors in their affection and goodness. Thus she walked day by day, with her eye to her sainted mother, and her heart upheld by the happiness which she diffused—and as I looked upon her, I thought that she was but a 'little lower than the angels.'"

The faculty of memory is one of the most interesting parts in the machinery of mind. The following remarks of the author relative to the means of improving that faculty, are very judicious:—

"I am inclined to think memory capable of indefinite improvement, by a judicious and persevering regimen. Read, therefore, what you desire to remember, with concentrated and undivided attention. Close the book, and reflect. Undigested food throws the whole frame into a ferment. Were we as well acquainted with our intellectual, as with our physical structure, we should see undigested knowledge producing equal disorder in the mind.

"To strengthen the memory, the best course is not to commit page after page verbatim, but to give the substance of the author, correctly and clearly, in your own language. Thus the understanding and memory are exercised at the same time, and the prosperity of the mind is not so much advanced by the undue prominence of any *one faculty*, as by the true balance and vigorous action of *all*. Memory and understanding are also fast friends, and the light which one gains will be reflected upon the other.

"Use judgment in selecting from the mass of what you read, the parts which it will be useful or desirable to remember. Separate and arrange them, and give them in charge to memory. Tell her it is her duty to keep them, and bring them forth when you require. She has the capacities of a faithful servant, and possibly the dispositions of an idle one. But you have the power of enforcing obedience, and of overcoming her infirmities. At the close of each day, let her come before you, as Ruth came to Naomi, and 'beat out that which she has gleaned.' Let her winnow, repeatedly, what she has brought from the field, and 'gather the wheat into the garner,' ere she goes to repose."

The author's recommendation of books as friends, is touching, and even eloquent. She says:—

"And now, dear young ladies, let me release you from this long dissertation upon books, after I have commended them to your intimacy as *friends*, safe, accessible, instructive, never encroaching, and never offended at the neglect of any point of etiquette. Can this be said of all your associates?

"When intercourse with the living becomes irksome, or insipid, summon to your side the departed spirits of the mighty dead. Would you think it an honor to be introduced into the presence of princes and prelates, or to listen to the voice of Plato or Socrates? Close the door of your reading room, and they congregate around you. Yea, a *Greater than Socrates* will be there, if you ponder his words with an humble and teachable soul. If trifles have disturbed you during the day, sages will admonish you of the serenity and dignity which ought to characterize the immortal mind.

"Has ambition deluded you? The fallen monarch will show you the vanity of adulation, and the hollowness of all human glory. Are you out of spirits? The melody of the poet shall sooth you, and do for you what the harp of David did for the moodiness of Saul. Has friendship grieved you? *They* offer you consolation on whose virtues death has stamped the seal, *Never to change. Make friendship with the illustrious dead.* Your slightest wish, as a talisman, will gather from distant climes and remote

ages, those who can satisfy the thirst of the mind from the deepest fountains of knowledge.

"*One volume* there is whose spirit can heal the wounded heart. When it sorrows for its own infirmities, and for the unsatisfying nature of earth's vaunted pleasures, the voice of prophets and apostles, lifted up from its inspired pages, teaches the way to that world 'where is fulness of joy, and pleasures for evermore.'"

No one is better qualified to portray the virtue of benevolence than the author, who is said to be herself one of the most active and efficient sisters of charity. We have pleasure in presenting the following extract:

"Permit me to press upon your attention a science at once simple and sublime; of easy attainment, yet inexhaustible in its resources, and in its results boundless as eternity. Some sciences require superior intellect, and severe study, yet to their adepts bring little, save pride and ostentation. But in this, the humblest and the youngest may become students, and find blessed fruits springing up, and ripening in their own bosoms. It is doubtless evident to you that I speak of the science of *doing good*. Yet I would not confine the term to its common acceptation of almsgiving. This is but a single branch of the science, though an important one. A more extensive and correct explanation is, to strive to increase the happiness and diminish the amount of misery among our fellow creatures, by every means in our power. This is a powerful antidote to selfishness, that baneful and adhesive disease of our corrupt nature, or, to borrow the forcible words of Paschal, that 'bias toward ourselves which is the spring of all disorder.' Benevolence multiplies our sources of pleasure, for in the happiness of all whom we bless, we are blessed also. It elevates our enjoyments, by calling into exercise generous motives and disinterested affections.

"Lord Bacon, that star of the first magnitude among the constellations of mind, says that he early 'took *all knowledge* to be his province.' Will *you* not take *all goodness* to be your province? It is the wiser choice, for 'knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth.' Knowledge must 'perish in the using,' but goodness, like its author, is eternal.

"Dear young friend, whose eye, undimmed by the sorrows of time, is now resting upon this page, suffer me, from the experience of an older and earth-worn traveller, to urge you to *bind yourself an apprentice to the trade of doing good*. *He* will be your Master whose 'mercies are new every morning, and fresh every moment.' *He* will give you a tender and sustaining example who came to 'seek and to save that which was lost.' They, too, will be your teachers, those bright-winged ministering spirits, who hold gentle guardianship over us, their weaker brethren, lest we 'dash our foot against a stone;' whose harps are tremulous with joy when one sinner repenteth. The wise and good of all realms and nations, those who have gone to rest, and those who still labor, you may count as your companions, a vast and glorious assembly."

The following picture of a venerable old lady, whom the author had known and loved in early life, is very vivid and impressive:—

"When I look back upon the sheltered and flowery path of childhood one image is ever there, vivid and cherished above all others. It is of hoary temples and a brow furrowed by more than fourscore winters, yet to me more lovely than the bloom of beauty or the freshness of youth, for it is associated with the benevolence of an angel. Among the tireless acts of bounty which rendered her name a watchword in the cells of poverty, and her house a beacon light to the broken in heart, were the gift of books, and the education of indigent children. On stated days, the

children of the neighborhood were gathered around her, fed at her table, made happy by her kindness, instructed from her lips, and encouraged to read and understand the books with which her library was stored for their use. Surely, in some of those hearts, the melody of that voice, speaking of things that 'pertain unto the kingdom of God,' is still treasured; among the eyes that were then raised to her with affectionate reverence, some must still delight to restore her image, as well as that which now fills with the tear of an undying gratitude."

It is not in the calm sunshine of life, that the sex, weak of hand but strong of heart, appear to most advantage. Scenes of trouble and distress best develope the latent energies of woman's character. It is when the bubble of wealth bursts,—when pain and sickness wring the brow,—that she most strikingly displays the attributes of a ministering spirit. In the extract which follows, the author gives a touching sketch of an educated and pious woman, born and brought up in affluence, but afterwards compelled by reverses of fortune, to seek a home in the wilds of the far west, where, sustained by the consolations of faith, she nobly lived and triumphantly died:—

"Among the many females who in this land have encountered the toils of emigration, and the hardships inseparable from the establishment of a new colony, was one, who, half a century since, removed with her husband, and the young germs of their household, to the distant and unsettled western expanse. The fatigues and perils of their journey were unusual. Many miles at its close were through a tangled forest, whose only path was a rude trace cut by the axe. A strong vehicle, drawn by oxen, conveyed their simple furniture and means of subsistence. The wife and mother cheerfully proceeded on foot. Her first-born, a boy of ten years old, was sickly, and seemed rather like a denizen of the grave, than a hardy pioneer of the unplanted world. She was strengthened to bear him the greater part of the way, in her arms, or clinging to her shoulders, and to comfort his sad heart with hymns when they halted to rest.

"In the recesses of a dreary forest they formed their habitation of rough logs, and covered it with hemlock bark. Its floor was of earth, and they had no windows of glass, through which to admit the cheering beam of heaven. The mistress of that poor dwelling exerted herself by neatness, and order, and an unvarying cheerfulness of manner, to lead its inmates to forget their many privations. She did not sadly contrast it with the lighted halls, and carpets, and sofas, and vases of breathing flowers, among which she had spent her youth; nor with the circles of elegance and refinement which she had loved, and where she had been beloved in return. She made herself happy among the hard duties which became the wife of a low emigrant. Reverses of fortune had made this removal necessary, and she determined not to repine.

"Through the day she labored, and the carol of her frequent song rose up strangely sweet from the bosom of that deep wilderness. At evening, she assembled her children, and instructed them. She could not bear that ignorance should be their portion, and diligently poured into their minds the knowledge which she had treasured up in her own. They early learned to love the few books that she possessed, and to revere that piety which was the source of their parent's happiness.

"Years fled, and the features of the savage landscape assumed the busy cast of a vigorous settlement. Her children and her children's children grew up, and planted themselves around her, like the stems of the banian. More than fourscore years passed over her, yet she remained firm, useful, contented, and wearing on her countenance the same smile which had

lighted her through the world. Her descendants of the third generation became equal in number to the years of her own life. She loved all; and every one heard from her lips the teachings of wisdom, and the law of peace.

"At length death came for her. As he slowly approached, time drew a misty curtain over all surrounding things. The love of her first, far home, and the unfulfilled hope to visit it, had been the most deep-set earthly images in her soul. Even that pictured scenery faded away. The paternal mansion, with its sweet flower garden, and music of falling waters—the school house, with its merry group—the white spire among the elms—images from childhood, so indelible, were no more remembered. Her children, gathering in tears around her bed, were also forgotten. Yet still they heard her softly murmuring from her dying pillow: 'Our Father, who art in heaven.' And even when death smote her, the favorite petition under all the sorrows of her pilgrimage burst forth, in a clear, deep intonation, '*Thy will be done.*'"

The comparative intellect of the two sexes, has been a question long and much discussed. Our author meets and disposes of this question with much taste and judgment:—

"There was, in past times, much discussion respecting the comparative intellect of the sexes. It seems to have been useless. To strike the balance is scarcely practicable, until both shall have been subjected to the same method of culture. Man might be initiated into the varieties and mysteries of needlework, taught to have patience with the feebleness and waywardness of infancy, or to steal with noiseless step around the chamber of the sick; and woman might be instigated to contend for the palm of science, to pour forth eloquence in senates, or to 'wade through fields of slaughter to a throne.' Yet revoltings of the soul would attend this violence to nature, this abuse of physical and intellectual energy, while the beauty of social order would be defaced, and the fountains of earth's felicity broken up. The sexes are manifestedly intended for different spheres, and constructed in conformity to their respective destinations, by Him who bids the oak brave the fury of the tempest, and the Alpine flower lean its cheek on the bosom of the eternal snows. But disparity need not imply inferiority; and she of the weak hand and the strong heart is as deeply accountable, for what she has received, as clearly within the cognizance of the 'great Taskmaster's eye,' as though the high places of the earth, with all their pomp and glory, awaited her ambition, or strewed their trophies at her feet."

The volume closes with a letter, wherein the author presses upon her younger readers the motives to perseverance. From this letter, eloquent throughout, we make the following extract:—

"*Gratitude for the religion of Jesus Christ* should inspire an unwavering zeal. Beside the high hope of salvation, which we share in common with all who embrace the gospel, our obligations to it, as a sex, are peculiar and deep. It has broken down the vassalage which was enforced even in the most polished heathen climes. Its humility hath persuaded men to give honor to 'the weaker vessel.' The depressed condition of our sex in classic Greece is familiar to all who read the pages of history. Though her epic poet portrayed, in radiant colors, an Andromache and a Penelope, yet they were but the imagery of fiction, and the situation of woman in real life was scarcely a grade above that of a slave. Even in Athens, the 'eye of Greece,' Thucydides, her most profound and faithful historian, asserts that 'the best woman is she of whom the least can be said, either in the way of good or harm.' Her degradation into a cypher accords with their estimation of her powers, and the place they intended

her to fill in creation. The brutality with which she is still treated in pagan lands, and the miseries which make her life a burden, cause her to deplore the birth of a female infant with the same unnatural grief that the ancient Transi cherished, who, according to Herodotus, 'assembled to weep when a child entered the world, on account of the evils of that existence into which he was ushered; while they celebrated funerals with joy, because the deceased was released from all human calamities.' That policy which, for ages, regarded women as toys of fancy for a moment, and then slaves for ever, so vile as to be shut from the consecrated temple on earth, and so devoid of soul as to be incapable of an entrance into heaven, is 'abolished by Him who hath made both one, and broken down the middle wall of partition between us.' Double cause, then, hath woman to be faithful to her Master; to be always longest at his cross and earliest at his sepulchre. Let us earnestly strive not to live altogether 'to ourselves, but unto Him who hath called us to glory and virtue.'

"By the *shortness of life*, we are also admonished to perpetual industry. Where are those with whom we took sweet counsel, who walked hand in hand with us beneath the sunbeams of youth's cloudless morning? The haunts of the summer ramble, the fireside seats of winter's communion, reply, '*They are not with us.*' The grave answers the question, '*They are here!*' Doth it not also add in a hoarse and hollow murmur, '*Thou also* shalt be with me?' How often, in the registers of mortality, do we see the date of the early smitten. How often is the fair hand that had plucked only life's opening flowers withdrawn from the grasp of love, and stretched out in immovable coldness. How often is the unfrosted head laid down on a mouldering pillow, to await the resurrection. The firmest hold on time, is like the frail rooting of the flower of grass. The longest life has been likened by those who review it to a dream, fleeting and indistinct. The present moment is all of which we have assurance. Let us mark it with the diligence of a deeply felt responsibility. Let us learn from the tomb its oft repeated, yet too unheeded lesson: 'What thine hand findeth to do, do with thy might;' for with me, to whom thou art hastening, is 'neither wisdom, nor knowledge, nor device.'"

We have now finished our extracts from this interesting volume. The samples that we have given, will, we trust, justify the high terms in which we have spoken of its merits. Learning is, in these pages, made to appear lovely in itself, but lovelier yet as the handmaid of religion. It is a book which a living or dying Christian parent may, with confidence, bestow on a beloved daughter. The work is fitted for all classes. It will prove a solace in the cottage of poverty, and form a gem in the libraries of wealth. A work of this kind, blending polite literature with fervent piety, was needed in the world of letters. We rejoice to see the chasm so happily filled by our own fair countrywoman; and we cordially commend the work to the perusal and study of every daughter of our widely extended empire. The mechanical execution is neat and appropriate, and reflects credit on its enterprising publishers.

THE CRISIS:

OR,

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE TEMPERANCE REFORMATION.

VARIOUS circumstances concur to render this a most interesting and important era in the cause of temperance. This is so strikingly the case as to have led some persons to denominate the present time a crisis in its history. But what is a crisis? The import of the word is gathered from its etymology. It is derived from the Greek word κρινω, signifying to give a judgment or decision upon—to pronounce sentence; and was applied to judicial trials. In pathology, it designates the precise point at which a disease either kills or changes for the better; and, in ordinary affairs, such a conjuncture of circumstances as necessarily involve a decision for or against an enterprise. It is a pivot on which success or failure turns. It was the crisis in Rome's history when Julius Cesar stood on the bank of the Rubicon. The question was, "Shall I proceed, or not?" He crossed, and Rome fell under the imperial dominion. The battle of Trenton has been regarded by many as the crisis in our revolutionary struggle. Had that action gone against the patriots, the cause of freedom had probably been abandoned in despair. The battle of Waterloo was the crisis on which hung the fate of Napoleon. Had he gained that day, he would probably have been the arbiter of Europe. He lost it, and died a miserable exile on the rock of St. Helena.

It seems to us that just such a crisis has arrived in the temperance cause: a point at which sentence is to be pronounced upon the character of preceding operations—a pivot on which will turn complete success or total failure. It depends upon the present movements of its friends, whether the wound already inflicted on intemperance prove mortal, or whether it begin to heal, and the demon recover more than his former virulence and ascendency.

From this point it may not be uninteresting nor irrelevant to look back for a moment at the progress of the work. The present views on the subject of intoxicating liquors are by no means of modern origin. They were held by many distinguished persons, both in this country and Europe, and strenuously advocated. In America the names of Drs. Rush and Franklin, Anthony Benezet, and Jacob Lindley at once occur. In England many of the most distinguished persons in literature adopted the same views, in theory, at least, although some of them deviated in practice. Among others we might name Sir Isaac Newton, Mr. Locke, Haller, Boyle, Dr. Darwin, Howard the philanthropist, and many others of great distinction, and yet temperance principles made no progress. Why? Obviously for the want of that power which union and co-operation secure. The individuals stood alone, and exerted little or no influence beyond the sphere of their private friendships.

This, however, is not the only form in which temperance principles were held previously to the present movements. The judicious founder of the Methodist societies, the Rev. John Wesley, had sagacity enough to perceive the inefficiency of individual example, and the advantages arising from conventional understanding

and obligation. He, therefore, made it an express rule in his association, that the members should neither make, sell, nor use ardent spirits. The rule, at least as far as regards the use, was included in the discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, and remains to this day unaltered. Now, although Mr. Wesley may justly be considered a century in advance of his age on this subject, as indeed he was upon most others of a moral and religious nature, yet it is manifest that he produced but little effect beyond the limits of his own societies. The reason is sufficiently plain. The rule in the discipline cannot extend beyond the members of the church. Its operation was, therefore, necessarily limited. Something more was necessary; something that could reach all without regard to ecclesiastical rule or discipline; something not identified directly with a profession of Christianity. This necessity has been happily met in the recently organized temperance societies, having in view but one object, and combining together all the force that can be brought to bear upon that one object, viz.,—the suppression of intemperance.

This experiment, however, has been tried in different forms. The first association for the specific and single object of discouraging intemperance, was formed in New-England.* It went on the

* This may be correct, though we have not so understood it. Our impression has been, that the first association formed for purely temperance purposes in this country, was in the congregation of the Rev. Lebbeus Armstrong, Moreau, Saratoga county, N.Y. With this impression, we have inquired of such friends as we thought might be able to furnish correct information, and also examined such documents as have fallen in our way, but have not been able to satisfy ourselves respecting it. Last evening we had the pleasure of an interview with the Rev. Mr. A., at our own fireside, and availed ourselves of the opportunity to get an explicit statement of the facts relative to the origin and early proceedings of the association which we have hitherto considered the first of the kind in the country, and must continue so to consider it, until some other shall be brought to light in a way to convince us otherwise.

The Moreau Temperance Asssociation was formed, according to Mr. A., in April, 1808. It consisted of *forty-three* members, and held its first quarterly meeting in July following, at which he (Mr. A.) delivered the quarterly address, generally understood to have been the first address delivered before a society formed in this country purely for the promotion of temperance.

The first move toward getting up the association was made by a physician, Dr. B. J. Clark; and one of its first and most active members was a young attorney, Esek Cowan, Esq., since more generally known to the public by the title of Judge Cowan, and as the author of an able treatise on law, in general use among gentlemen of the profession, and magistrates of all ranks, throughout the state.

There is something interesting in the origin of this association, as Mr. Armstrong represents it. If there were indeed another in existence before it, they had no knowledge of it, and, therefore, did not act from the impulse of example. The project originated with the *neighborhood physician*, who saw that unless something could be done to arrest the progress of dram-drinking, all the skill he could exert in his profession could not save the people from a premature grave and interminable ruin. He freely expressed his feelings and his fears to the pastor of the church and others, and urged upon them the importance of adopting

principle of discouraging only the *intemperate use* of ardent spirits. In this there was no advancement in sentiment; it was the very

some measure, at all hazards, to check the tide of dissipation which he saw coming in upon them with a resistless force. But there were great difficulties. Habit had domesticated and familiarized the destroyer so much, that in all his treacherous movements, they saw nothing evil or dangerous. An influential officer in the church was the principal dealer in the article which caused the mischief, and the people generally were his customers, without any distinct conviction on the part of either, that the practice was morally wrong. All other people did so, and why might not they? The minister, under these circumstances, was embarrassed, and hardly dared to show himself favorable to the project; and a prevailing apathy reigned throughout the community. Under all these discouragements, the intrepid physician, whose professional attainments qualified him to know, and whose practice gave him an opportunity to see, the pernicious effects of the prevailing evil, still persevered, and succeeded in getting together a meeting to consider the subject. At this stage of his operations, the attorney above named, the minister, and the other influential individuals, closed with the enterprise.

It is worthy of a passing remark, that the first person moving in this work, was a PHYSICIAN; the second, perhaps, whose heart was most readily inclined to co-operate in it, was an ATTORNEY; and the third, a CLERGYMAN; a triad which, it must be confessed, following the order of arrangement as here exhibited, affords little reason for gratulation on the part of the clergy generally, other than as it is a triumphant refutation of the charges, which virulence has framed against the temperance cause, that it is a fearful production of a subtle priestcraft.

While on this subject, we will record a few incidents which may serve to show how the first anniversary of this society was conducted. After the meeting was opened by prayer, and the other forms usual on such occasions were gone through, each member was requested to state what had come under his observation, as illustrative of the success of their operations. Many interesting facts were stated. Among others, a lumberman, in extensive business, stated that he had formerly found it necessary to procure a hogshead of spirits a year for the use of his hands. Some years it fell a little short, and he had to get a few gallons to carry him through; again he would have some left. On uniting with the association, he determined to exert the utmost of his influence to persuade his men to give up the use of ardent spirits altogether. With many of them he had prevailed; but there were some, raftsmen particularly, with whose services he could not dispense, who would not remain in his employ unless they were furnished with their drink as formerly. He had accordingly procured a five gallon keg, which was filled at the commencement of the year. That morning he had examined it, and found that only about one half of the liquor had been used. So the saving to him in expense, and to those in his employ on the score of temperance, had been in the ratio of two and a half gallons to a hogshead of spirits.

These remarks have no bearing upon the principle assumed by the writer of the article to which this note is appended. If it shall appear that this was the first formal essay at forming temperance associations in this country, it was instituted on precisely the ground the writer names; and it is a matter of no importance, so far as his position is concerned, whether it was located in New-England or Saratoga. We have made these remarks, however, principally to elicit information. We have heard it intimated that a similar association was formed somewhere in the New-England states, anterior to the one in Saratoga; but have never seen any authentic account of it. We have no concern which

thing always believed, and it admitted what had been making inebriates ever since alcohol was discovered—viz., the moderate use. Here was nothing to contend for, no opposition was called forth, no confliction of mind followed. There was not even excitement enough to give it a decent existence. It was a mere nullity. The same attempt was made elsewhere, particularly at Fayetteville, Franklin co., Penn., and with the same result.*

The abandonment of this plan was the occasion of trying the same object in another form. The pledge of total abstinence from ardent spirit was adopted. And now *something was accomplished.* Here *was* something worth contending about. Opposition was awakened, and this called out friends. The public mind was enlightened and aroused by the information brought out; converts multiplied continually, and multitudes of societies went into operation with astonishing success. Ardent spirits have been banished from our sideboards, dining tables, and, in some cases, from steamboats and hotels. In many cases distilleries have been broken up, and the traffic abandoned, and the trade made disreputable. Inebriates have been reclaimed; and it has been proved that all men in the most exposed situations, and most laborious employments, are more effective without than with it. Nay, such is the impression produced by the facts developed, that vessels going to sea without ardent spirits get their policies of insurance at a reduced premium.

All this certainly looks very fair, and would indicate that vast progress has been made in the work of reformation. But we must not draw our conclusions too hastily, lest they be unsustained by suitable evidence. Let us see, then, if there be any thing to counterbalance this favorable appearance. It is granted, I believe, on all hands, that the quantity of ardent spirits now drunk is much less than was drunk ten years ago. But, on the other, the quantity of fermented drinks has been increased, in about the same proportion. It is admitted that the expenditure for one has diminished, while that of the other has increased. There are fewer inebriates on one, but more on the other. Many inebriates on ardent spirits have been reformed; but many of them have relapsed on fermented drinks. In one society not far from this, fifteen inebriates on ardent spirits were reformed; but, after some time, every man of them went back to the same habits on fermented drinks; and in some cases became far worse than ever. Here then we stand: after ten years of toil, the actual amount of intemperance, the expense of the inebriating fluids, and the number of the intemperate, have varied but little; or at least, not in proportion to the time and labor spent upon the object.

shall take the precedence. But certain we are that upon the page of future history the temperance reformation will be accounted a brilliant era, and form a most interesting chapter. Posterity will have a curiosity to know in what quarter of the world the spirit first waked up, or, if it were roused simultaneously at different points, where they were, with all the little incidents attending the first and most simple operations of the great moral enterprise. Ed.

* See Third Report Penn. Temp. Soc., p. 48.

The question will then occur, have we gained nothing? Now it seems to me, we have gained a vast deal, though, perhaps, not in the way generally supposed. We have, at least, gained two points. 1. It has been triumphantly proved that artificial stimulants for persons in health *do no good*, but on the contrary, *must do harm*, and are always resorted to with a fearful risk, not to say absolute certainty of the most fatal consequences. Now in proving this, a most important point has been gained. 2. It is also proved that the public mind is accessible on the subject, and that its principles may be moulded by reason and information. This is evident from the change already effected in public sentiment. Now from these two points I infer that the reformation may be completed. For if these two points have been gained, it will be less difficult to accomplish what remains.

For the prejudice and opposition that were roused against the first movements in the cause, were abundantly greater than are to be encountered in contending against what remains. If prejudice could be driven from her entrenchments when most strongly fortified, and when she thought her bulwarks impregnable, now that a breach has been effected in the walls, it will be no difficult matter, to carry the fortress by assault, and utterly demolish the entire citadel.

It will now, probably, be seen why we think we have come to a crisis in the cause. We have just arrived at that point which proves that the work may be done; public opinion is gained in its favor; right principles are very generally established. Now we must go forward, or all the past amounts to nothing; we must take another step or the cause is lost. That step is *the entire abandonment of all that can intoxicate.* It seems evident that the present state of things proves that the abandonment of ardent spirits merely will no more effect the desired result, than the pledge of the first society, only requiring a temperate use. And the additional step is as essential and important as the earliest movement in the work. Nay, it is more so. For if on the one hand the country needs it as much; on the other, we have greater encouragements to persevere, since the plan is proved feasible by the progress already made. Indeed, to abandon the work now would be shameful. It would give boldness to our enemies, it would afflict all the friends of mankind, it would place our country in a worse state than it was before. It would quench the beacon light of nations, and plunge the world into the blackness of despair for ever.

Perhaps a qualification here may be needful. Observe, then, we do not assert that the adoption of the total abstinence principle will alone and necessarily destroy all intemperance. We only mean that not much more will be done without it. *How* much will ultimately be effected must depend on how efficiently it is carried on. Moreover, we are not ignorant that this principle is already adopted in many places, and by the most efficient societies. But we mean that it must be the universal principle; which is yet far from being the case.

With this understanding, then, let us look, more particularly, at the reasons for the abandonment of fermented drinks. Now I assume that precisely the same reasons apply to these as to ardent

spirits; the same in kind, we mean, though perhaps not in force. Do ardent spirits produce intoxication? So do fermented drinks. Do they produce diseases and lead to the grave? So do the others. Do they injure our intellectual and moral faculties? The others also. Do they involve a long train of expense to the individuals and to the nation? The others still more. Look at the soil occupied in producing the material, the time and labor consumed upon them, the fruits and grain destroyed. It is, equally with the other, an unproductive investment of capital and industry. It is a drawing upon the resources of the country, and contributing nothing to its improvement in any form. Let our orchards be converted into grain fields, or let the fruit be given to the cows or swine, to increase the amount of human sustenance: let our barley serve the same purpose: let the farmer, brewer, vintner, turn their labor to profitable production, and they help to reduce the expense of living, and to bring the means of comfortable subsistence within reach of a larger class of the population. In short, I find no single argument against ardent spirit that may not be brought against fermented drinks. And they all apply with still greater force, when it is considered that in proportion as spirits are less used, the others, if they be not both abandoned, will be proportionately more used; so that it will only be a transfer of the evils from one agent to the other. The effects which have heretofore been produced by brandy, rum, and gin, will hereafter be produced by wine, cider, and ale.

The question then would occur, Should we gain any thing by the change? Now on a comparison of the two, it is probable that we should. Fermented drinks do not burn out the constitution, brutalize the man, and destroy life *as rapidly* as ardent spirits. Consequently there would be less loss of life or time, labor, and wealth by their means, even admitting the article itself cost as much or even more. We think this sufficient for making and keeping up a distinction between the two classes. But though such are our views, yet there is one thing we assert which is all important to our purpose. It is this, that though there is some difference, yet that difference is so slight it is not worth contending about. They who cite wine and beer-drinking countries in order to prove a very wide distinction, are, we apprehend, under two mistakes. The first regards the amount of intemperance in those countries. This is much greater, in England and France, for instance, according to the accounts of recent travellers, than is generally supposed. The second regards the causes of intemperance. If any difference exist in their favor, it is not so much owing to the article employed, as to the difference which exists between them and us in condition and manners. Let us adopt their drinks, and we shall soon find ourselves much below them in point of ebriety. If, therefore, all the time and toil bestowed upon the work were only to convert us from a nation of brandy topers to a nation of wine bibbers or beer guzzlers,

> "'Twere like an ocean into tempest toss'd
> To waft a feather or to drown a fly."

If, therefore, we do not banish the whole, we might as well abandon the enterprise, and let things take their natural course.

We proceed to notice another topic. On what ground does our obligation to abstain from intoxicating liquors rest? On this point, some difference of opinion exists. On the ground of morality, say some; on that of expediency, say others. Let us observe, here, that whichever be assumed must be applied equally to either class. For it is useless and gratuitous to apply one principle to one class of liquors, and another to the other. Intoxication is the same: the nature and consequences of the act are the same, whether produced by brandy or by porter; and it is useless to judge the agents or the acts by different standards. But the controversy itself is altogether useless, and grows out of a wrong view of the distinction which exists between morality and expediency. The terms do not indicate any difference in the amount of obligation arising: they only indicate different modes of getting at a knowledge of that obligation. Let us explain. A moral duty I think is used o signify what depends directly on revelation or divine authority; as, "Thou shalt do no murder;" "Drunkards shall not inherit the kingdom of God." These, therefore, are universally and invariably the same. A duty of expediency is one that we infer by our own reason from circumstances. The latter, therefore, is as variable as the circumstances on which it depends. A thing may be expedient in one time, place, or person, that under other circumstances would be entirely inexpedient. But, whenever a thing is really inexpedient, and proved to be so, to do it would be sin, just as much as though it had been positively forbidden. For instance: God has nowhere forbidden me to eat fruit. But if, on fair trial, I find it injure me, it is as much my duty to abstain as if God had enjoined abstinence. The reason is plain. It makes no difference whether God teach us by revelation, or by the constitution and course of things. All we have to ascertain is, the will of God; and this, once ascertained, is equally binding, in whatever form the knowledge of it may come. Moral and expedient, therefore, seem only to designate the mode of attaining a knowledge of duty, but do not qualify the amount of existing obligation. Now God has nowhere said that I shall not eat meat. Yet the apostle has intimated that circumstances may arise which would make it wrong to eat it: for "if meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no meat while the world standeth," not because it would be *malum per se*, but morally inexpedient. So God has nowhere said that I shall not take a glass of brandy and water, or drink a glass of wine with a friend. But, if it is proved to my conviction that it is morally inexpedient, I am as much bound to abstain as though positively commanded.

A careful application of this principle will enable us to decide the contested question, Is it as sinful to drink fermented liquors as ardent spirits? Now, as both rest upon the same ground, and that is expediency, it must depend upon circumstances. If the arguments are equally strong in either case, it is the same; otherwise, it is not. If any man be as fully convinced of the impropriety in one case as in the other, to him the obligation is equal, otherwise not. Here, then, we find a difference. The public is more satisfied on one point than on the other; a larger amount of information and evidence has been brought out on one point, and this makes some difference in individual culpability. A man is less excusable for

drinking spirit, because there is more light thrown upon that branch of the subject. As soon as we can convince men that all the evils which flow from ardent spirits will flow from fermented drinks, unless both be abandoned; as soon as one subject shall take as strong a hold on the public mind as the other, the individual obligation will be alike in both cases. And this is the point which the temperance societies have now to establish.

The same principle may be applied to the sacramental question. If it be doubted whether our Saviour have given any positive decision in the case, we may resort to the expediency. Has the use of wine at the sacrament given rise to as much evil as its discontinuance would produce? Is the necessity so strong as to counterbalance the confusion, the party spirit, the injury in many ways that would arise in the church? Now, for myself, I have never seen sufficient evidence of such necessity; and, from the very nature of the case, particularly if the total abstinence principle generally prevail, such necessity is scarcely possible. That one sip of wine, taken once a month, or once a quarter, should form a habit, should create a passion, is contrary to the laws of habit, is unphilosophical, nay, is absolutely absurd; to say nothing of the security arising from the hallowed associations of the ordinance.

There still remains one point on which we desire to say a word, but in reference to which we feel more delicacy than on any other. Ought temperance societies to incorporate fermented drinks in their pledge of abstinence? If all would agree to it, we should have no difficulty in answering; but we are to take things as we find them, since we cannot make them as we would have them. The question, therefore, is, Would it be judicious to do it at present? The experience of the past is the only light by which we can read the future. And what says the past? Why, that the progress already made has been under the old pledge, which only excluded spirits. There is sometimes as much danger in running too far before public sentiment as in lagging too far behind. Had the old pledge excluded wine and cider, it would have met with little favor or success. It went sufficiently far to accomplish important ends, without going so far as to awaken an opposition that would have crushed it. Meanwhile it has been doing more than was at first proposed or anticipated. Without including the other class by name, it has included them by implication; it has produced strong conviction in reference to them, and, in many cases, led to the entire abandonment. Now, it seems clear that, for the present, at least, it would be better to pursue the same plan. By doing so, many will be brought to take an important step, and be led under an influence that may carry them farther than they intend. More converts will be made to the total abstinence principle, by delaying, for a time, their insertion. By the premature insertion of fermented drinks, the following evils would arise. First, Many individuals would be lost, who may be induced to sign the one, and, by so doing, be led into a course that would probably result in the abandonment of all. Secondly, The friends of temperance would be divided, and would be wrangling among themselves, instead of uniting their force against the enemy. Thirdly, Many members who are not fully convinced, but will, no doubt, become so in a short time, would withdraw, and their coun-

tenance and influence would be forfeited. The conclusion, therefore, is, that though the insertion would be desirable, yet it would be premature at present. The public mind is not prepared for it—even the friends of temperance are not. The better mode, therefore, will be to retain the old pledge, but to keep the total abstinence principle before the mind of the public, and render it as operative as possible. And without making it a term of membership, let as many as can be prevailed on, avow the principle, and, if they will, pledge themselves to its observance. Thus the cause will retain all the force it has, and be constantly gaining more, until the whole may be included with safety, and, finally, the power of public sentiment silence every opposing voice.

Art. VI.—REVIEW OF THE MEMOIRS OF EPISCOPIUS.

Memoirs of Simon Episcopius, *the celebrated pupil of Arminius, and subsequently Doctor of Divinity, and Professor of Theology in the University of Leyden; who was condemned by the Synod of Dort as a dangerous heretic, and, with several other ministers, was sentenced to perpetual banishment by the civil authorities of Holland, for holding the doctrine of general redemption. To which is added, a brief account of the Synod of Dort; and of the sufferings to which the followers of Arminius were exposed, in consequence of their attachment to his opinions.* By Frederick Calder. New York. T. Mason & G. Lane, for the M. E. Church. 12mo. pp. 478.

We congratulate our church upon the presentation, from our press, of an excellent biography of this eminent pupil of the illustrious Arminius. If there be any thing ennobling in the contemplation of resplendent character, any thing grateful to the feelings in rescuing from undeserved obscurity, or cruel imputations, names to whom the world has long been unjust, or any thing praiseworthy in the gratitude we delight to render to the names of champions, who, in the hour of disgrace, danger, and death, stood forth the defenders of truth and liberty,—dear to our hearts, assuredly, should be the fame of one of the noblest spirits which a land rich in the glory of her sons has produced—Simon Episcopius.

Never more painfully than in perusing the biography and works of Episcopius and his compeers, the Arminians of Holland, have we felt how much the literature of the theological world has been under the influence of an Antiarminian partisanship. When we move the glance of our mind's eye along that line of noble characters who held a pure and mild creed, in an age of bigotry and intolerance; who illumined that creed with learning, eloquence, and logic, in a time of prejudice and scholastic jargon, and who shrunk not to attest the pureness of their piety and the loftiness of their faith by years of suffering and deaths of martyrdom, we have cherished the hope that our own denomination, whose creed is the fac similе of that faith for which they suffered, and who may claim, in fact, to be their moral descendants, would redeem the justice of history and enlarge the range of our theological reading, by well executed biographies of their lives, and editions of their works. Their names, were they but redeemed from the dimness which an adverse influence has malignly flung around them, would emblazon

with a new lustre the noblest cause; and the products of their intellects, were they but judiciously used, would constitute an armory of theological equipment, which in any cause we should expect to be mighty, but in the cause of truth, resistless. We are gratified with the evidence furnished by this and some other works, that, across the water, some competent pens are inclined to lead the way; and we trust that time is not very distant when we shall be prepared not only to receive and appreciate, but to emulate and superadd to the products of their labors.

Episcopius may justly be said to have been the child of troublous times and eventful destiny. Distinguished even when a boy for his precocity of intellect, he was sent by his native city of Amsterdam, as its vesterling or fosterchild, to be educated at the public expense at the celebrated university of Leyden. The university at that time was the seat of theological commotion. James Arminius, the Divinity Professor, then in his prime of life and talents, was reviving and sustaining with all the weight of his "acute wit, solid judgment, and great learning," those doctrines which, though entertained by the Christian Church for the first three centuries, by the purest and noblest spirit of the Reformation, Melancthon, and by the main body of the Lutheran Church, had been supplanted in Holland by the theology of Geneva. By the influence of Arminius the mind of young Episcopius was fascinated, his principles formed, and his future career shaped. The contest at the university which the master sustained against his unsparing adversaries at the expense of an anxious life and an early death, the pupil found too perplexing for endurance; and he was induced to transfer his connection from Leyden to the university of Franeker.

It is curious to remark that, such was the reputation of the youthful scholar, he was awaited at Franeker with public expectation, and his arrival produced a general excitement. The resolution which, by the advice of Arminius, he had formed, to be silent on theological topics, he found it impossible to observe. He was obliged to stand out, "faithful among the faithless," the champion of the tenets of his beloved Arminius, in the then hot bed of ultra Calvinism, not only against his fellow students, but in public debate with his professor, Dr. Sibrand; and it would seem that neither in temper nor in argument was he worsted in the encounter, and Sibrand himself, equally in excuse for himself and compliment to Episcopius, affirmed that, "in point of force of mind and argumentative powers, Arminius was a mere child to him." This, however, was not the candid confession of an ingenuous mind, for Sibrand, worsted in argument, for the purpose of ruining Episcopius, resorted to arts which happily were as unsuccessful as they were infamous.

With laurels untarnished, and perhaps with humility undiminished from these rencounters, Episcopius, having finished his preparatory studies, entered upon the sacred duties of the ministry, in which his talents and piety soon acquired for him a commanding popularity. As if born to contention, from having been an actor in polemic strife, he now became the subject of an amicable contest between the different cities of Bleiswick, Utrecht and Rotterdam, each claiming him as their minister. The strife was, however, settled by his election, at the early age of twenty-nine, to the highest

station, in point of dignity and influence, to which a clergyman in Holland could aspire,—the Divinity Professorship in the university of Leyden. Thus did he, who had been the pupil, now become a successor in office, as he subsequently did in reputation and leadership of his party, to James Arminius.

In assuming this office, the hearty ill will with which he was received by his associates, the Calvinistic professors, soon taught him that the station which had been so thorny to his able and talented predecessor, would be no bed of repose to him. Mr. Calder has devoted one entire chapter, delineating the character and conduct of one of these, Festus Hommius, and certainly few personages need be less obliged for a rescue from the slumbers of a peaceful oblivion than this same clerical Iago. To the slanders by which he endeavored to blast the reputation of Episcopius, the latter opposed the steady rectitude of his own character; and when both were arraigned before the magistracy of the university, he taught his assailant to exhibit in himself an illustrative instance of the identity of honesty and good policy.

Episcopius had hitherto had little reason to cower before opponents who had happily nothing but learning and intellect to wield against him. But now an adversary was to come down upon him with an arm against which no qualities of character could furnish a defence—from that ruin he was to find no escape. Maurice, prince of Orange, in the project of enslaving Holland, found it convenient to make the Calvinistic party the instrument, and the Arminians the objects of his tyranny. Although he had heretofore been as Arminian as politician need be, he now became a devout supporter, at the sword's point, of "the doctrines of grace;" and, melancholy to say, the military violence of the usurper was amply upheld by the spiritual co-operation of the Calvinistic clergy. Under such auspices it was that now was brought about that happily rare anomaly in Protestant history—the Synod of Dort.

Into the details of this memorable assemblage it is unnecessary for us to enter. Professedly an authoritative body, convened for the purpose of forming a national creed, by management, violence, and the despotic aid of Maurice, the delegates were, with scarce a painful exception, Calvinistic. Under their authority, the humble petition of the Arminians to be allowed to select from their own body a small number to represent their views, was peremptorily rejected, while the synod itself was pleased to select thirteen to appear, within fourteen days, before their honorable body. They appeared according to order, but begged a brief interval to arrange their defence—it was refused. They declared that, if that were refused, they were ready to proceed to a *conference*, if that were required—they were given to understand that they were not invited to a conference, but "cited" to a trial of their orthodoxy. For a casual remark of Episcopius, the president, Bogerman, charged him with falsehood; the twelve ministers next to Episcopius offered to make oath to the correctness of his remark—the charge was still obstinately reiterated. The president gravely admonished them to treat only of "the comfortable doctrine of election," not to touch the dogma, uncomfortable enough, no doubt, of reprobation; it would, of course, be suggested that as the latter, and not the former, was the main

point of difference and objection, that of course must be the principal point of discussion; and this dignified body of predestinarian divines sagely decided that "it was unreasonable for the Remonstrants to disturb the consciences of the elect, on account of God's judgments against the reprobated." Throughout the whole contest the Remonstrants refused to acknowledge the authority of the synod. But, although no artifice could draw them into a submission, no insult, on the other hand, could betray them into any violence; and matters retained this position until the fifty-seventh session, when, to the surprise of the Remonstrants, and to the no small disconcertion of a good share of the synod itself, President Bogerman abruptly expelled the whole Remonstrant body from the synod, saying, among other characteristic compliments, "With a lie you began, and with a lie you ended;" and concluding with the words, "Dimittimini, exite,"—"Depart, begone." Episcopius exclaimed, "Let God judge between us and the synod." "I appeal," said Niellius, "from the injustice of the synod to the throne of Jesus Christ." "Depart, depart," said Hollingerus, "from the assembly of the wicked." "If," says the learned Catholic jurist, Charles Butler,* "any Protestant divines ever deserved the reproach cast by Mr. Gibbon upon the Reformers in general, of being ambitious to succeed the tyrants whom they had dethroned, they were the members of the Synod of Dort."

The president thus having cleared the field of an adversary, divers profound divines, who had hitherto kept their seats, waxed valorous defenders of an unattacked faith, until the lay-commissioners, conscious of the ludicrousness of such flourish, suggested that, as the remonstrants were still under arrest in the city, they should be permitted to give their views in writing. This was agreed upon, and the Remonstrants were directed to furnish their defence within fourteen days. For fourteen days, then, the Remonstrants set about their defence, while at the same time the synodists were taking due care that no defence should avail them. Fourteen days passed, and forth came the Remonstrants and deposited before them, as their defence upon the first article only, two hundred and four sheets of well written, solid contents. At sight of such an apparition, the Dutch divines unanimously resolved themselves into "an agony of rage;" and no doubt their perplexity would have been as real as its manifestations were violent, had they not secured, beforehand, that the length or brevity of the defence should be a matter of indifference; for, in fact, they had gone through and decided the whole matter before the defence was finished! This ingenious insult was as ingeniously repelled by the Remonstrants, who promptly affirmed that the defence was not written for the synod. "Let the secretary note that," thundered a lay-commissioner. "It is unnecessary," coolly retorted Episcopius, "we have inserted as much in our papers in the following words: 'These documents have not been prepared for the use of the synod, seeing that we disclaim all farther connection with it.'"

Thus relieved from all embarrassments on the part of the Remonstrants, the synodists proceeded to the matter of settling the principles of Calvinism, in which they were uncomfortably impeded by

* In his Life of Hugo Grotius.

the fastidiousness of the English divines, who were pleased to be dissatisfied with propositions as amiable as these:—First, that God moves the tongues of men to blaspheme him; and secondly, that man can do no more good nor less evil than he actually does. Nevertheless, after somewhat more than a five months' continuance, the Synod of Dort, having "become the more holy, the longer it sat," joyously terminated their labors of constructing a formula of the true faith, as it would appear, with great effectiveness. "Never did any church of old," said the honest Scotch Calvinist, Balcanqual, "nor any Reformed church, propose so many articles to be held sub pœnâ excommunicationis."

Of this band of Remonstrant confessors, Episcopius was the acknowledged head—"the spirit and soul." He had been, in the first place, summoned in his official character, as Divinity Professor, and as he was then aware that his beloved pupils "should see his face no more," he gave them, in an address of great eloquence, pathos, and piety, his parting charge, and left them, no more to return. At no point does he present to the mind's eye a bearing so noble as when standing before the Synod of Dort; it was the crisis of his history—the scene of his highest greatness, and his certain downfall. It was not a mightier spirit in the man, but a more imposing grandeur in the scene, which made Martin Luther a sublimer spectacle at the Diet of Worms, than was Simon Episcopius at the Synod of Dort. He opened the defence of the Remonstrants, in a speech of near two hours' length, pronounced with the grace of an accomplished orator, presenting such a history of the past, so energetic in its train of argument, and so replete with magnanimous sentiments, that it impressed the audience, and even some of the lay delegates, to tears. The personal charges foully flung upon him, he nobly repelled. The efforts to overawe, he met with calm defiance. Of their written documents, he was mainly the author. To the last he sternly denied the authority of the synod, and beheld its termination prepared to meet the personal fate which the impending hand of despotism might award. Such was the leader, and such, too, were the whole phalanx. "When I heard these things," says Professor Barlæus, who was on the spot, "I admired the courage of the men. They were really intrepid, and spoke in the synod as equals with equals. Their countenances were unruffled and serene, and they seemed to be prepared, as they confessed, to endure all extremities." May a similar heroism inspire the hearts, and a better destiny attend the lives, of all who are called by Providence to stand in the hour of trial the foremost champions of justice, liberty, and truth.

We have no formal diatribe to pronounce upon the Synod of Dort. The less so, since, not only individuals, properly of neither party, have been sufficiently condemnatory, but even more moderate, perhaps we may say, more prudent Calvinists conclude not to identify their cause with its character. Not only did its similarity to a famous popish council strike Mr. Wesley, but the Catholic prelate, Bossuet, shrewdly remarks, that the Remonstrants "employed against the authority of the synod, the same arguments as the Protestants use against the authority of the Council of Trent." Professor Stuart, of Andover, although he endeavors to neutralize the acknowledgment by the hypothetical imagination, that had the

Remonstrant party been triumphant, an Arminian synod would have been equally tyrannical, makes the following remark: "But that, in the course of this dispute, exasperation carried a part of the council, in particular the moderator, Bogerman, and also Gomar, Scultet, and several others; indeed, one may say, the Hollandic divines in general, and those of Geneva, much beyond the bounds of Christian moderation, propriety, and decorum, in their deportment and words, with respect to the Remonstrants, can never be doubted by any one who now peruses *their own* records. I need not say that the accounts of the Remonstrant party are still more unfavorable."

Such was the character of the trial; we may next look to the sentence. The synod formally pronounced condemnation upon Episcopius and his fellows, and the States-General soon confirmed the sentence. They were suspended from their offices, and required to sign an act of cessation from ministerial and pastoral duties, and from inculcating their sentiments. Upon their refusing to do this, banishment was pronounced upon them. The same terms were held to all the Remonstrant ministers of Holland. Subscription to the canons of Dort, or immediate deposition was the alternative. The melancholy detail is given by Mr. Calder at full length, and to those who are fond of the tragic, this narrative of Calvinistic proscription, violence, and bloodshed, may possess some melancholy interest; but to most humane hearts, it will, no doubt, be a dreary chapter. We trust it will not be read as a textuary of reproach against men of milder principles and humaner hearts than the ancient admirers of the canons of Dort, but as a lesson in the melancholy volume of human nature, and as an appalling representation of what persecution is, whether Papal or Protestant, Calvinian or Arminian. "No good man can read it,"—says the translator of Brandt's history of these transactions—and may his words ever prove true,—"without abhorring arbitrary power and all manner of persecution."

Episcopius and his brethren took refuge in Walwick, in Brabant, where they were received with a kindness from foreigners and Catholics strongly contrasted with the severe treatment they received from their fellow countrymen and brother Protestants. While in banishment, successively at Walwick, Antwerp, and Paris, his pen was active in defence of his principles. The great mass of his voluminous works were written subsequent to his condemnation at Dort.

But persecutors as well as prophets do not live for ever. Maurice dying, his brother succeeded to the stadtholdership and was, so far as circumstances would allow, not unfavorably disposed to the Remonstrants, and Episcopius began to project the design of returning to his native land. He at length left Paris, and arrived at Rotterdam, where he was again received, after some years of absence, to his native land and the bosom of his friends with affectionate joy. The opponents who were no longer able to touch his life or liberties, were active with their publications against his character and principles. There he met with masterly and sometimes with severe replies. The stadtholder at length so evidently connived at the success of the Remonstrants, that they proceeded to repair their desolations. Rotterdam, the strong hold of Arminianism, chose

Episcopius as its minister. The Remonstrants were next emboldened to erect a theological institution, with Episcopius of course at the head of the theological department. After the reluctant consent of his friends at Rotterdam was obtained to give him up for the purpose, he assumed the professorship, and in the duties of this office, and in the publication of several able productions, he employed the brief remainder of his useful life.

We have given this hasty sketch, not for the purpose of satisfying, but with the hope, perhaps a vain one, of exciting our readers to a perusal of the work, and a better acquaintance with the man. Mr. Calder's biography is characterized by research, and, we believe, accuracy. It is instructive in its facts, interspersed with incidents and anecdotes of thrilling or humorous interest, and varied with several important episodes. Subordinate to the main and nobly prominent character, Episcopius, there appear several attendant personages of varied degrees of interest. We have the sleek duplicity of Festus Hommius, the high-toned impetuosity of President Bogerman, and the tragic downfall of Barneveldt. Mr. Calder has a style of grave simplicity, and manly straight-forwardness not overcharged with excitement, wanting perhaps sometimes in finish, and by no means possessing that overstrained passion for the intense which characterizes the authors of what has been called the *convulsive school.*

It is a remarkable fact that Episcopius, conscious as he was of his own integrity of character, and the deep wrongs which in the course of his life he had suffered, expected little reparation to his fame from the justice of history. "My want of confidence in these writers," said he, speaking of ancient ecclesiastical historians, "partly arises from the conduct of some who bear that name at the present day. Let me go to our own history as a people. Although the proceedings adopted against us, and the character of the persons who have so injured our reputation, and occasioned our present exile and sufferings, are well known, yet what has not been said and written to vindicate them and defame us, by persons who are called modern historians? Take, for instance, the case of Baudartius, whose pages are foully stained with malevolence, and who may justly be designated any thing but an historian. And what has not that foolish Hessian, Daniel Angelocrator, written respecting the events that have taken place in Holland, in his book concerning the Synod of Dort? And although his work abounds with absurd and foolish statements, and his assertions are so grossly false, that it may with strict justice be considered as only entitled to be ranked with Grecian fable; yet, with the above facts, and the advantage of the course of time, a person might take these as the ground of confidence in the veracity of this writer. And I am bold to say that, after the lapse of a certain period, such will be the arguments set up in its favor; and thus its fictitious statements will be quoted as exhibiting matters of real history."

How truly this presentiment was invested with the accuracy of prophecy—how generally, not only predestinarians, but even their opponents, have associated with the name of Arminius and Episcopius the idea of low orthodoxy and dubious piety, it is unnecessary for us to describe. John Goodwin remarks that, in his time,

"the cross of Arminius is grown so heavy among us, and the generality of professors so weak, that the greater part of them are not able to take it up, though truth be fast tied to it." We have somewhere seen a happy allusion made to the anecdote of an honest Hollander, who, in a fit of anger at a refractory horse, after exhausting the whole magazine of Dutch hard names, and harder blows, was left, in the paroxysm of his wrath and orthodoxy, to call him outright—an Arminian. The reproachful application of this term, in failure of every other resource, we suspect is not confined to Holland, nor bestowed alone upon the brute creation. There is at the present time, we must be permitted to say, an unjust use of terms prevailing in some of the professedly learned pulpits, periodicals, and institutions of our land, which, if it be the result of want of information, is inexcusable ignorance; if of a want of regard to known fact and justice to a great and injured name, is, we must feel, palpable wickedness. Arminianism, as near as we can gather, means pretty much any thing which is not considered Calvinistic, and needs the application of a seasonable anathema. At one time, in the sermon of an eloquent pulpit rhetorician, Arminianism is pronounced to be one of the resources of the adversary, from which ruin was to be apprehended, and upon which extermination was to be denounced; at any other time, we are informed in the epistle of a learned professor that no danger was to be apprehended at all, for Arminianism, forsooth, was "dead;" anon we find that it has been officially abjured in the inaugural formulas of theological professors, in company, we believe, with Socinianism, Atheism, and divers other damnables; and next perhaps it has been hurled at the head of some mighty heresiarch in their own firmament, who, like the great red dragon of the Apocalypse, was dragging a third part of the stars of heaven in his tail. The fact that some of the later pupils of the Arminian school degenerated into Pelagianism, no more justifies this language, than the fact that the Genevan successors of Calvin disbelieve the divinity of Christ, justifies our branding Calvinism with a denial of the trinity. Nor is the dexterous versatility with which this term is made to mean any thing or every thing heretical, much palliated by the fact, that it is applied as effectually against the living as against the dead, against another sect as well as against dubious adherents in their own sects. The major term in the syllogism is, Arminianism is every thing heterodox; the minor term is, the Wesleyan Methodists are believers in Arminianism; the consequence—any body may infer.

Still less are these severities upon Arminianism palliated by the fact, that they not seldom come, if we mistake not, from some who are not a little exposed themselves to the charge of being tinged with the same heresy. It is an exquisite mode of repelling all suspicions of the thing, by delivering one's self of denunciations of the name, and whatsoever object you please to make the name signify. We have sometimes suspected that pulpits may be found in our land, in which Arminianism is a monstrum horrendum, without defined or fixed outline, undeveloped in body or limb, save that it has a voracity for devouring souls—and yet, perhaps, something very like Arminianism, or something a little more Arminian

than Arminianism itself, shall form the staple preaching of that same pulpit. We would like to move the question, whether there be not Calvinistic pulpits, in which Calvin himself, were he to give the length and breadth of his own creed, would receive a cavalier quietus. Or whether there be not soi-disant Calvinists among us, tenacious of the title, around whom Calvin would sooner have wrapped the flames of Servetus, than the mantle of his own name. Or whether there be not theological doctors, who lay out no small expenditure of masterly intellect in cramping the substance of Arminian doctrines into the trammels of a Calvinistic nomenclature of terms, so that with the adoption of more liberalized notions, the "standing order" of articles and formulas may be still retained. The increase itself of a milder theology we hail with delight, as a harbinger of the day when one throb of unity of sentiment and affection shall thrill through the entire heart of the Christian Church. We rejoice that the spirit of Arminius may walk the earth, and his scriptural doctrine may compass the breadth thereof, although his name meet no respect, and his memory no mercy. Yet, with the liberality that can adopt new views, we would love to see the frankness that can, in explicit terms, acknowledge the change, and scorn all equivoque. To take a creed, worded in the most stereotype form of Calvinism—to strip it down to the ipsissima verba, the bare syllables, divested of the entire mass of historical connections and accredited expositions, which, from the author downward, have been embodied in multiplied strata around it—to take the words so stripped, mystify their explicitness, play upon their equivocalness, and writhe their flexibility into any desired obliquity—and then to bring in, under the name of a mere philosophical mode of exposition, all or much of what the creed has for ages been intended to condemn—this is a recipe by which you may stand on one side of the field, and combat for the other—a neat expedient by which you may denounce Arminianism as roundly as Bogerman, and believe in it as soundly as Episcopius.

A question will arise, too obvious for us to meet, though too extended for us fully to discuss, how far the persecutions detailed in this volume are attributable to the opinions of the persecutors. The spirit of persecution, their apologists may plausibly say, is peculiar to no abstract religious doctrine; it is the property of the human heart, made by power too proud for contradiction, and is combinable with any opinion. If predestinarian Calvin burned Servetus, antipredestinarian Melancthon approved the deed; if Calvinian Maurice was the evil genius of Holland, Arminian Laud was the scourge of England. It may therefore be asserted, both on grounds of history and philosophy, that the Contra-remonstrant persecution was not the proper result of the Contra-remonstrant opinions.

But to the historical argument, in the first place, be it remembered there is a *various reading*. There are those who find that the great modern doctrine—the late and reluctantly learned lesson of the religious world—TOLERATION—arose simultaneously with Arminianism; that both are traceable to the same source—to the same *men*. It will perhaps be difficult to deny that Mr. Calder is grounded upon historic truth when he affirms that "the Remonstrants,

who had imbibed the opinions and copied the conduct of the amiable Arminius, were the first among the Protestants of Europe to lift up their voice upon this subject." "Barneveldt, who was the principal lay-leader of the Remonstrants, was perhaps the firstst atesman, says Evans Crowe, that made religious toleration one of his maxims." Similar is the result at which the researches of Nichols arrived, who affirms that the earliest proclaimers of toleration in England acknowledge "their doctrine of religious liberty to have been derived from the writings of the Remonstrants." "Though the glory of the first promulgation of tolerant principles," he adds, "does not belong to the Calvinistic Independents, it is undoubtedly due to the Arminian branch of that denomination. Indeed in whatever quarter soever Dutch Arminianism achieved her conquests—whether among Episcopalians, Presbyterians, or Independents—she almost uniformly rendered them favorable to the civil and religious liberties of mankind." Mr. Thomas Jackson, in his excellent Life of one of the earliest and most eminent of the English pupils of the Dutch Arminian school, John Goodwin, (a work we wish better known to American readers,) remarks, "It is highly honorable to him, though the fact is little known, that he was the first of our countrymen who excited general attention by writing distinctly in defence of universal liberty of conscience as one of the most sacred rights of human nature. He had published several admirable tracts against all coercion in matters purely religious, before either Locke or Milton, or even Dr. Owen, wrote a single line upon the subject." Speaking of Episcopius and his compeers during their banishment after the Synod of Dort, Rev. Richard Watson remarks, "The immense literary labors in which they were compelled to engage during this troublous period have, by the admirable overruling acts of Providence, been rendered most valuable blessings to the whole of Christendom. Such doctrines and principles were then brought under discussion as served to enlighten every country in Europe on the grand subject of civil and religious liberty, the true nature of which from that time has been better understood, and its beneficial effects more generally appreciated and enjoyed." Such then is our reading of the history of the matter. The doctrine of *universal toleration*, avowed now by every informed mind, propagated in every form of publication, the most popular motto of the politician, familiar as a household term, is properly a hard-found, dearly bought, modern *discovery*. Unknown in the days of papacy, misunderstood by the reformers, who claimed it for themselves, but applied it not as a principle to all others, its rise was in the rise of Arminianism; and when its principles were being developed and its contest won, Calvinism was its opponent, the Synod of Dort its Thermopylæ, the Dutch Remonstrants its champions, and at their head—may we not say?—their noble leader, Simon Episcopius.

If upon the historical grounds such are our positions, what conclusions may we deduce from the philosophy of the creed itself, and its probable operations upon the human mind? Granting that persecution is often the sheer projectile from the ambition centred in the heart independent of any creed; granting that a Maurice persecuted, not for the sake of the divine decrees, but for his own despotism; that a Laud oppressed, not from love of universal

redemption but from love of his mitre, may we not still suspect that, in other cases, the *intolerance* is the fair logical corollary from the *doctrines;* or at least that the *spirit of ambition* and the *spirit of the creed* may have formed a composition of forces into a concentrated action toward the same object? We hesitate not to say, then, that, reasoning a priori, were we to set about constructing a creed for the absolute purpose of winding the spirit of self-exaltation up to the very maximum of intensity, human ingenuity could never devise one more suitable, than that which tells the self-supposed favorite of Heaven that, being loved with an everlasting love, an omnipotent fiat has predestined him by an indefeasible patent which secures at once the means and the end to a crown of fadeless glory; while the mass of the reprobate species around him, wisely passed by, are left in eternal abandonment and utter worthlessness, to the glory of God's justice. The effects of such a creed may be circumstantially modified and counteracted, but *alone* it must be disastrous. Often will a natural amiableness mitigate it, or the grace of God neutralize it, or outward events defeat it, but not seldom will it present us with a Bogerman or a Sibrand—creatures of their creed, claimants in disguise of an angelic nature alternately bursting with indignation that they are clogged by clay and gravitation to the earth, and dealing a just abhorrence upon the reprobate incarnates that presume to oppose them.* What presumption more accursed than to question their celestial title? What heresy more particularly damnable than to demonstrate the outrageousness of their dogmas; and how will their intolerance rise to the boiling point, just as the weakest, and sorest, and most sensitive spot feels most resistlessly the vital thrust of argument? They will adjure you to touch some more "*comfortable*" point, and warn you not "to disturb the consciences of *God's elect.*" In their more exulting moments, their spirit will evolve itself in human vocables like those of Altingius. "That God hath reprobated whom he pleased according to mere will, without any regard to sin; that the sins which follow such reprobation were the fruits of it; nevertheless God is not the author of them: and that though the hardening and blinding of men's hearts and eyes proceeded from God, nevertheless we ought to cry with the cherubim, Holy is God though he reprobates! - Holy is God though he blinds! Holy is God though he hardens!"† Then give such a being a little brief authority, and he will "play such fantastic tricks before high heaven" as will find a feeble type in the exile of Episcopius, the dungeon of Grotius, and the scaffold of Barneveldt.

We have spoken upon this subject—since we are speaking of the past and not of the present—with the freedom of history. If at the

* This may hardly be considered a mere fancy picture. Balcanqual, in one of his letters from the Synod of Dort, says, "Sibrandus and Gomarus keep their fits of madness by course; the last fit before this came to Gomarus' turn, and this day Sibrandus flew out, but with such raving and fierceness of countenance that he was checked in his words by the lay and ecclesiastical presidents."

† Mr. Calder adds, "After these remarks had been made, the synod, says Brandt, judged that enough had been said on the first article of the controversy and we think so too." And we say ditto to Mr. Calder. And so at the present day we presume would say every reader of every sect who has no particular taste for blasphemy.

present day there are those who hold a Calvinism moderated and divested of objectionable features, to them our remarks upon a different thing—the Calvinism, namely, of another age—of course, do not apply. At the same time, while we object to the tendencies of a creed to deform the character, we may the more admire the character that resists all such influences, and retains its unmarred symmetry and native excellences. It is a lovely charity and a robust liberality that can respire and expand the heart into the largest magnanimity, in spite of the clasping cramp of an iron system. The nature of our subject has led us to speak largely of *isms* and *ists*, of polemic doctrines and theologic leaders. We are no idolaters of mighty names. We believe not truth because it is what Arminius taught, but we believe what Arminius taught because it seems to us truth. To characters eminent for excellence we justly yield our admiration, to those who have been the defenders and mediums of the truths we love we award a due gratitude. If even in the beauty of the sanctuary the church may exult that her voice of "praise" goes up in unison "with the glorious company of apostles, the goodly fellowship of prophets, and the noble army of martyrs," no wonder that the individual holder of any opinion feels himself gratefully sustained by a coincidence with more mighty minds, and that the body of every denomination cherish the recollection of names whose merits and achievements constitute to them a sort of ancestral glory. If this principle, when carried to excess, be dangerous to our independence of opinion, we know not in what better language the proper limitations can be expressed, than that with which the subject of Mr. Calder's excellent memoir closed his memorable speech at the Synod of Dort, and with which we shall close our train of remark:—"Dear to us, it is true, may be distinguished names, distinguished persons, and the sanctity of this synod, but still more dear to us ought to be the sanctity of TRUTH."

ART. VII.—INFIDELITY PORTRAYED.

Practical Infidelity Portrayed, and the Judgment of God made Manifest. An Address, submitted to the consideration of Robert D. Owen, Kneeland, Houston, and others, of the Infidel Party in the city of New-York. By ABNER CUNNINGHAM. D. Cooledge, New-York; J. Loring, Boston; N. Kite, Philadelphia. 12mo, pp. 144. 1836.

WE notice this little work, not because we think it ranks high as a literary production, or merits special attention on account of any peculiarity it possesses to enlighten the understanding or excite feelings of devotion, but solely for the purpose of introducing the facts it sets forth as illustrative of the practical tendency of infidel principles. It found its way to our table some months ago, and would have received an earlier notice, but for the circumstance that we had not time to examine it, and the paragraph which first caught our eye on looking into it appeared too vapid and commonplace to merit particular attention. Since then we have read it through, and find in it a developement of facts which, on account of their bear-

ing upon public morals and the vital interests of religion, deserve to be laid before the whole community, that all may be warned of the danger of tolerating, under any pretence, speculations which lead to such pernicious and disastrous consequences.

The writer is said to be an aged gentleman, well reputed among those who know him for probity and uprightness of character. He affirms that he witnessed the facts he has recorded, and, to sustain the credibility of his testimony, the affidavits of several others, some the near relatives of individuals named in the account, are produced. These confirm, in all the cases they profess to embrace, the correctness of the writer's statements.

Respecting Mr. Cunningham we know nothing more than we have stated, only what he himself informs us in his book. From that we learn that he belongs to no particular denomination of Christians, but has been connected in his social relations with the Society of Friends. This will account for some peculiarities which appear in his modes of expression, especially in the case of Haviland's denunciation against the profane scoffers in question, which the writer invests with the sacredness of prophecy. That a devout and experienced servant of the cross should be specially moved by the Spirit to lift up his voice against such abominations as they practised, and utter denunciations against them, which, in the order of a righteous retribution, should be fulfilled in their history, is nothing more than all well informed Christians may believe. And this is probably all the writer intended to express.

We copy from the third edition of the work, in which we find the testimonials of several highly respectable individuals, clergymen of our acquaintance and others, commending its utility: and such as had been in circumstances to know any thing of the facts it developes, certify also their unqualified confidence in the truth of them as set forth.

The author commences with a brief notice of the events which drew forth his publication. Addressing the individuals named in the title page, he says:—

"You have propounded questions and solicited answers from those who call themselves Christians, and who profess to be governed by the precepts, doctrines, and policy of JESUS CHRIST.

"As your questions called for a reply, I ventured to make my appearance at your meetings, in order to answer you, to vindicate the Christian religion and policy, and to demonstrate their benign effects on the *human family*; but you have prohibited me from making such remarks as I thought appropriate and suitable to the nature of the subject. This prohibition I consider a personal attack on my character, which affords me an ample apology for coming before you and the world in the present form.

"I shall endeavor to take up your questions in substance as you have published them, expose your own comments, and follow with such remarks as may demonstrate the practical effects of your doctrines, by

giving such examples as are in my possession, and as have been personally known to me, and which I think appropriate to the occasion."

The leaders of the infidel party are in the habit of propounding questions in their meetings, and, for a pretence, soliciting answers from Christians—knowing how unlikely it is that decent and well disposed persons will be found to appear in such conventicles, and expose themselves to the shafts of their profane ribaldry, for the purpose of combating their foolish propositions. They have learned the Christian's interpretation of the precept, "Cast not your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you;" and in the fitness of its application they feel a conscious security against being often troubled with antagonists. But there is a show of regard for free discussion in such challenges; and the circumstance of their being neglected, is improved with great plausibility, to impress the unthinking rabble that their positions are unanswerable. How far their rencounter with Dr. Sleigh will serve to chasten their temerity and moderate their temper, time and circumstances must develope. On the score of mortification of defeat, and ingenuousness of concession, the public have nothing perhaps to hope from them. But the trouble and expense of a few such conflicts as some of the party have lately had with this intrepid antagonist, may touch a train of motives which lie beyond the reach of the moral faculties, excepting only that class which connect with the feelings of a sordid self-interest.

It was to answer some of the questions propounded by these blustering controversialists that the venerable author appeared at one of their meetings. A glow of just indignation naturally moves our feelings when we are told that, under all the circumstances of the case, he was prohibited. The reasons for interdicting him we are not told. If they pretended, however, as is most probable, that his remarks were irrelevant, and on that account not to be suffered, the reader will be able to judge of the sincerity of such a pretence, by following the proscribed veteran through his publication, in which it is presumed he pursued the same course he proposed to at the meeting. We do not pretend that his reasonings are eminently lucid or profound; but they are by no means contemptible, nor destitute of logical arrangement. He proceeds:—

"The first question to be considered and answered is, in substance, as follows: 'Was there ever a revelation from any real or supposed supreme Being; and if so, what is the evidence?'"

That any class of men in the midst of Christendom should at this day gravely ask, "What is the evidence of revelation from any real or supposed supreme Being?" can be accounted for on no ground other than that they are ignorant in matters known to schoolboys of the most common capacity and limited privileges, and not

ashamed to expose their stupidity by soliciting a developement, in a debating club, of arguments and evidences which have long since been settled, as forming the basis of all that can be called solid literature in the world.

It was the object of the author, however, to show the practical effects of infidelity, and, therefore, he took a short method in disposing of the questions proposed by the cavalier leaders of the club. The first paragraph of his answer may serve as a specimen of his method and manner. He says:—

"Your question admits the *possibility* of the existence of a *God*; and you wish to know how it is possible for that *God*, so existing, to communicate his will to other intelligent beings, who, if your senses do not deceive you, you will readily admit do also exist. That mankind communicate to and with each other, you also admit. Now why should it be considered strange for the Maker of man to possess the same, or a more salutary mode of communication with man, than that with which man has been endowed by his Creator—the Maker of mind to make communication to mind? And why should we not confide in *written evidence* when circumstances co-operate to illustrate and support the truth of its author? You admit the existence of the celebrated historian, Josephus, the great conqueror, Alexander, and the notorious Thomas Paine. Of the two former, all the evidence you have, is founded upon the pages of history. This evidence would have been lost, unless *man* had possessed the faculty of communicating facts to after generations. This is written evidence sent down to us through the lapse of time, and yet you believe it. Important and interesting facts are revealed to you by a fellow man; you receive them as such, and believe their truth.

The author's train of reasoning is such as a plain man of a sound understanding and honest convictions would be likely to pursue. By a chain of unsophisticated propositions, sustained by the general observation and experience of mankind, he conducts the reader steadily forward to his main point of exhibiting infidelity as it appears in the lives and characters of its votaries, according to the infallible maxim, "By their fruits shall ye know them."

In passing he seizes the cavils commonly employed by the enemies of Christianity to reproach and scandalize it, and hurls back their weapons upon them with no sparing hand. The following is an instance:—

"You assume the imperfections of Christian professors, and their various sentiments, urging them as proof against the authenticity of the Christian religion. As well may you pass sentence of condemnation upon gold, silver, and bank notes, and say all were spurious, because some are counterfeits; and to prove a negative, you affirm that which I have never seen recorded in any authentic history, 'that two Christian monks contended for preference, and one in anger threw a leaden inkstand at the other;' and infer from the phantasies of your own imaginations that there can be no truth in Christianity. Suppose your imaginations to be true, does this affect Christianity? Where do you find Jesus Christ teaching the art of throwing inkstands, or using carnal weapons? To you it belongs to show that foolish men act in accordance with the doctrines, examples, and precepts of Jesus Christ, when they manifest a hostile spirit one to another. So far from this, he teaches love, patience, meek-

ness, long suffering, peace, quietness, goodness, &c., &c., and nowhere do you find him inculcating an opposite doctrine."

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"We will return to the question. You demand evidence, but refuse written evidence. What then shall I give you? What will satisfy you? Will you receive the existence of Christianity itself as evidence in support of the existence of God, and its revelation to man? What can I give you more glaring than the fact, that Christianity does now, and has for ages surmounted the dislikes, taunts, and persecutions of its opposers? Will you deny the fact, and take refuge under your favorite doctrine, that your senses may deceive you? I would then ask, what are you fighting against? Is it not Christianity? And have you not been preceded by a Voltaire, a Bolingbroke, a Hume, a Paine, and many others, who have spent the measure of their fury against Christianity, and are in eternity, while the object of their hatred still survives? Were not many of the primitive as well as more modern Christians put to ignominious death by bigoted infidels."

"Christianity was first taught by a few obscure, unlearned, plain, but honest fishermen, as they were inspired by the divine Author. No splendid retinue of worldly dignitaries—no dazzling array of military glory—no violence has been exerted, by which to force its way, and spread its triumphs through the world. It marches forth in its own light and beauty. Its own consistency and incomparable value impress themselves upon the minds and consciences of all reflecting, consistent, reasonable, and honest men. Though many maniacs, from its introduction into the world, have toiled to destroy the noblest of systems, and have caused rivers of blood to flow in the mighty conflict, yet it still lives an indestructible monument of its truth and goodness, and has fully vindicated its author in his bold declaration, when he says, 'The gates of hell shall not prevail.' But you say all this is false, all imagination, all a delusion; your senses deceive you; they are treacherous; they must not be relied on, especially in matters of religion. I shall not attempt to prove that the senses of an infidel may not deceive him; but I do ask, if they are so subject to being deceived, what man of the quantum of sense absolutely necessary for a Christian to have, could place any confidence in the opinions or belief of such a person?—and what folly it must be for a Christian to adopt such bigotry and disbelief? Your senses, it appears, are so treacherous as to lead you to construe all rational evidence of revealed religion into a perversion of the senses and false imagination, making the bitter sweet, and the sweet bitter. To be a Christian, is to be a disciple on rational evidence; to love and yield obedience to the truth; to go nowhere without, but anywhere with rational evidence. Christianity requires and challenges investigation. He that believeth, shall (as well he may) know of the doctrine. He hath the witness in himself. His senses do not deceive him. Christianity still exists; the testimony of which does not depend on written evidence; and all your efforts, conjointly, with all that have gone before, and all that may come after you, will only serve to illustrate the fact, that Christianity exists, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. It is now founded on the basis of eternal truth, the Rock of ages, against which all the minions of apostates shall never prevail. No carnal weapons are used, no force employed to sustain it on its onward march. Calmly and harmoniously it bears its gentle sway, making captivity captive, and procuring peace, happiness, and salvation for man. No enlightened or honest man can do less than hail its royal approach. In its own light and beauty, it stamps itself upon the consciences and understandings of men, brings them into its own similitude, and throws around them the panoply of eternal truth in purity, preparing its own votaries for beatific and ecstatic joys. But what have been the machinations of infidels to prevent the spread of Christianity, and its happy results through this darkened and benighted world? They have put

to death those who have professed the Christian name. Fire, fagot, and sword have been employed to impede its progress. Only one of the twelve apostles was suffered to escape the tortures of a most barbarous character; all the rest suffered most cruel and bloody deaths by the hands of infidels. Not one of those illustrious martyrs ever raised his arm in his own defence, but yielded his life a sacrifice and seal to the truth and excellence of the Christian religion. I challenge you to point out the individual Christian, living under the influence of his chartered rights, (I mean revealed religion,) who ever raised a carnal weapon in his defence, with the approbation and sanction of Jesus Christ, much less to assail, or be engaged in any offensive contest against his fellow man. It is only when infidelity has assumed the Christian name, destroyed the Bible, and arrogated to itself the right of keeping the consciences of its fellows, and *only* then, that fire, fagot, and sword would be tolerated. You may go to pagan Rome, or any other country that thirsts for power at the expense of blood, for examples; but do they learn this from the Bible? Do they diffuse and teach scripture knowledge, and Christianity, as Christ himself taught it? I answer, No! the more ignorance the better; the more darkness the more blood. They will not come to the light that their deeds may be reproved.. Yet, because infidels call themselves Christians, and under the Christian name imbrue their hands in their brethren's blood, true Christianity must be condemned! As well may you condemn gold and silver, because counterfeit coins are put in circulation.. Such positions should make a rational being blush, and hide his head, and be ashamed to think himself a man. But, say you, Christians fight among themselves. I say again, it is the effect of customs and traditions, the commencement of which was with the infidel, Cain, at the time he killed his brother. Cain would not believe God when he assured him, if he did well, he should be accepted. He was a fatalist and an infidel,. but did his unbelief make the faith of God of no effect? Christianity is not in fault; the fault lies in not having it. It is infidelity and pagan cruelty.

"I again ask for an example of cruelty to be found in the Christian's book of discipline; and again affirm that all disorder, cruelty, and blood are the results of paganism and infidelity, and not the fault of Christianity."

"You object again, and say that about one hundred Christians in the United States have become mentally deranged, most of whom belonged to the Methodist society. You offer a pamphlet, in evidence of this fact, in which you attempt to show the fallacy of the Christian religion. Let us examine this matter. It appears from the records, that five hundred and thirteen thousand one hundred and fourteen Methodists are now in the United States. Suppose them to constitute one-third part of all the Christians in this country, we shall then have, collectively, one million five hundred and ninety-three thousand three hundred and forty-two Christians of all denominations, out of which number, one hundred have lost their mental faculties. Hence, you infer, Christianity cannot be true. Let us look a little farther. I have seldom seen an infidel possessing a sound mind, that continued so all his days. I have known about two hundred persons professing infidelity, out of which a large majority have manifested undeniable insanity, and have met with disgraceful deaths, the fruits of their own corrupt propensities and vicious habits. Now, if the fact of one hundred, out of one million five hundred and thirty-nine thousand three hundred and forty-two, dying in a state of agitation of mind, is evidence against the truth of the Christian religion, how much stronger evidence against the truth of infidelity, where a large majority, out of about two hundred active infidels, are guilty of murder, suicide, stealing, robbery, perjury, house-breaking, house-burning, and other impurities and enormities of the most beastly character, and die most ignominious deaths to satisfy the violated laws of their country!

This is a fair proportion, and shows the contrast between the two systems of Christianity and infidelity. I make this statement, not from pamphlets, but from known facts:—many of them were my neighbors, some of whom were my schoolmates, and some apostatized from sober habits and a Christian profession. I repeat that many of these fatal consequences of infidelity have come within my own knowledge. I have seen the ends of many of these deluded victims; and where I have not been an eye witness, I have received my information from the most respectable, nay, undoubted sources. I have never known a professed Christian to forsake that profession, and become a better man by becoming an infidel; but I have known profligates, drunkards, and infidels eventually become Christians and good men, ornaments to society, and a blessing to their families and to the world. You have declared this to be false; but in my answer to your next question, I shall enter more minutely into the facts and circumstances, and prove what I have here stated."

In the reader's way to the scene where he is to see infidelity acted to the life, his attention is directed to a few examples of eminent piety and benevolence as illustrative of the fruits of Christianity. Reynolds, Howard, and others are made to stand out in bold relief; and the splendor of their Christian virtues serves to render, by the contrast, the examples of error and crime, which are next presented, the more odious and forbidding. But we must not delay. The chapter of facts which we have promised is before us, and the reader, after perusing the following brief paragraph, which seems necessary as a sort of introduction to it, shall be permitted to peruse its gross and horrible details. The writer proceeds:—

"My own experience and observation would furnish volumes in favor of Christian sentiments, and against those of infidelity; the one requiring every principle that can make men good, useful, and happy; and the other unhinging society, by introducing discord, anarchy, confusion, and blood. In proof of this, I shall introduce, and dwell upon known and recorded facts. Christianity consists in 'doing to others as you would have others do to you;' to possess, cultivate, and exercise love and good will to all men; to appreciate, admire, and strictly adhere to the truth; to believe rational evidence, and to be governed by it; to hate deceit, falsehood, and all improprieties; to believe nothing without rational evidence; to deal justly, love mercy, walk humbly with God; to relieve the fatherless and widow, and keep unspotted from the world. To do these from choice, is the sum, substance, and principle of Christianity. I understand you, that infidelity is the reverse of Christianity. In this light, I shall proceed to examine both in their order. Since the murder of Abel by his brother, two distinct characters have been recognized in the world,—one murderous and cruel; and the other good, kind, meek, sober, and benevolent. These characteristics have marked the world of mankind in every age, and in every clime, in which the light of revelation has shed its beams."

As evidence of the pernicious tendency of infidel principles, and of the judgment of God upon those who openly and wickedly abandon themselves to the licentiousness they inculcate, according to the position affirmed in the last quoted paragraph, the author says:—

"I knew a party, formed more than fifty years ago, in Orange county and Smith's Cove, in the state of New-York, for the avowed purpose of

destroying Christianity and religious government. They claimed a right to indulge in lasciviousness, and to recreate themselves as their propensities and appetites should dictate. Those who composed this association were my neighbors; some of them were my schoolmates. I knew them well, both before and after they became members. I marked their conduct, and saw and knew their ends. Their number was about twenty men, and some females. After this association was formed, I attended a religious meeting, at which Daniel Haviland, a Quaker, was present, from the county of Dutchess, who rose in the meeting, with trembling limbs, and tears rolling over his furrowed cheeks were sprinkled on the floor, and said —'I saw a vision of those who conspire against my Master! Friends, keep from them! Keep your children from them! I saw the wild boar of the forest making inroads upon them, and every footstep marked with blood! I shall think strange if they do not die some unnatural and bloody death.' You ask for an explanation of what is meant by natural or unnatural death. I will tell you what I understand by a natural and unnatural death. A natural death is to die of sickness, on a bed. An unnatural death is to die as they *did!!* Of these, some were shot; some hung; some drowned; two destroyed themselves by intemperance, one of whom was eaten by dogs, and the other by hogs; one committed suicide; one fell from his horse and was killed; and one was struck with an axe, and bled to death. Not one of the original combination survived the term of five years from the prophecy of Haviland. I can give you names and particulars of the persons who thus sacrificed their lives and reputation to the folly which *you* call liberal. For the sake of the living, I will introduce the initials of their names only, except a few.

"Joshua Millar was a teacher of infidelity, and was shot off a stolen horse, by Colonel J. Woodhull. N. Millar, his brother, was shot off a log while he was playing at cards on first-day morning, by Zebid June, on a scouting party for robbers. Benjamin Kelly was shot off his horse by a boy, the son of the murdered, for the murder of one Clarke; he lay above ground until the crows picked his bones. J. Smith committed suicide by stabbing himself while he was imprisoned for crime. W. Smith was shot by B. Thorpe and others, for robbery. S. T. betrayed his own confidential friend for five dollars; his friend was hung, and himself afterward was shot by D. Lancaster, said to be an accident; I heard the report of the gun, and saw the blood. J. A. was shot by Michael Coleman, for robbing Abimel Young, in the very act. J. V. was shot by a company of militia. J. D., in one of his drunken fits, laid out and was chilled to death. J. B. was hanged for stealing a horse. T. M. was shot by a continental guard, for not coming to, when hailed by the guard. C. Smith was hung for the murder of Major Nathaniel Strong. J. Smith and J. Vervellen were hung for robbing John Sacket. B. K. was hung for stealing clothes. One other individual hung for murder, (name not recollected.) N. B. was drowned, after he and J. B. had been confined for stealing a large ox, sent to General Washington as a present, by his friend. W. T. and W. H. were drowned. C. C. hung himself. T. F. Jr. was shot by order of a court-martial, for desertion. A. S. was struck with an axe, and bled to death. F. S. fell from his horse, and was killed. W. Clark drank himself to death: he was eaten by the hogs before his bones were found, and they were known by his clothing. He was once a member of respectable standing in the Presbyterian Church. While he remained with them, and regarded their rules and regulations, he was exemplary, industrious, sober, and respectable; and not until he became an infidel, did he become a vagabond. His bones, clothing, and jug were found in a cornfield, belonging to John Coffee, and they were buried without a coffin. J. A——, Sen., died in the woods, his rum jug by his side. He was not found until a dog brought home one of his legs, which was identified by the stocking; his bones had been picked by animals. J. H., the last I shall mention in communication with that gang, died in a

drunken fit. Most of the foregoing had but commenced their career of folly and degradation, when Daniel Haviland utterred his prophecy against them, and said 'he saw the wild boar of the forest making inroads upon them, and every footstep marked with blood;' and most of them were in eternity in less than three years from that time; and not more than two were spared to exceed ten years. Like causes produce like effects. The fruits of your sentiments and folly are seen, only to be deplored. Whenever and wherever you gain an ascendency, fugitives and vagabonds are multiplied. The conduct of the females who associated with this gang, was such as to illustrate its practical effects upon them. I shall only say that not one of them could or would pretend to know who were the fathers of their offspring. Perhaps hell itself could not produce more disgusting objects than were some of them; and none of them were fit associates of decent, refined, and moral society.

"Allow me to exemplify my positions by giving farther proof of the blighting influence of your pernicious doctrines. Blind Palmer appears to have been the pillar and pride of your club. He collected together a number who were willing to hear and follow his instructions, in the county of Orange and different parts of the country. They espoused the cause and drank of its consequences. They organized themselves in opposition to the Christian religion, attempted to destroy the Bible and all its influence. One of the first acts of folly, and deeds of darkness, was to commit the sacred volume to the flames. The objects of their association seemed to be, to blaspheme against the God of heaven; to show their contempt for his law, his religion, and his examples; as also to defile the pure altars of the Most High with mockery and ridicule. They called their association a liberal meeting; and at one of their cabals at Newburg. administered, as I was informed by those present, the ordinance of baptism, and the Lord's supper, to cats and dogs, with all the apparent solemnity of those who believe those ordinances to be necessary acts of worship to Him who instituted them. Most of those who belonged to that club soon became vagabonds, and most of them were followed by the immediate judgments of God, and their days were sealed by death. At the meeting to which I have alluded, they burned the Bible, baptized a cat, partook of the sacrament, and administered it to a dog. One of them, who partook of the sacrament, on his way home exclaimed, 'My bowels are on fire, die I must,'—and die he did that same night, Dr. H., one of the same company, was found a lifeless lump of clay in his bed, the next morning. D. D., their printer, fell in a fit within three days after, and died. Three others were drowned within a few days, or a short period at most. D. M., another, and a well educated man, was drowned that same season. His remains were found fast in the ice; the fowls of the air had picked his bones above, and the inhabitants of the watery elements had picked his bones below the ice. He, with the last five mentioned, were in my employment. On seeing the fate of his cotemporaries, he expressed fearful apprehensions of his own approaching end. He said he had been disobedient to his parents, had not followed their directions, nor answered the ends for which they had educated him. They had designed him for the gospel ministry, and had expended much on his education, for that vocation. B. A. was a well educated lawyer, and attended the meeting to which I have alluded. He came to his death by starvation. C. C. was also educated for the bar, a man of mind superior to many, and inferior to few of his time. He, by want, hunger, and filth, was thrown into a fever, of which he died, a martyr to his own folly. S. C. hung himself. J. B. went to the state prison for perjury. J. M. state prison for house-breaking. J. G. state prison for stealing a horse. J. L. was whipped and banished for stealing grain. J. H. whipped and banished for stealing a watch. D. D. was hired to shoot a man for ten dollars, and was hung. G. C., state prison for stealing a horse. The fate of C. G. I have before stated. J. M., state prison for forgery. S. flogged and banished for stealing a

horse. J. N. and his son, state prison for stealing cattle. The father was for five, and the son for two years and a half. The son is, at this day, the most respectable man belonging to your company. He is industrious, and, I believe, makes an honest living; though he yet remains a public advocate for your cause. H. S. absconded from the state for taking a false oath. S. B. sent to state prison on conviction for manslaughter; and, since his discharge, has taken a false oath to my knowledge. He knocked down James M'Kinney, a man eighty years of age, for asking a blessing at the table, and beat him till his life was in danger. He was among the earliest and most active advocates of blind Palmer. S. came to his death by taking laudanum. M., a school-teacher, and of the same club, was sent to the state prison, for embezzlement. J. M., a brewer, took a false oath. It was proved to be false, to the satisfaction of the court. D. H. W. took a false oath, though supported by several of his party. I could here give fifteen more who, in the same case, swore false; but to save labor and paper, I shall omit giving names. I knew it to be false, and so decided the court. R. J., your printer, was hung for shooting a woman. F., an advocate for the same doctrines, attempted suicide, by cutting his own throat. Dr. C. C. B. was disowned by the Society of Friends, for having become a proselyte to Frances Wright. To my knowledge he read a letter falsely twice before arbitrators, and was detected. Indeed, few can be found of your whole clan, who do not degrade themselves to the most brutal and bloody acts of barbarism, and become public nuisances, fugitives, and vagabonds."

This appalling picture we give as we find it. We affirm nothing, of course, with respect to the truth of the facts it exhibits, farther than they appear to be sustained by the accompanying testimony. Of the isolated Orange county club, few people beyond their immediate vicinity have probably ever heard. The poison of infidelity, confined to the narrow limits of their individual association, soon expended its virulence upon the feeble body, and it died as the vagabond dies, unregretted, if not unpitied by all. The filthy and loathsome details of wanton lasciviousness, promiscuously practised among different members of the same family belonging to this pestiferous clan, irrespective of the distinctions of parent and child, and the unblushing impudence with which they were vindicated by arguments drawn from the conduct of brutes, are so shockingly disgusting, that we will spare the feelings of our readers by omitting them. If any have a wish to know what will be the state of society in the lower walks of life, when the lauded principles of unrestrained licentiousness propagated by infidels, gain an ascendency, let them read the account given by the author, of the abominations which were transacted under his own observation. If, in high life, among those influenced by the same principles, there be more decency observed, there is just cause to doubt whether there be less iniquity practised.

Of the career of blind Palmer, most people in this country have probably heard something. His profane and demoralizing harangues uttered in all places where he could collect the giddy rabble to hear him, excited the attention of an intelligent and virtuous magistracy,

who, by a salutary provision, restrained his operations in our city, and very much curtailed his influence. From that period his notoriety began to wane, and his partisans went into obscurity. The public generally have known little or nothing of their subsequent history, and probably would have ever remained ignorant of it, had it not been brought to light by our author.

In this history we see all the characteristic features of infidelity advanced to a state of maturity. Like causes produce like effects. Wherever, therefore, these principles are permitted to take root and spread, there similar consequences may be expected to follow as infallibly as any effect is known to follow its producing cause.

It is with the most painful feelings that we are drawn by this subject to contemplate the fact, too generally known and acknowledged, that the same principles and speculations which, in the insignificant clan of Palmerites, resulted in consequences so awfully disastrous, are prevailing in our country to an alarming extent. The mortifying and disgraceful truth must be admitted that the wandering female lecturer, Fanny Wright, who has attracted much attention by her public discussions, and the indecent and fulsome productions of her pen, and Robert D. Owen, her coadjutor and travelling companion, together with the entire train of their admirers and followers, have boldly avowed, and assiduously inculcated, all the disorganizing and antisocial principles which drew upon Palmer and his feeble hand the just indignation of an insulted public. The departure of that virtue which in other days arrayed itself against the pestiferous influence of moral marauders, despoiling community of its richest treasures, in the stern virtue of its sons and daughters, is too clearly indicated by the toleration given to these foreign invaders, who have with unblushing effrontery proclaimed both their principles and their designs. Not only the religion professed by a vast majority of the people, and recognized in all the acknowledged instruments of their constitutional rights, but also all the principles of morality and social order—the institutions of marriage and of the Sabbath—the truth of divine revelation, and the existence and government of God himself, have been denounced and vilified, and an atheistical philosophy, with a universally leveling and libertine civil policy proposed as alternatives, by the revolutionary process to which these speculations naturally lead. Who could have believed that such speculations, imported and hawked through the country like damaged or unmerchantable wares, and that by a brawling female, would have excited the least favorable notice for a moment by free and independent Americans? Had the history been uttered in the language of prediction, it would have been ridiculed as the phantom of a disordered imagination? And yet the world has been called to witness the anomalous

reality. It must henceforward be incorporated in the history of our enlightened and hitherto confessedly Christian nation.

Let us pause to see how all this will appear from the pen of a faithful historian.

"About this time great excitement was waked up in the country by Miss Fanny Wright, a female of eccentric and masculine habits, and doubtful principles, who, in company with Robert D. Owen, visited the principal towns and cities, lecturing everywhere on the subjects of religion and government. They established also a periodical, through which to propagate their sentiments. The leading principles they advanced, were, that existing governments are oppressive, and averse to the natural rights of man, that the institutions of religion, and the restraints imposed by them, are to be detested as founded in falsehood, and employed to restrict the free indulgence of those passions and inclinations with which we are constitutionally formed for happiness, with all the other cognate tenets of the agrarian school bearing upon these grave questions. To see a female, unprotected, (excepting by a single individual in nowise connected with her, only by a similarity of views and feelings, which, from their character and tendency, naturally cast a shade of suspicion over his guardian pretensions,) laying aside the modesty of her sex, ranging the length and breadth of the land, conflicting with men in stormy debate, and standing up before promiscuous assemblies to instruct statesmen in the maxims of law and government, and inspire the rabble with sentiments of hostility against the civil and religious institutions of the land, was a novel spectacle, and not a little ridiculous. But its novelty, no doubt, contributed to the success which followed. The actors in this scene were tolerated, flattered, and even animated and encouraged by the acclamations of many, whose duty would have been better performed by denouncing them as disturbers of the peace, and enemies of the dear-bought rights of the people. The name of Fanny Wright became identified with the politics of the day. Societies were organized for the express purpose of propagating her opinions. Their tendency was soon witnessed in all the circles brought under their influence. Licentious sentiments and dissolute habits were encouraged rather than restrained. The basest sensuality found apologists among her admirers, and impunity in her creed. Benevolent enterprises were brought under the unchastened ban of the coarse ribaldry of the party. Every effort at reform, the temperance movement not excepted, was made a subject of their incessant vituperations, and all engaged in the work of mercy were brought to feel the keenest strokes of their sarcastic sallies. God and religion were the objects of their peculiar virulence and malignity, and

upon every thing connected with these sacred names they were wont to pour out the pestiferous dregs of their rancorous venom. By harangues and bar-room discussions, made up of scoffing ridicule and witty sarcasms, and passed off under the name of philosophical investigation, the young and inexperienced, ever fond of new things, and pleased with what addresses itself to their undisciplined passions, were allured from the paths of virtue, and ensnared by their wiles. The more corrupt and dissolute were already prepared to fall into their ranks, and perform their venal services in extending and strengthening the power of the combination. Aspirants for office, and men in office, appeared not to be ashamed of being designated as belonging to the 'Fanny Wright party!' As such they arrayed themselves against the existing laws and usages favorable to the religion of the Bible, and gave their sanction to others subversive of it, whenever an opportunity offered for them to do so. They were peculiarly adroit in exciting a spirit of malignant hostility against men and institutions whose influence they had most reason to dread. By a false classification of terms they contrived to stigmatize orthodoxy by the odious epithet of *sectarianism*, and religion by that of *bigotry*. In their vocabulary every priest was a *pope*, and every rule of moral discipline an *inquisition*. With such names, terrible to the ignorant and thoughtless, they were enabled to array a fearful amount of feeling against the best men and the most wholesome moral institutions in the country. Nor were they diffident in their pretensions. The exclusiveness which marked all their measures most evidently betrayed their designs, and served to show that compromise was no part of their political or religious creed. Theirs was an open war of extermination against every vestige of Christianity and moral order. To carry this object they could not trust the co-operation of any half-way men, and therefore made repeated efforts to thrust upon the people, by the aid of the rabble they managed to control, rulers exclusively of their own stamp. And such was the audacity with which they clamored for whatever they chose to favor, and pounced like so many harpies upon the obnoxious objects of their hate, that men of decent habits and correct principles shrunk from conflicting with them, until the remark became general, that there was so much infidelity in the public councils of the country, that nothing favorable to the cause of morality or religion could be carried."

This chapter of history is neither premature nor untrue. It must in faithfulness to posterity be handed down to them, with all its attendant circumstances, as a blot upon the age in which we live. But, however it affects us as citizens, our present business is to notice it in another light. We have seen the results of the feeble

efforts of Palmer and others to scatter the seeds of infidelity, under circumstances calculated to restrain and limit their operations. If such were the consequences of those feeble and circumscribed efforts, what may we not expect from the unrestrained exertions of the Fanny Wright school?

It is believed that if the disastrous occurrences traceable directly to the pernicious principles inculcated by this fraternity, could be drawn forth and placed before the public, the picture would be little less horrid and appalling than the one exhibited above. We are not advocates for inflicting penalties upon men on account of their opinions, however pernicious they may be. The punishment in reserve for them by their righteous Judge is equal and exact. To him this prerogative belongs. But we do think it absurd and censurable in a Christian community to countenance their pretensions, and, with the sovereign power in their own hands, elevate them to places of rule and authority, when they evidently show a determination to employ whatever influence they can command for the purpose of wresting from others their inherited rights, and opening upon community the flood-gates of vice and dissipation. The time is not far distant, we hope, when the public will see and feel their duty in this matter, and perform it with a strong hand. That there is much infidelity in the land is true; but that it is uncontrollable, is not. It is blustering, but not solid. It revels in the stormy elements which howl along our coasts, but is not indigenous in the fertile soil which cherishes the seeds of our liberty. If there is much infidelity, there is much piety too; and to this latter is added, as an important weight in the scale of morality and religion, the entire amount of feeling in the nation which cherishes a love of peace and tranquillity. True, this has been inexcusably dormant and passive while the elements of riot and disorder have been collecting in the midst of us. But the feelings which have reposed during this process will not slumber beyond the first hollow murmurs which announce the approach of the storm. They will resist the fury of the tempest with the firmness of their patriotic and Christian fathers, and say to the flood as it pours forth, "Here let thy waves be stayed!" God, who has so highly favored this country as the asylum of civil and religious freedom, and the refuge of his persecuted saints, will not give it, we are sure, into the hands of the destroyer. A dark cloud may obscure the sun of its prosperity for a season; but that sun will be still ascending as steadily to the glory of its meridian as though no cloud had intervened. And when He who rides upon the storm shall scatter the elements, and break by his lightning the dense cloud into atoms, then shall the glory of our prosperity burst upon us with new splendor. In what we now witness, we have

a most exact fulfilment of the predictions of that revelation in which we trust; and while it operates to *try* our faith, it contributes also to *strengthen* it. In these predictions the characters of scoffers and false teachers are drawn with a graphic hand. No one can mistake the picture. They are known and distinguished as "walking after their own lusts," and "denying the Lord that bought them;" and many, it is affirmed, shall be drawn to "follow their pernicious ways, by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of." But their fate is as clearly pointed out by the same unerring inspiration, as is their character and their career: "Whose judgment now of a long time lingereth not, and their damnation slumbereth not." They "bring upon themselves swift destruction." God, who spared not the old world, nor the angels that sinned, nor the filthy inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, will not be mocked forever. He will in due time punish the guilty who despise his offers of mercy and profanely trample upon his goodness;—"but chiefly them that walk after the flesh in the lusts of uncleanness, and despise government; presumptuous are they and self-willed; they are not afraid to speak evil of dignities." "As natural brute beasts made to be taken and destroyed, they speak evil of the things that they understand not, and shall utterly perish in their own corruption, and shall receive the reward of unrighteousness as they that count it pleasure to riot in the day time." Let these predictions be compared with the history of every infidel club of whom the world have ever had knowledge, and if their inspiration be not admitted, the coincidence of a perfect likeness must at least be accounted extraordinary and inexplicable.

Art. VIII.—GEOLOGY.

The following article was written a few weeks since, with the intention of forwarding it for your Magazine. But I concluded at first thought, after it was finished, that it was not of sufficient value. A second thought has induced me to forward it, as it may be of some service in calling attention to the subject. It will not, I hope, be objectionable because it first appeared in another periodical. G. F. C.

Geology, or the science of the *structure* of the earth, and of the *substances* which compose it, is at the present time receiving unusual attention. And from the popular lectures of scientific men upon the subject, and some short articles in various periodicals, it has become more or less the topic of conversation and reflection among the great mass of readers. So far as this inquiry may lead us to a knowledge of what the earth *is*—what are its elements, and what its organization—and of the laws which may be found universally to prevail in controlling its substances—society will evidently be benefited. And in *this* labor of science we bid every geologist good speed. But there is one branch of the doctrine, which, although it

seems to be pursued with great ardor by men of learning and piety, we are apprehensive will have an unfavorable bearing upon revelation. We refer to the ANTIQUITY assigned by geologists to the earth's origin. We doubt if either the Bible, or analogy, or any correct mode of reasoning, will justify the opinion that the earth received its formation at periods so interminable as are assigned to it by geologists. We have no doubt, indeed, but that such a theory *may be* reconciled with the first chapter of Genesis; and it is gratifying to find a mind of so august a character as that of Cuvier coming to such a conclusion. We do not think it particularly inconsistent with that short history to believe that the *present form* of the earth may have been created from pre-existent matter, although one of the first critics of Europe has remarked that the term translated "created" (ברא,) implies formations from *nothing*. This, too, is the unanimous opinion of the Jewish rabbins. But our objections lie on other grounds. The science itself is too *infantile* to demand any *new* interpretations of the Bible. Scientific men have proved themselves to be too great errorists to claim the homage of our belief until their theories have been *demonstrated*.

Brydone, a celebrated writer, and who was a F. R. S., in his "Tour through Sicily and Malta," attempts to prove from the fact that, in an excavation of some depth, at the base of Mount Ætna, he ascertained there were *seven* distinct beds of *lava*, most of which were covered with thick beds of rich earth—that the mountain must be at least *fourteen thousand years old;* because it was then an assumed doctrine, by some, that it required at least two thousand years to form a bed of earth upon one of lava such as was there seen. But the whole of this theory was overthrown in a moment, by a fact that any one may examine at his leisure. Mount Vesuvius, in an eruption, buried the city of Herculaneum in A. D. 79. But we are informed by Sir William Hamilton that the matter which covers the ancient town of Herculaneum is not the result of *one* eruption, but it is covered with *six* strata of lava, between each of which there are veins of good soil. But according to Brydone's reasoning, Herculaneum has been buried twelve thousand years, instead of *seventeen hundred*. We give this fact as an evidence of error among philosophers!

We need only mention the *strange theories* that have obtained for centuries in astronomy, anatomy, and almost every phenomenon that has occurred on the earth's surface; and this too by learned men. Even as late as Tycho-Brahe and Kepler,—one of whom, if we recollect rightly, supposed that some of the heavenly lights were living animals swimming in ether—and the other adopted the idea that the earth was motionless, and the centre of the universe,—we see evidence of most egregious errors; and this too when the science of astronomy had been the great object of inquiry among the learned for ages. We say then to every man, receive not hastily from any geologist a *new* interpretation of the Bible.—What they present as *facts* receive—but of the *theories* of the earth's formation, of which no geologist in the world can speak with *certainty—believe them not* at present.

We have another objection to the age of the earth, as given by geologists. While revelation makes the creation of the earth the

work of a MIRACLE, the basis on which geologists build their theory makes the earth the sole work of NATURE. It has come to its present maturity, as *they* suppose, by mere chemical and *natural* changes. All that they will allow that God *created*, properly speaking, is a *gaseous substance*—or a kind of *fiery atmosphere*, which at length consolidated into the present world. Buffon thinks that the earth was a fragment originally struck from the sun!! and at length assumed its present form.

But let us seriously ask the philosopher what he gains by even such an admission on our part. If geologists allow that God *created* even a *gaseous* substance, they meet with every important difficulty that would be found, if they admitted that God created, in six natural days, the present earth. Could they find the *elements* of a gaseous substance, they would see all the evidence of *periods* that they now see; and were they to allow *time* for *nature* to form *those elements*, they would find the same necessity for interminable years that they now do.

But we ask serious-minded men, if the Bible does not *universally* represent the creation of the world as the result of a *miracle*? Does not the whole tenor of Revelation point to such a conclusion? And does it not say expressly that "the worlds that were framed * * * were NOT made of things which do APPEAR?" And was not this remark designed to strike against the peripatetic philosophy, (or doctrine of Aristotle,) which taught that it was created out of pre-existing matter? or rather, which *assumed* that the world was *eternal*? We confess it appears to us that the Scriptures teach the *miraculous* creation of the earth. And if this be true, *it was not done by the slow process of nature.* God spoke, and it was done;—He commanded, and it stood fast. How infinitely sublime such a thought! But how meagre the thought, that first a *gaseous substance* was seen floating about in the heavens, intensely heated, which finally consolidated, became a heated mineral ball of fire, which afterward *cooled* and then *oxidated*, till we had a crust of the earth! A salt sea sprung up! and then some animals, which were destroyed by some terrible convulsion of nature—and finally, after an interminable length of years, it became the abode of man—who, by the way, presents as many incontestable evidences of *periodic* formation, as any rock in the universe. And do geologists pretend to believe that the first *man* was formed as slowly as the first rock? And yet why not? Could a geologist find a *bone of Adam*, he would see *evidence* that that bone was twenty or a hundred years in making. And yet God made it mature in a *moment*. The same reasoning would hold good with regard to the *first tree*. Could we find that tree, it would give evidence of periodic formation. So also would the first animals.—But if we allow that God created the first tree, the first man, the first animals, exhibiting the same phenomena that appear in animals and trees formed by the *slower process* of nature, why can we not admit the same reasoning in reference to a *rock*, and the formation of the earth? If we allow only that God made the *seeds* from which trees sprung, it presents nearly all the difficulties that can be found in the earth's present structure. A philosopher would tell us of a *seed*, that it was so many months arriving at its present maturity; and if it were a

common seed, his reasoning would be true; but if it were the *first seed* made, there would be *no truth* in his philosophy. Thus of geology.

We have another difficulty. If the earth was formed by the slow degrees contended for by geologists, it is probable that the Moon was formed in the same way; the Sun, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Vesta, with the other planets, indeed all the fixed stars! These were all commenced with gaseous vapors! But where is the proof? Do we see such changes now in the heavens as would authorize such a belief? Indeed we do not. Besides, what gave to the earth its nice balance, what gave to the universe this?—He who said, LET THERE BE LIGHT, AND IT WAS;—*was, in the twinkling of an eye.*

ART. IX.—CHARACTER AND TENDENCIES OF THE CATHOLIC RELIGION.

BY W. FISK, D. D.

MESSRS. EDITORS,—Having given an account in the preceding letters of the more prominent ceremonies of the Catholic Church, it may not be unprofitable, in the present letter, to make some reflections upon the character and tendencies of the Catholic religion. This is a subject that is at this moment attracting to itself intense interest, and especially in the United States. The time having passed by, we hope for ever, in which the advocates of this religion can, as formerly, enforce their dogmas by the sword and by the authority of the secular power, they now find it necessary to try the strength of the question on moral grounds. This is a position to which the opposers of Romanism have long wished to press the question, and they have partially succeeded; and in the United States particularly the question presents itself exclusively upon this ground. As in the despotisms of Europe the old ground of propagation is abandoned, the experiment is now to be tried whether the sentiment can prevail in a country of free discussion. Here, and on these principles, we ought to be prepared to meet it. Let us then examine some of its claims and tendencies by what we see and know of its character. For Romanism, to be known and judged of, must be seen and scrutinized where no motives of policy force it into unnatural positions or concealments. In short, in Italy and in Rome itself this system can best be tested. Against this Catholics cannot object, for if, as they teach, Christianity has a grand central capital, and that is Rome—if it has one single head on earth to whom, as the vicegerent of Christ, the keys of the kingdom of God have been committed, and the pope is that head—then here certainly, under the influence of the pontifical court, and under the very droppings of the pope's sanctuary, we may hope to find concentrated all the excellences of this church. Here, if anywhere, impurities will be discarded and abuses discountenanced.

ROMANISM HAS A STRONG AND DIRECT TENDENCY TO IDOLATRY.

I will not say that a Roman Catholic must necessarily be guilty of idolatry; nor will I now argue from the fact that the Catholics

have left out the second commandment from many of their editions of the commandments, because it speaks so directly against their image worship,—which seems to be a tacit acknowledgment by themselves that they must, if judged by the light of Scripture, be convicted of idolatry.

Neither will I now insist upon the glaring idolatry of worshipping a wafer in the form of a consecrated host, because if a Catholic can really believe that this wafer is converted into a God, as some of them perhaps do, he does not worship the thing that *is*, but the thing which he *believes it to be;* and, therefore, he may even in this worship be held in the sight of God innocent of idolatry. But whatever some of *strong faith*, or, more properly, of *irrational credulity*, may believe on this subject, there are many, doubtless, who are led into this worship, following the example of others who, as the apostle expresses himself on a somewhat analogous subject, "with conscience to the idol unto this hour" bow down to it as to what their senses tell them it really is, a portion of matter, and yet a portion of matter which, like the *gree-gree* or the *amulet*, has some peculiar charm and talismanic virtue, and thus their "consciences are defiled," and their minds are sensualized. Indeed every one, it appears to me, who attempts to believe in transubstantiation lays a snare for his conscience; and the church which inculcates this doctrine lays a broad foundation for materialism. And this the Catholics do, not merely in this doctrine, but in their veneration for relics. Rome and all Italy is full of sacred relics: they are considered as possessing in themselves peculiar virtue. Here are stones that sweat blood—here are martyrs' bones that raise the dead, and pieces of the cross, and scourges, and pillars of stone, and holy staircases, and a thousand things which have wrought more miracles than were ever wrought by Christ or his apostles.

When an ignorant African pagan talks about the virtue of his *gree-gree*, and relies upon it for his protection, we call him an idolater, *and so he is.* But is he more so than the Catholic who believes in the virtue of his crucifix or other trinket, because it has been blessed by the pope, or because it has been shaken in the porringer which, as is pretended, contained the pap from which the holy child Jesus was fed?

But another soure of idolatry is the numerous subordinate mediators that enter into the machinery of the Catholic religion. In my former letter an instance is given in a very solemn and imposing service, performed by the pope himself, in which pardon was supplicated through the merits of saints. Angels are prayed to. Saints, male and female, are prayed to, and especially and above all the blessed Virgin is an object of universal veneration and worship. It is in vain for Catholics to plead that they only solicit the aid of these personages to present their suit to God; for, in the first place, many of the prayers are direct, and imply that these saints have power in themselves to give the necessary aid. Besides, the very idea that the Virgin, or that the angel Gabriel, or St. Peter can hear the prayers of Catholics, praying, as they do, in different and distant parts of the world, clothes these saints, in the opinion of the worshippers, with omnipresence—one of the attributes of the Deity. Nay, to show that many of the people do directly worship

these saints and the blessed Virgin, this one fact is sufficient, that they will sooner swear by the name of Jesus Christ, or of God the Father, than by the name of the Virgin. Hence it appears, that they either consider it greater blasphemy to profane the name of the Virgin than that of God, or else they think she stands in a more intimate relation to them, and has it in her power to avenge any insult offered to her. If the latter be the idea, as perhaps in many instances it is, even this shows that they consider the Virgin as every where present to take cognizance of their insults to her character, and as having power, either directly or indirectly, of dispensing blessings and curses. That this is the idea of the greater portion of the people of Italy, there can be no doubt. No man can travel through Italy without noticing that the great whole of the worship of Italy is the worship of the Virgin. If there is one shrine in any of the churches more popular than another, it is, as a general thing, that of the Virgin. Nay, it is worse than this. The strongest features in the idolatry of the Catholics are not in the worship of the saints, but in the worship of images and pictures. The image of a saint is more worshipped than the saint himself—the picture of the Madonna more than the Virgin in heaven. It is said by Catholics that these images are designed only as helps to fix the attention; but, whatever may have been their design originally, it is notorious that they are now actually worshipped, and this some Catholics are candid enough to own. This the priests countenance. I have seen a priest himself praying to an image of the Virgin. They carry around the images in procession, and encourage the people in times of calamity to try different Madonnas, because some have more virtue than others. Nay, the devotees of different cities and churches claim superior power and merit for their respective Madonnas. The inhabitants of Pisa, for example, the summer before we were there, attributed their escape from the cholera, while it raged most fearfully and fatally at Leghorn, less than twelve miles from them in a straight line, to the superior virtue of their Madonna. All these facts, and a thousand others that might be mentioned, show that it is not the Virgin in heaven, but *this* or *that* particular image or picture that is supposed to have the virtue and the power of saving and blessing. They are taught this, or why is it so prevalent? Is it not taught by the example of the pope himself when he worships the cross, when he bows down before the relics at St. Veronica's shrine?—when he goes, as he did on holy week, to the bronze image of St. Peter in the church of St. Peter's, and kisses it, and rubs his face against it, and kneels before it? Nay, is not this countenanced in the very homage paid to the pope himself, before whom the prelates and people prostrate themselves as to a god? If a system had been formed for the express purpose of calling off the attention of the people from the Creator to the creature, from things spiritual to things material, could any thing more appropriate to the object have been formed? What feature is there in the entire system of the most splendid and fascinating forms of pagan idolatry, that is not equalled or excelled by the various parts of the Roman Catholic machinery? While the institutions of the Saviour were few, simple, and the very opposite of any thing like external show or parade, for the express purpose of

turning the mind from sensible objects to God who is a spirit, the entire system of Catholic forms and rites, is formed to dazzle the senses and captivate the imagination. What else than an extended and an abundant harvest of sensuality, materialism, and idolatry could we expect from such a religion? And what might be expected is seen in staring capitals throughout the country—*Stark glaring idolatry prevails in every direction.* They have become vain in their imagination, and their foolish heart is darkened, and they have "changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man."

And, what is worst of all in this and every other unholy feature of Roman Catholicism, they cannot alter without destroying the only claim of that church by which she enforces her authority—*her infallibility.* Wherever infallibility is supposed to exist, whether in the pope, in general councils, in tradition, or in all these, it is evident that all have united to sanction these idolatrous features of their religion. The very moment, therefore, that these usages are forbidden, the groundwork of the whole system must fall—Infallibility will be arrayed against itself, and when once this charm is broken, the whole system is laid open to investigation—the decrees of popes and councils, which have been venerated for centuries, are brought into discussion, and the entire system will crumble to the dust. It is only by crying, *procul, O procul este profani,*—let not the unbelieving presume for a moment to question our authority,—that her Catholics can keep their system in countenance. Hence this church has entailed upon herself the errors and abuses that corrupt her whole system, by incorporating those errors into her very framework, and making them an integral part of her very identity. There is no removing one of them without removing the very substratum in which they all inhere, and thereby unsettling and dissolving all its constituent parts.

Before dismissing this objection to Romanism, I cannot persuade myself to omit noticing with decided disapprobation the views of Rev. Mr. Dewey, who, under the title of the "Old World and the New," has lately given to the public the result of some of his observations in Europe. He approves of images and paintings in churches, and of many of the forms, ceremonies, and festivals of the Catholic Church, and expresses a wish that similar practices might be introduced into our own country, and into Protestant churches. I know not whether his Unitarian brethren will generally respond to his sentiments, but if they should, it might solve what has been unaccountable to many in America, viz. the favor which they as a religious sect have manifested toward the introduction and spread of Roman Catholicism in the United States. For myself, I have generally accounted for it on the principle that they are stanch advocates for free discussion, and liberty of religious opinion. They have seen that there has been the appearance of something like an intolerant spirit toward the Catholics, and this, as I have supposed, has led them to enlist their sympathies and influence in their favor. But Mr. Dewey's book has, I confess,—and I express my opinion with the greatest kindness, although I do it with all frankness,—led me to fear that there are between the two religions some points of harmony and coincidence, which may have been overlooked hitherto

by their Protestant brethren. It has been the opinion of many Protestants that Unitarianism has a decided leaning toward materialism; that, as a religion, it has in it less of spirituality and more of formality, especially as the supernatural influence of the Holy Spirit upon the heart is denied. May there not be principles of affinity here which will enable the two religions to symbolize together to some extent? And especially since the Unitarians believe in only a created Mediator, and that those strong expressions in the Scriptures authorizing veneration and worship to this Mediator are only expressive of such a homage as may be consistently paid to a creature, what objection can they have to the homage paid by Catholics to their numerous mediators, real and symbolical? If Christ is only a mere man, as some Unitarians hold, he is but a saint at best. Why then should not his sainted mother, and St. Peter and Paul, and the thousands of martyrs, male and female, that have been canonized, come in for an equal share, or, if not an *equal* share, at least for a similar *kind* of homage with Jesus Christ? I deeply regret these suggestions of Mr. Dewey: they commend a most repulsive and dangerous feature of Romanism, and thereby strengthen, so far as his influence goes, the system itself; and, if I mistake not, they show at the same time how extremes in error may meet in the same diameter of the circle, and how a departure from the truth in one form may push us ultimately into the very errors we have been accustomed to oppose.

ROMANISM IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM.

I say *civil* and *religious* freedom, because I think these two generally go together. They in fact imply each other, and the very power which in any government exists in sufficient strength to take away one, can also infringe upon the other. Hence, however there may have been occasional and transient exceptions, the general rule is, civil and religious freedom flourish or fail together. If Romanism, therefore, be opposed to either, it is incompatible with both.

It is no argument against the above proposition, that both in England and America, as well as in some other places, there are found Catholics who are strong advocates for liberty. The known policy of the Jesuits, who are the principal movers in the popery of the United States, is to harmonize with the popular current, in order to make proselytes and gain influence. Indeed this is, to a great extent, the policy of Romanism in all its forms; for it is this policy which has made it so like the idolatrous worship of Paganism, both in its forms and in its images. Especially would Papists advocate toleration in a Protestant country, where, as the majority is against them, they cannot even gain a foothold but for toleration. It is not surprising, therefore, that Catholics should be clamorous in America for civil and religious liberty: nor is it at all surprising that the pope himself should say, as he did in conversation with me, that he "liked America, because there were many Catholics there, and they were all tolerated and invested with equal rights and immunities with others." Nor yet—when I told him that this was in accordance with the genius of our government, for we had no established religion, all being equally tolerated—is it very sur-

prising that he should say in reply, as he did, that he considered "true toleration to consist in leaving every one to worship God according to his own choice." From such sentiments, uttered under such circumstances, we can form no definite opinion of the tendency of a religious system. To ascertain this we should inquire, "What are the fundamental doctrines and usages of this system?"—and "What has been, and what is now, the practical working of the system?"

A leading and a fundamental doctrine of Romanism is, that one man is the keeper of another's conscience. This doctrine is established by the principle of ecclesiastical supremacy and authority, pervading the entire body from the sovereign pontiff downward; and is especially enforced through the system of *auricular confession*. A part of the same system is the withholding of the Scriptures from the common people, and the strict prohibition—a prohibition enforced with the severest anathemas—forbidding the people to judge for themselves in matters of faith and practice. This is of itself a spiritual and religious despotism; nothing else can be made of it; and therefore its natural and certain operation, where it is not counteracted by extraneous and powerful barriers, is against civil liberty. All the machinery of the monastic orders is a part also of the same system. So also is the doctrine of penance, which of course is a sort of sanction and enforcement of ecclesiastical authority. To this same end also the power of the keys, and the cognate doctrine of absolution, contribute powerfully; for by these the priesthood gets the power over the purse as well as over the conscience. Such power is exerted even in our own country. Instances have been known in which the poor have given all their earnings to the priest, to obtain absolution for themselves, or indulgence for some deceased friend, to get him out of purgatory, and have applied to Protestants for bread, to feed themselves and families. Now look at this power in its accumulated form—power over men's faith—power over their conscience—power over their souls in this life to forgive or to condemn—power over their souls in another world to bind in purgatory or to loose from purgatory;—and by virtue of this power a control over the wealth of the rich and the pittance of the poor—can its tendency be other than subversive of both civil and religious liberty? How soon will the power of the *sword* follow? How soon will this ecclesiastical authority associate itself with the secular power, and both be exerted to bring the multitude into the most abject subjection? It is thus that Romanism ever has tended, and ever will tend, to the subversion of liberty, "in all the appropriate circumstances of its being." And this has been its uniform character. Nay, the decrees of councils and of popes have arrogated the right and duty to the Catholic Church of punishing incorrigible sinners for their heresy and impenitency. This has kindled the fires of the martyrs, excited the bloodiest persecutions, and arrayed all the tortures, and perpetrated all the cruelties, of the Inquisition.

Even now, although the spirit of the age has literally forced the church to the abandonment of their cruelties and enormities, yet we see still in operation the same opposition to liberty. Every advance that England has made in liberty she has made in opposition

to Romanism, until Romanism was thrown into the minority; since which, Papists in England and Ireland have been great sticklers for toleration. France has advanced only in opposition to the same influence; and if this religion had been able to maintain its sway over the nation, it would have remained in thraldom until this hour. And who are at this moment the greatest opposers of constitutional liberty in Spain and Portugal? Who are the Carlists and Miguelites of the day? *The Roman Catholic priests*, and those under their influence.

And what, after all, is the boasted toleration of Gregory XVI.? His definition does not come up to the true definition of toleration. It is not enough to "allow others to worship as they choose." True toleration gives the privilege of *propagating* as well as enjoying. But what is the true state of the case at Rome? From the time of the dispersion of the Vaudese congregations and the Reformers in the latter half of the 16th century, although there were numerous little churches extending through Italy, there was no Protestant worship allowed in Rome until the peace of 1814. Up to 1770, or near that time, all Protestants who died in Rome were obliged to be carried outside of the city wall, and be buried under the muro storto, opposite to the ancient entrance of the Borghese Villa, among the malefactors who died without penitence. About this time, permission was obtained to bury a young German nobleman, on account of his wealth, in the open field of Testaceous, near the pyramid of Caius Sestus. Very few other examples were known, until the time of the French domination. When the continent was open for the English, after 1814, the part they had taken in the general struggle, and the influence they had in Europe, gave the English emigrants a claim for some degree, at least, of religious toleration, and could not, with any show of propriety, be denied them. They assembled first in a room near Trajan's Forum, but in consequence of some unfavorable impression upon the mind of Pius VII., or more probably, perhaps, in consequence of a hope on his part of being able gradually to return to the old exclusive policy, especially as France and Spain seemed to be encouraging such a hope, the worship was removed without the Porta del Popolo, where it still remains. In 1819, also, the king of Prussia set up worship, connected with his embassy in Rome, which is still continued, and where all Protestants, who understand the German language, can attend and hear the gospel faithfully preached, in accordance with the Protestant faith.

In the meantime a Protestant burying-ground has been established in the field above alluded to, near the tomb of Caius Sestus, which is pleasantly situated and walled in. A Protestant hospital is also in progress, and will soon be completed, on the Tarpeian Rock; so that the spot once celebrated for popular violence or public executions will be transformed into a house of refuge and a hospice of mercy for those who need the charities of their fellow Christians. These are evidences that public opinion is making advancement on the intolerance of Popery; but the very reluctance and obstinacy with which this subject has been treated, show what is the spirit of Popery.

Look at another fact:—The Rev. Mr. Burgess, the English Pro-

testant minister in Rome, has published a volume of discourses, preached in his own congregation, which the Catholics consider an attack upon the supremacy and infallibility of the pope, insomuch, that this volume has been put upon the *Index Expurgatorius*, by the Roman government; and yet they dare not, if they would, expel Mr. Burgess from the country, for he is too highly respected.* And yet, instead of making him answer for his heresy at the tribunal of the Inquisition, which was the former summary process against heretics, they have to resort to the Protestant method of settling the controversy, viz., to argument. Two pamphlets have already been issued against Mr. Burgess' book. One step more is necessary, however, before the improvement in the spirit and course of the government can be very much commended, and that is, to permit Mr. Burgess and any other Protestants to defend their own views through the medium of the press. Until the Catholic Church is willing to risk herself in the open field of controversy she voluntarily concedes her own weakness, and virtually records, in the face of the world, her own consciousness that her dogmas and her practices cannot bear the test of a fair investigation—a concession this, which ought of itself to make every intelligent Catholic suspicious of his faith. What a contemptible position is that of the Roman pontiff and his advisers at this moment, in reference to this very question! Here is a Protestant clergyman who is tolerated and esteemed, and whose lectures to his own people, when published, are prohibited:—they are, nevertheless, in circulation, and to meet them, the dignitaries of the Roman Church take up the defence, and endeavor to evade the force of the well aimed arrow, at the supremacy of the Roman pontiff, by argument;—but, in doing it, they are careful to throw around them the shield of the government, so that they are in little danger of a return fire, which if they had expected, doubtless they never would have provoked; or at least they would have guarded against it by better arguments than those with which they seem to have managed this affair.

The subverters of liberty are always afraid of the press, for the reason that when the press is free, liberty flourishes; but when the press is shackled, in the same proportion is liberty infringed. And what is the practice of the Roman court with respect to the press, we have seen. Indeed, the government has in full operation still the *Index Expurgatorius*, which is a list of such books as are prohibited and of such as are allowed. The luggage of travellers is liable to examination to see whether they have any of these prohibited works. So strict is the surveillance and censorship of the press, that not even a sonnet can be published for a special occasion, like that of taking the veil already mentioned, without getting it *vised* by the proper officer, with a *con permesso*.

The government and the priesthood are so fearful lest *that* public opinion which has already done so much toward resisting the encroachments of Romanism, should finally wrest from them the censorship of the press, that they make this a part of their public preaching. During the forty days of Lent a popular Jesuit priest

* This worthy and able clergyman has now left Rome, having accepted of a call to a parish in Chelsea, England.

from Lucca visited Rome and preached every day. On one occasion he took this for his text, "Whom the Son makes free, is free indeed." His object was to show the difference between true and false liberty. And in order to this he drew a lively picture of what he called the liberals of the day, whose liberty, he said, consisted in a claim to "think what they pleased,"—"say what they pleased"—and "publish what they pleased." After showing the inconsistency and danger of such a claim, without making any distinction between legal and moral right, or between men's political and religious opinions, and by adroitly connecting with this liberty individual slander, blasphemy, and treason, he swept the whole claim away by a popular harangue, and then burst out into gratulations of "happy Italy! that was saved by the paternal care of government from this licentiousness." This shows how Romanism hangs upon despotism as her only hope!

And to what is the prevailing ignorance of the populace to be attributed but to this same spirit of despotism? If the mind of the populace were enlightened it could not be enthralled. Hence ignorance is perpetuated. How easy it would be for the ecclesiastics that swarm all over the land, like the locusts of Egypt, to take hold of the rising generation and elevate them at once! There are enough, who are now worse than idle, fed upon the public industry, to educate the entire population. Why do they not do it? Because this would be the death warrant to their own usurped authority over the public mind. View this system, then, as you may, in every possible aspect—in its doctrines, in its theory of government, in its ecclesiastical claims, and in its practical operations—and you find everywhere and at all times that the spirit of Romanism is incompatible with civil and religious liberty. That it is incompatible with free inquiry is evident not only from what has just been said of the prevailing ignorance of the day, but also from the present intolerance of the papal government. If Catholics deny what is here declared, and, I think, proved to be the tendency of this religion, let them at least unshackle the press, let them permit Protestants to enter the states of the pope—yea, Rome itself, with the Bible, and with free liberty to disseminate Protestant doctrines and establish Protestant churches and schools. Let the field of argument be thrown open. If the pope likes American toleration, let him adopt it. We permit his missionaries to propagate their religion among us, to work the press and fill the pulpit, to erect ecclesiastical edifices and establish churches, and until we in turn are permitted to do this in Rome, what confidence can we place in a bustling officiousness in the cause of liberty, by Catholics in Ireland or America? What can we think of it, but that it is a species of Jesuitism, designed merely as a feint to blind our eyes, until strength and numbers enable them to adjust their political course to a more perfect accordance with their own system?

Let not Catholics in this country say this is persecution, and try to shelter themselves under the sympathies of the people. It is *truth*, and they know it to be truth; and every thinking mind must believe it to be truth, until Catholics alter their course. Nor will even this avail them, if the powers that be wait until public opinion *forces* them to change. Let the pope now issue his bull, and let it

come sanctioned by his cardinals, declaring that he has full confidence in the power and stability of his religion, built, as it is, upon "this rock,"—that he challenges the world to meet it in the field of argument,—that Protestants may preach and publish their views of religious truth in the very seat of the Roman See. Let Rome be missionary ground for Protestants, as the United States are missionary ground for Catholics. When he does this, then may Catholics talk about liberty in this country, with some plausibility: but until this is done, and done voluntarily, we are bound by all past experience, and by present doctrines and practice, to believe *the spirit of Popery utterly incompatible with civil and religious liberty.*

THE TENDENCY OF POPERY IS RATHER TO ENCOURAGE THAN TO RESTRAIN VICE.

This might not strike the superficial observer, when for the first time he was introduced into a Catholic country, and witnessed all the array of devotional exercises and religious associations, together with all the terrors that are hung out as motives of alarm and fear to the ignorant populace. If, therefore, at this time, he should be informed that the history of the church shows her to have been very corrupt in the great whole, both in her laity and clergy, and that the history of those nations which have been the most fully under the influence of Popery, shows them to be among the most notorious for moral corruption, this would lead to an inquiry for the reason; and a little investigation would show that there are various causes which produce this, and causes, too, that exist in the very constituent principles of Popery. In the first place, he would see that the law of celibacy, which is binding on so many priests and monastic orders of both sexes, has a direct tendency to licentiousness.

In the second place, the doctrines are not suited to eradicate sin. The doctrines of penance, and of works of supererogation, and of clerical absolution, and of purgatory, and of masses for the dead, and of transubstantiation, not only leave the passions of the heart unsubdued, but do, in fact, *substitute something else* for personal holiness. Spread such doctrines as these over the world, and give them the ascendency in every heart, and you have gained nothing toward the moral renovation of man. Let a man believe that a priest can procure him absolution, and that he will do it for money or for penance, and will he give himself the trouble to forsake his sins? Let him believe that he can be prayed out of purgatory if he goes there, and will he be very anxious about his course of life? Let him believe that by partaking of the sacrament he eats the body of Christ, and that whosoever eats it shall live for ever, and will he not trust to this rather than to personal holiness? Nay, Romanism being true, it is difficult to see how any one, dying within the pale of the church, can be finally lost. He may have to do penance in purgatory a long time, but he will sooner or later come out. And when he sees on a church door, or over an altar "Indulgences given here daily (or every Tuesday and Friday, &c., as the case may be) for the living and the dead—pro vivis and defunctis"—and over another altar, "Two souls are released from purgatory every time mass is celebrated here,"—or when he learns that "by climbing the holy staircase on his knees he may reduce the period of his pur-

gatorial pains two hundred years—when he becomes acquainted, in fine, with the various ways of escaping from the punishment of sin without forsaking sin, he will be very likely to sin on, trusting to his membership in the only true church for ultimate and final deliverance, and to some of these various devices for an early escape from the flames of purgatory. In this way a man may be very superstitious and religious, and yet very wicked; he may fear he shall hazard his salvation by neglecting his *Ave Maria*, although he rises from it to go and commit robbery and murder without compunction. Our vetturino would swear most blasphemously, and the next moment you might see him raising his hat to a madonna rudely painted by the wayside. In short, while I am far from thinking that the present race of Italians are sinners above all,—nay, while I believe there is as little danger of personal violence or theft in Italy as in most other countries,—yet I think licentiousness prevails and dishonesty, and my decided convictions are, that the tendency, on the whole, of the Catholic religion is to encourage vice rather than to restrain it. And, while I give due credit to individual character for morality and piety wherever found, still I believe a careful examination of the morals of Christendom will show that Protestant communities, other circumstances being equal, have the decided advantage in point of moral character.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGION HAS A DIRECT TENDENCY TO IMPOVERISH A NATION, AND IS DIAMETRICALLY OPPOSED TO THE SOUNDEST PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

If it were true that there is no salvation out of the Catholic Church, this objection would be of little weight, for "what shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" But we are examining its exclusive claims, and in this examination we find all these considerations against it. Nor is it a small objection to any system of religion that it impoverishes a nation. There is more connection between pecuniary thrift and moral character than most are aware of, and a more close alliance between mere worldly prosperity and intellectual and moral elevation of character than any who have not examined this subject have conceived of. I speak now as well of that general diffusion of wealth, and of that kind of worldly thrift that opens the way for competency, and something more than competency, for the great mass of the people, as also of the amassing of larger fortunes by the man enterprising and more favored. Now it is obvious, I think, that Roman Catholicism is prejudicial to this increase of wealth in any form, and that so far as wealth is accumulated in Catholic countries, the tendency of their institutions is to a very unequal distribution of wealth, making some very rich and others beggarly poor. We have already seen that this system encourages ignorance in the multitude, and is opposed to civil liberty; and this, of itself, is sufficient to show its influence upon the acquisition and diffusion of wealth. For when a great portion of the people are kept in ignorance and in thraldom, they will of course be wretchedly poor. This, therefore, is one argument to show the tendency of Popery. And we might draw another from the past history and present condition of Catholic countries, and we should find the

same truth established. France, while she was under the exclusive experiment of Catholic ascendency, felt the force of this truth. It must, indeed, be granted, that her court as well as her religion was extravagant and prodigal, but both causes united to press her down beyond endurance; and since the power and influence of her clergy and of her monastic institutions have been shaken off, notwithstanding her numerous and expensive wars, she has been advancing in wealth, while Spain and Portugal, and the Brazils, and Italy herself, all of which have remained under the influence of the priesthood, have remained also comparatively poor. Go to Ireland, and there you will see Catholic Ireland most miserably degraded and poor, even to a state of starvation, and Protestant Ireland comparatively wealthy and comfortable. Go to Switzerland, where all have equally enjoyed the advantages of liberty and the fruits of their industry, and mark the difference, a difference visible upon the very surface, between the Catholic and Protestant cantons and towns. But, leaving other countries, let us confine our views to Italy. Italy is full of beggars. Italy is oppressed with poverty. It is not merely because wealth is very unequally divided, although that is true so far as wealth exists, but the real truth is, comparatively speaking the whole community is poor—high and low, rulers and ruled. With the exception of some public edifices, religious and others, you are struck with the poverty of the country—I speak more especially of Southern Italy. Now why is this? It might be said, I know, that it is owing to wars and public robbery—that, under all circumstances and in every event, poor Italy is the prise contended for, and the country that is plundered. Grant that this has been to a great extent true: still it is no more applicable to Italy than to many other countries. Besides, it has now been twenty-two years that she has enjoyed freedom from public plunder and from foreign invasion. How ought a country with the resources of Italy to have risen up from her poverty in this period of peace and security? But the torpor of death is upon her still. Nay, it may be safely assumed that the wars and changes of the Bonapartian period were, in point of wealth, after all beneficial to Italy. Certain it is that during that period the national debts of Florence and Rome and Naples were mostly paid off.* Public works that had long been neglected were recommenced and perfected—roads and bridges were made, cities were adorned, antiquities were excavated from the accumulated rubbish of centuries, and the spirit of enterprise and industry was waked up in every direction—insomuch that the old king of Naples, it is said, hardly knew his kingdom when he returned to it after the pacification of 1814. Grant, if it is required, that much of this was done by the confiscation of ecclesiastical property—still, that only favors my argument, for it shows that under the Catholic influence a vast amount of wealth was accumulated in the hands of the church in various forms, which was dead capital, and it was by breaking down this policy of the Roman Church, that not only were all the expenses of these wars

* The Roman states were relieved of a debt of about one hundred and thirty-six millions; seventy millions of this, however, was a paper currency, which had greatly depreciated in value, and which the French never recognized; and it must also be acknowledged that they did not pay the full value of the balance.

refunded and foreign rapacity satiated, but the public debts were discharged, and the aggregate of available wealth increased. The plea of exhaustion from war and foreign plunder, therefore, cannot avail to account for the present state of the country.

This poverty cannot be from the country's being overstocked with inhabitants, for Tuscany, for example, has but about one hundred and thirty-five to a square mile, while France has one hundred and fifty, and England about two hundred and sixty.

It cannot be for the want of resources, for the soil of the plains and valleys is very rich, producing two crops a year: the hills are fruitful in vines, olives, and other fruits: and the mountains abound in minerals. There is also abundant water power for machinery, and the entire country is a peninsula surrounded with navigable waters, and indented with innumerable bays and harbors.

Will it be said the people lack enterprise? This is granted—but what has destroyed their enterprise? The climate? But when and where was there a more enterprising race than the ancient Romans, who inhabited the same country? The spirit of Popery has broken down their enterprise, and never will they be restored to activity and enterprise, until this incubus be removed from them. It takes away the key of knowledge from the great mass of the people—it shrouds their minds in superstition, and superinduces an intellectual torpor.

But above all, the Catholic religion absorbs the great whole of the fruits of the industry of the people in a barren consumption. Never before, I believe, was there so costly a religion as this. Look at some of the principal items: First notice the expense of the churches—the traveller is astonished at the multitude of the churches that he sees in Italy, both in town and country—in the vales and on the mountains, where there are inhabitants and where there are none—for it is often the case that some saint will have a church and a shrine at a distance of one, two, three, or more miles from the habitations of men, which is used, perhaps, once or twice a year on some fete day, on which a company make a pilgrimage thither to celebrate mass. Every little town and village will have a number. Rome, for example, has one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, and three hundred churches. Many of these are splendid and extravagantly expensive. St. Peter's alone, with all its fixtures, furniture, paintings, mosaics, and statuary, cost from fifty to fifty-five millions of dollars; and although there are no other churches to be compared with this, yet there are a number of churches in Rome that must have cost several millions each. I should judge it a moderate calculation to estimate the cost of the churches and ecclesiastical edifices of Rome at one hundred and fifty millions. And what does all this expenditure return for the outlay? Nothing—for the more part worse than nothing, because it only furnishes occasion for the employment of an army of sinecures. It is true, an adequate number of churches of reasonable expense, and a competent supply of religious teachers, are an advantage to a nation even in a pecuniary point of view; but how trifling the necessary amount compared with this?

Secondly, look at the number of ecclesiastics, monks, and nuns of every grade. It would be interesting to know the proportion

that the priests, monks, and nuns bear to the whole population. I was told, with how much accuracy I cannot say, that in Florence, which has a population of about eighty thousand, there were five thousand priests and other ecclesiastics. Probably this was a high estimate, but certainly there are very many. It seemed as though every fifth or eighth man we met in the street was a priest. I tried to ascertain from the priests themselves the number of their profession in Rome. They were either ignorant or unwilling to tell. Their answer was: Molto! molto! There are, however, according to the best information I could get, from one thousand five hundred to two thousand priests and bishops, and about double that number of monks and nuns. These monastic establishments were almost wholly suppressed by the French, but have been restored by the pope. Not so many of the provincial monasteries, however, have been restored in the Roman states; and in the Austrian dominions in Northern Italy none of the orders or religious houses have been restored. In the kingdom of Naples, before the revolutions there and its subsequent subjugation to the French, the whole number of ecclesiastics was about one hundred thousand, which was supported at an expense of about nine millions of dollars annually. Some of the religious houses of this kingdom have been restored, and it is not for the want of a good will in the pope that all have not.

By this multitude of priests and other ecclesiastics it is seen that not only is there a direct tax upon the country for their support, but there is also subtracted from the industry of the country the amount of what these ecclesiastics might have contributed to it, if they had been engaged in some industrious calling. This is a great tax, certainly, upon the income of a nation.

Some of these orders live upon incomes of certain estates attached to them—others, and a very considerable portion, are of the mendicant orders. They possess no property, and live upon charity. We had hardly got settled in our lodgings in Rome before one of these licensed beggars called on us, with his credentials, stating that their monastery supported many of the suffering poor, &c. It is said there are ten convents in Rome that employ public beggars constantly.

The frequent feasts and religious days in this country are a great tax upon the industry of the people; at the same time they cultivate indolent habits, and thus prove a double loss to community. To this we might add the processions and the pilgrimages, which are all a tax of a similar nature, and they also encourage idleness.

In short, the *wax candles* that are burned in Roman Catholic countries, most of them in *broad daylight*, would of themselves make a handsome revenue. I have seen large processions moving through the streets of Rome and Naples with their large wax candles flaring away in the wind, and so valuable was the dripping wax to the poor, that the boys, one at each candle, running by the side, caught it in a piece of paper as it fell. I have seen five or six hundred of these burning at a time in one church. Eighty are kept constantly burning before the shrine of St. Peter in St. Peter's Cathedral.

When all these enormous expenses are taken into the account, can any one wonder at the poverty of the people, or doubt that this system is at direct variance with the soundest principles of political economy?

These are some of the objections that have occurred to me as operating decidedly and fatally against the character and claims of the Roman Catholic Church. And, however little they may avail with such as are Catholics, they ought to have their weight with Protestants, as well to guard their own minds against the plausible insinuations of the system, as also to keep up the influence of an enlightened public sentiment on this subject. Let Roman Catholics have full liberty to exercise and propagate their religion, but let Protestants ever bear in mind what have been and what are now the essential features of a church which must always maintain the same character in all its parts, or cease to be what she claims to be—*the infallible and only Church of Christ.*

Rome, March, 1836. W. Fisk.

From the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, for Jan. 1837.

ART. X.—SELECTIONS FROM THE PAPERS OF MR. WATSON.

"This is a hard saying; who can hear it?" John vi, 60.

EASY sayings in matters of religion, whether of doctrine or of practice, generally indicate either an incompetent teacher, or a very advanced and apt disciple.

Neither of these alternatives is true in the case before us. The master was Christ, who knew the whole will of God; who knew the Father; who was himself God; whose words were, therefore, revelations of truth in its heights and depths, and of precepts which could not be brought down either to human vice or to human weakness.

The disciples were men in their natural estate, or just taking the first step out of it; and "the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned."

This state of things remains to the present hour. Christ still stands among us, and teaches out of his word. But the natural man bears the same character that he did eighteen centuries ago; and whatever in any of us still remains of the natural man darkens the judgment, vitiates the affections, and makes the "sayings" of Christ hard and difficult. How many of these "sayings" of Christ could I sound in your ears at this hour, of each of which you would exclaim, "This is a hard saying; who can hear it?"

Many of these wondrous and "hard sayings" I cannot at present adduce. They are too numerous to be distinctly considered. I purpose, however, for your instruction, to direct your attention to four of these "sayings" of Christ which are eminently "hard."

1. The first "hard saying" of Christ which I shall introduce is a saying for the rich:—"How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God! It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God."

To "enter into the kingdom of God," is to become a Christian. Whence arises the difficulty of this to rich men? It arises from their education and training. They are generally brought up and mingle with the wise men of this world. Yet a man must "become a fool," in order that he may be made wise unto salvation. He must become teachable as a child; not debating, but learning.

It arises from their pride. Distinction always excites this in the natural man. But to become a Christian he must be humbled in the dust; condescend to men of low estate; and avouch the despised and persecuted people of God as his brethren and sisters.

It arises from their lively sense of honor and reputation. The least apparent slight is by them often painfully felt; whereas, as Christians, they must not only submit to reproach, but even glory in it.

It arises from that worldliness of spirit which the possession of riches often creates and fosters. In becoming a Christian, the rich man must learn that he is only a steward, who must give a strict account of the purposes to which he has applied the property that was committed to his trust. He must acquire, also, a heavenly mind.

2. My second selection is "a hard saying" for the poor, or those who are comparatively so. "Take no thought for the morrow; for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." This, too, is "a hard saying; who can hear it?"

Its hardness arises from the natural anxiety of the mind respecting the future. This anxiety is so natural to men, that even the rich are not free from it. Strong as is their "mountain," they fear that it will sometime be "moved;" and they often live in fear of ten thousand imaginary evils. How much more must this natural anxiety press upon the poor, to whom future evils are more probable; and who are reminded of that probability by present afflictions!

It arises from a very natural and obvious mode of reasoning. If they are poor in health, what must they be in sickness? If they are poor in the prime of life, what can they expect in old age? If to-day they are in trouble, and see no way of relief; to-morrow, in all probability, will be worse. The cruise of oil wastes, and the barrel of meal fails; and they do not live in the age of miracles. How hard is this saying! It is hard for preachers to take it to the ears of the poor; and hard for them to receive it.

Nor is this "saying" easily relieved by our Lord's own words: "If God so clothe the grass of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, shall he not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith?" In nature we see God more immediately than in providence; at least, we see nothing between him and the effect, but unconscious and unresisting agents. The sun darts his beams, the clouds hold on their flight, the showers drop their fatness, the valleys laugh and sing. Thus God clothes the grass: warmth and moisture spread vegetation over the earth; and the playing light paints every flower with beauty.

But in providence man comes between us and God. A willing being is often a resisting one. How hard it is to believe that God can accomplish his purposes, when they must often encounter in their march the selfishness, the sloth, the wickedness of men!

3. A third of these sayings respects both the rich and the poor. "If any man will come after me," that is, will be my disciple, "let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me."

The hardness of this saying arises from the strange kind of contest which it enjoins "Let himself deny himself." Here is self against self, engaged in settled and constant war: the self of reason against the self of passion; the self of conscience against the self of appetite; severity against pleasure; exertion against indolence; the enduring of hardness against effeminate indulgence.

It arises from our natural antipathy to suffering and dishonor. Yet the cross is to be taken up, and borne with joyfulness, even unto death.

It arises from our condition, as corrupt creatures. "Follow me," said Jesus. A man that is born corrupt is to follow, to imitate, Him who knew no sin. A creature is to imitate God. "This," say some, "is a hard saying. You urge impossibilities, both natural and moral." Remember, however, that they are not my words, but the words of Christ.

4. My fourth example is connected with the text; and it relates also to all people, whether they be rich or poor; as it touches the matter of our justification and spiritual life. "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you." By eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the Son of man is meant, partaking by faith of the benefit of his sacrifice, in order to our present pardon, and future spiritual life. Through faith in the sacrifice of the Lord Jesus we are justified from the guilt of our sins; and by the same means the divine life is produced and nourished.

This is hard to the wisdom of the world, which cries, "Why cannot sin be pardoned by mere prerogative on the part of God, without an atonement? and why cannot man obtain it simply by repentance, without trusting in any sacrifice? Why may not spiritual life be the result of personal acts, and of meditation, rather than of faith in the death of the Lord Jesus?" All this is "hard" to pride. Man wants to do something to merit these blessings; whereas faith in Christ takes away all glorying in man,—renders salvation common, by placing its blessings within the reach of all.

Many reasons might be assigned why these "sayings" of Christ are deemed "hard," and why men so often complain of them. I will only mention two.

1. The first reason is our natural insensibility to the evil and danger of our sinful state. Sin has darkened the understanding, corrupted the will, depraved the heart, and made men "earthly, sensual, and devilish." Look at Adam in his plenitude of moral glory; and at man in his present fallen state. Yet of this change and degradation he is not sensible, nor of the danger that threatens him. The wrath of God abideth on him, and he is doomed to future misery. If we saw ourselves aright, we should feel self-abhorred and alarmed, look around for help, and seize it when offered. It would make the "hard sayings" of Christ easy, did we only feel for sin as for a painful and dangerous disease. What man, in pain and danger, puts riches in comparison with health? If we were duly convinced of the evil of sin, as little should we cleave to

riches in comparison with healing and pardon. Who that is in pain and bodily danger is so anxious about what he shall eat, or drink, or be clothed with; as how he may be cured? And if we felt our burden, and regarded our danger, we should be indifferent to every thing but the recovery of God's favor and likeness. Who in sickness does not deny himself? and who quarrels with an effectual mode of cure? Nor should we quarrel with God's method of saving the world, if we had a just apprehension of our danger. We should eagerly accept the salvation offered upon God's own terms. Till we obtain the right sense of our sin, the sayings of Christ will ever be "hard," and even a stumbling block.

2. A second reason is, an excessive love of the world. This is a base passion, but it is a part of our degradation; and degrading indeed it is to us, when we recollect that we are but travellers, passing through this country. Yet we set our hearts on every thing we see, and forget our home. We are immortal; and yet love that which we must soon quit for ever. Can this be right? Does this accord with our condition as men? It is one of the developements of our worldliness of spirit, that it makes the "sayings" of Christ "hard." Why do rich men so hardly enter into the kingdom of God? Because of the love of the world. Their hearts are set upon wealth, honor, pleasure. Why are men anxiously careful for the morrow? Because of the same love of the world. They fear loss and humiliation, and lest what is so anxiously hoped for should not be obtained. They wish to see the outward good which they love heaped around them, instead of being willing to have their store only in the daily supplies of God's providence.

For the same reason men do not deny themselves. What they are required to put away is more loved than that which is offered. On this ground, too, pardon on God's terms is declined, or quarrelled with. It is not that which men want, but an earthly gratification. Till this love of the world be expelled from our hearts, we shall never cordially accept the sayings of Christ.

Yet are the sayings of Christ full of mercy. They imbody truths which cannot be altered; and it is therefore a mercy that we should know them. God deals openly with us; and for this we should be thankful. Both the rich and the poor must have their peculiar trial and temptation. Sin cannot be permitted, and therefore we must deny ourselves. In one way only will God pardon us; and it is a mercy to us that we should know it. Find no fault with the great Teacher. To wish that he had not spoken so plainly, is to wish that we might be deluded.

These "hard sayings" only meet the case of man, miserable, corrupt, and guilty. Look at them carefully and candidly, and you will find them all to be sayings of mercy. You are not to love the world. Is not that love a source of misery? The same may be said of the pride and selfishness against which we are warned. Anxiety for the future is not only useless, but pernicious. Self-indulgence is the strengthening of our corruption. The body ought to be subjected to the mind. As to the method of our pardon, the sayings of Christ exactly meet our case. We have nothing to pay; and God, for Christ's sake, frankly forgives us all.

Engraved by Hinman

REV. J. LUCKEY, D.D.

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ART. I.—SUCCESSION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND EXAMINED.

BY REV. CHARLES ELLIOTT.

1. THE claims of the Church of England to an apostolical and uninterrupted succession from the apostles have been reiterated and pressed with considerable confidence during this and the last century. She not only makes these high pretensions in behalf of herself; but, what is stranger, excludes from the character of true churches all the reformed that have not an episcopal form of government, or *such* an episcopacy as she thinks must be derived from the apostles. As these pretensions go so far, and unchurch a great part of the Protestant world; it is worth while to give them a careful examination. It is true she does not consign them all to perdition, any more than she does Heathens, Jews, or Mohammedans; yet their proper character, as churches of Christ, is denied.

Notwithstanding all these high and extensive claims of the Anglican church, it may perhaps be shown that her glorying is too much after the manner of Rome, without the same grounds, in many respects, that Rome hath for her boasting.

2. Twenty years ago, when the writer of this article emigrated to the United States, he supposed this talismanic succession was confined to Britain and Ireland, and that it could find no place among Americans as he imagined they did not believe that parliaments, by divine right, had *sovereign authority in all matters as well ecclesiastical as civil*, and could at pleasure *alter their religion;* or that kings could be *supreme head of the church under Christ*, and so could *appoint*, *suspend*, or *depose* bishops; or that convocations or ecclesiastical bodies had no power to convene, deliberate, prorogue, or make canons, unless a king gave them leave, though this permission should be withheld one hundred years or more, as has been the case with the English convocation. Previously to the time alluded to above, the writer, though a member of the Established Church, into whose ministry he had an opportunity of entering, chose, in preference, to exercise the Christian ministry as a Wesleyan Methodist preacher. And this he did because he became convinced it was more consonant with Scripture, and the character

of the apostolic ministry, than that in which he had been instructed, and was found in the bishops, priests, and deacons of the Irish Establishment. And all he has read, seen, and thought on this subject until now has confirmed him in the correctness of his choice.

3. In his native country he was convinced, on proper examination, that this boasted succession, alike claimed by Romanists and Churchmen, was a fable; and he really supposed for several years that the invention was to remain on the other side of the Atlantic, and there, in time, undergo the fate of kindred monarchical, popish, feudal, and legendary customs and doctrines. Some intimations however of its cisatlantic existence came within his notice about fourteen years ago. Shortly after, he found that Rev. N. Bangs had, in a very modest and kind manner, written an excellent little book on this subject, under the name of "*A Vindication of Methodist Episcopacy*," which he supposed would teach the successionists that there was something in Christ's religion more important than this lineal descent which no man can trace, and when found, in their way of finding an irrecoverable thing, it was not worth the search. But the men would not receive instruction. They would not learn, though they could not teach the very thing on which they so much insisted. Indeed their claims became even more bold, and were pressed with more confidence. Argument, and Scripture, and antiquity, they could not soberly call to their assistance; but the lack of these was made up by dogmatism, and a constant persistance in their claims. They seemed to think that Methodist preachers, who were engaged in the *great work* of reforming the people, and could not *come down* to them, had really conceded to the successors of the nonjuring Seabury, that there was nothing valid in the Methodist ministry, though it was the instrument of salvation to thousands. This led the author of this article to examine the whole ground over again, which he did by committing his thoughts to writing in this and a number of essays on the different branches of the succession. When he finished them he really thought it would be useless, and therefore foolish, to trouble the public with any thing respecting this popish and monarchical succession; as the whole appeared to him entirely fabulous, and therefore needed no serious rebuke. Accordingly, his essays have been laid past for nine years, and consigned to the moles and bats.

During the last few years, however, the successionists have been inspired with new life and activity. Ever since the American prelates commenced visiting Britain, they seem to have caught a good portion of the style and manner of, *His Grace and Most Reverend Father in God by divine providence, Archbishop of Canterbury, Metropolitan and Primate of all England; His Grace and Most Reverend Father in God by divine providence, Archbishop of York, Primate and Metropolitan of England; the Bishops, Lords, Lords Spiritual, Right Reverend Fathers in God by divine permission, &c. &c.* And though our American bishops, in having obtained an invalid ordination from the British parliament, through the king as supreme head, and the archbishops of Canterbury and York as the creatures of the king and parliament, were not permitted to preach or pray in any church, yet they carried home with them, as was natural, a new and complete edition of the succession, as if they were deter-

mined to establish in America what they could not have part or lot of in Britain. Hence, to make the thing certain, two very handsome volumes on the succession have been published by the Protestant Episcopal Press. They are made up of Dr. Bowden's work, which was begun, continued, and finished in an angry and supercilious mood, though, it is said, he spent twenty years in its composition; of Mr. Cook's "*Book of Scraps*," collected from every quarter, and thrown together without judgment, study, or order; and of Bishop Onderdonk's "Episcopacy Tested by Scripture," written in a courteous style and manner, and the subject treated with a becoming dignity, and therefore deserving of respect and consideration. The "New-York Churchman" too bestows more attention to the succession than any other topic whatever.

5. These and other considerations have induced the writer of this article to give a new edition of his "Essays on the Succession," draw them from oblivion, and present some of them to the public. And as proofs and arguments will be called for as well as mere narrative, he will now proceed to give these, so as to prove what has been barely asserted in these prefatory remarks. The subject is the succession of the English Church, from which Mr. Wesley and the Methodist Episcopal Church are said causelessly to have dissented, and are therefore pronounced guilty of schism; and that before the Protestant Episcopal Church had an existence, either in name or reality; though the Methodists are also accused of having been guilty of schism in the latter church before she had any being! We will range our remarks on this subject under the following heads:—

I. ORIGIN, FORMATION, AND CONSTITUTION OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

1. In the time of the apostles, the church was governed by the presbyters, under the immediate direction of the apostles themselves, and that of their assistants, Timothy, Titus, &c. In the age succeeding the apostles, the church was governed by the body of presbyters, who selected persons to preside, whom they denominated *bishops* or *overseers*, but of the same order with themselves, and accountable to them for the proper discharge of their duty. They were not distinguished from their brethren as a distinct order of clergy, but as possessing *jurisdiction* or superintendency among their equals. They were *primi inter pares, first among their equals.* In the third and fourth centuries, the bishops obtained the principal rule, and stripped the body of elders and people of a great portion of their proper powers and privileges. When kings and emperors became Christians, they exercised supreme power in the church, and in some degree interfered with the privileges of the bishops; but the scriptural powers of the pastors and people were almost entirely destroyed as it regarded the government of the church. To the regal government, which flourished in the fifth and sixth centuries, the papal usurpation succeeded; and came in direct conflict with the regal and prelatical systems, but it entirely destroyed the presbyterial or pastoral authority, as well as the rights of the people, as to church government. Here are successive forms of church government, viz. 1. *The apostolical.* 2. The *presbyterial* or *pas-*

toral, with bishops having jurisdiction, but presbyters as to order. This form may properly be called *episcopal*, taking the word in the scriptural sense. 3. *The prelatical*, or diocesan episcopacy. 4. *The regal.* 5. *The papal.* In the English Church, the regal form of government prevails; the prelatical is conspicuous, but as the creature of the state or parliament, and under the control of the king. In it some leading elements of Popery remain; and the primitive pastoral, presbyterial, or episcopal form is lost, so that the scriptural and inherent rights of the pastors or people are prostrate. It may be called the *Anglican* form of church government; as it cannot be well identified with the apostolical, presbyterial, prelatical, regal, or papal; though the regal prevails, and perhaps it may be called indifferently, *regal or Anglican.*

The *act of supremacy* laid the foundation of the English Church, connected as it is with the *submission* of the clergy in the reign of Henry VIII, and brought about by the famous statute of *præmunire.* The word is synonimous with *præmoneri, to be admonished*, and in English law, is the name of a *writ* or the *offence* whereon the writ is granted. It is named from the words of the writ, preparatory to the prosecution thereof. "Premunire facias, A. B." &c. "Cause A. B. to be forewarned—that he appear before us to answer the contempt wherewith he stands charged." It took its origin from the exorbitant power claimed and exercised in England by the pope; and was originally ranked as an offence immediately against the king; because it consisted in introducing a foreign power and creating *imperium in imperio*, by paying that obedience to papal process, which according to the English constitution, belonged to the king alone, long before the Reformation in the reign of Henry VIII. Some remarks on the state of the English Church previous to the Reformation will be necessary in order to trace out the sources of its present organization.

2. Religious principles, when genuine and pure, have a direct tendency to make their professors better citizens, as well as better men; but when they are perverted and erroneous, they are subversive of civil government, and are made the cloak and instrument of every pernicious design. The unbounded authority that was exercised by the Druids in the west of Europe, and the terrible ravages committed by the Saracens in the east, to propagate the religion of Mohammed, testify that in all countries, civil and ecclesiastical tyranny are mutually productive of each other. Religious bigotry, when actuated by erroneous principles, even of the Protestant kind, is productive of great mischief, though its plea may be for equality and freedom. This is evident from the history of the Anabaptists of Germany, the Covenanters of Scotland, and the deluge of sects in England who murdered their king, changed the government of the church, prostrated all law, and established a kingdom of saints. But these are as far from being true Protestants as true Christians. But the effect of this anarchy in religion, is only short, though violent and tumultuous. The progress, however, of papal policy is slow, though, in the end, tremendously destructive. The power of the pope had made rapid strides in England, before the time of Henry VIII,; but by the vigor of the free institutions of Britain, it was entirely overturned.

The ancient British Church, by whomsoever planted, was a stranger to the bishop of Rome, and all his pretended authority. But the pagan Saxon invaders, having driven the professors of Christianity to the remotest corner of the island, their own conversion was afterward effected by Augustine and other missionaries from the Church of Rome. This naturally introduced some of the papal corruptions, in point of doctrine, but there was no civil authority claimed by the pope till the time of the Norman conquest in A. D. 1066. At this time the reigning pontiff having favored William the Conqueror in his projected invasion, by blessing his army and consecrating his banners, took that opportunity also of establishing his spiritual encroachments; and was even permitted to do so by the policy of the Conqueror, in order to humble the Saxon clergy and aggrandize his Norman prelates.

More effectually to enslave the consciences and minds of the people, the Romish clergy themselves paid the most implicit obedience to their superiors or prelates; and these in their turn were devoted to the will of the pope, whose decision they held to be infallible, and his authority coextensive with the Christian world. Hence his legates *a latere* were introduced into every kingdom of Europe, his bulls and decretals became the rule both of faith and discipline; his judgment was the final resort in all cases of doubt and difficulty; his decrees were enforced by anathemas and spiritual censures; he dethroned even kings that were refractory, and denied to whole kingdoms, when undutiful to him, the exercise of Christian ordinances, and the benefit of the gospel of God.

In order to sustain this spiritual authority, every method was resorted to that promised pecuniary advantage. The doctrine of purgatory was introduced, and with it the purchase of masses and indulgences. Crimes were punished by penances, and these were commuted for money. Non-residences and pluralities among the clergy, and divorces among the laity were forbidden by the canons; but *dispensations* were seldom denied to those who could purchase them. The pope, too, took advantage of the feudal system then current in Europe. The pope became a feudal lord; and all ordinary patrons were to hold their right of patronage under this universal superior. The annual tenths were collected from the clergy; the oath of canonical obedience was derived from the feudal oath of fealty; and Peter-pence came in the place of the occasional aids levied by the prince on his vassals. The presentation to vacant benefices, as well as the avails of vacant ones were claimed by the popes. Dispensations to provide for these vacancies, begat the doctrine of *commendams;* and papal *provisions* were the previous nomination to such benefices, by anticipation, before they became actually void. In consequence of this, Italians and other foreign clergy, the true vassals of the pope, were placed in the principal sees in England. The nomination to bishoprics, the ancient prerogative of the crown, was wrested from King Henry I. in 1100; and afterward from his successor John in 1199; and apparently conferred on the chapters belonging to each see; but by means of frequent appeals to Rome, through the intricacy of the laws which regulated canonical elections, was eventually vested in the pope. Another papal engine set on foot, was to grasp at the lands and

inheritances of the kingdom. To this end the Benedictine and other monks were introduced, by whose hypocrisy and deceit, indulgences and rapine, in about a century after the conquest, innumerable abbeys and religious houses were built and endowed, not only with the tithes of parishes, but also with lands, manors, lordships, and extensive baronies. And the doctrine inculcated was, that this ill-gotten property was consecrated to God himself, and to alienate it was sacrilege. This is only a partial outline of the extent of papal usurpations; but it is sufficient to answer the purpose in view. (See Blackstone's Com. b. iv, c. 8. pp. 104–110.)

The regal form of church government had made considerable progress in England before the power of the pope could be efficiently established; and it had become so established by law that it was finally made available in overturning papal usurpations. The kings of England, having claimed in ancient times a power in ecclesiastical matters equal to what the Roman emperors had in their empire, exercised this authority over the clergy and laity. They erected bishoprics, granted investitures in them, called synods, made laws, and, in a word, governed their whole kingdom as well in ecclesiastical as in civil matters. And when the bishops of Rome obtained supreme power in the English Church, they gave investitures, received appeals, sent legates to England, and did several other things of a like nature. The kings of England long contested these invasions, as they deemed them, of their ancient rights. But in consequence of the weakness of some princes, the superstition and treachery of others, &c., the popes at length succeeded to some degree in establishing their authority. In the first contests between the king and the popes, the clergy were generally on the pope's side. But when the popes became warlike princes, and made heavy demands on the clergy, by palls, expensive bulls, annates, tenths, as standing taxes, beside many new ones on emergent occasions; the clergy fled back to the crown for protection, which their predecessors had abandoned. Several penal laws were made against this enormous power; yet there was not sufficient fortitude to stop its progress: so that the pope's interest still advanced.

3. The famous act of *premunire*, by which the supremacy of the pope was transferred to the king of England, prepared the way for, and indeed was the principal means of, organizing the English Protestant Church. The import of the name premunire, and its application, have been already explained. We will now trace those steps by which the English Church was transferred from the popish to the regal form of church government.

From the days of Edward I., who commenced his reign in 1272, many statutes were made to restrain the exactions of Rome. In the 35th year of this king's reign, or in the year 1307, the first statute against papal provisions was made, and is reckoned the foundation of all the future statutes of *premunire*, which was an offence immediately against the king, because every increase of the papal power was deemed a diminution of the authority of the crown. The statute recites, (35 Ed. I. st. i,)—"That the abbots, friars, and governors had, at their own pleasure, set divers impositions upon the monasteries and houses in their subjection; to remedy which it was enacted, that, in future, religious persons should send nothing

to their superiors beyond the sea; and that no imposition whatever should be taxed by friars to aliens." By statute (25 Ed. III., st. 5, c. 22,) in the year 1352, it was enacted—"that the court of Rome should not present or collate to any bishopric or living in England; and that whosoever disturbed any patron in the presentation to a living, by virtue of a papal provision, such person should pay fine and ransom to the king, at his will; and be imprisoned till he renounced such provision. The same punishment was inflicted on such as should cite the king or any of his subjects to answer in the court of Rome." Several other statutes, to the same amount, were made during this king's reign; nevertheless, the pope found means to counteract their operation, so that the statutes were not of much present practical use. (See Burnet, b. ii. vol. i, p. 142.)

In the reign of Richard II., who ascended the throne in 1377, "it was found necessary," says Blackstone, (b. iv, c. 8, p, 112) "to sharpen and strengthen these laws, and therefore it was enacted by statutes, (3 Rich. II., c. 3 & 7; Rich. II. c. 12,) first, that no alien should be capable of letting his benefice to farm; in order to compel such as had crept in, at least, to reside on their preferments: and that afterward no alien should be capable to be presented to any ecclesiastical preferment, under the penalty of the statutes of provisors. By the statute 12 Rich. II., c. 15, all liegemen of the king, accepting of a living by any foreign provision, are put out of the king's protection, and the benefice made void. To which the statute 13 Rich. II., st. 2, c. 2, adds banishment and forfeiture of lands and goods; and by c. 3 of the same statute, any person bringing over any citation or excommunication from beyond sea, on account of the execution of the foregoing statutes of provisors, shall be imprisoned, forfeit his goods and lands, and moreover suffer pain of life and member."

But in the year 1393, the famous statute of premunire was passed in the sixteenth year of Richard II., c. 5, which is the statute generally referred to by all subsequent statutes, and is by way of eminence and distinction called *the statute of premunire.* Complaint had been made to parliament "that the crown of England, which had been so free at all times, should be subjected to the bishop of Rome, and the laws and statutes of the realm by him defeated and destroyed at his will. They also found those things to be against the king's crown and regality, used and approved in the time of his progenitors." Whereupon it was ordained by the parliament,—"That if any did purchase translations, sentences of excommunications, bulls, or other instruments from the court of Rome, against the king or his crown, or whosoever brought them to England, or did receive or execute them; they were out of the king's protection, and that they should forfeit their goods and chattels to the king, and their persons should be imprisoned." (Burnet, b. ii, vol. i, p. 143.)

By statute 2 Henry IV., c. iii, and in the year 1401, it was enacted that all persons who accept any provision from the pope, to be exempt from canonical obedience to their proper ordinary, were also subject to the penalties of a *premunire.* This is said to be the last ancient statute concerning this offence till the Reformation. Several other statutes were passed in the parliament between

the passage of the famous premunire act, and the reign of Henry VIII.; but the struggle for the mastery between the popes continued with doubtful or alternate victories till the reign of this monarch.

The statutes of premunire were extended to various ecclesiastical offences in the reigns of Elizabeth and her father; such as the appointment of bishops refusing to take the oath of supremacy, carrying crosses and such things to be blessed by the pope, aiding Jesuits, and the like. (See Burnet's Hist. Ref. b. ii, vol. i, p. 140, &c. Blackstone's Com. b. iv, c. viii, p. 103–118. Jacob's Law Dict. on premunire.) The original meaning of the offence called *premunire* was introducing a foreign power into England, and creating *imperium in imperio*, by paying that obedience to the pope which constitutionally belonged to the king, long before the Reformation in the reign of Henry VIII. The penalty for this offence of premunire was according to Coke,—"That from the conviction, the defendant shall be out of the king's protection, and his lands and tenements, goods and chattels forfeited to the king, or that his body shall remain in prison at the king's pleasure." 1 Inst. 129.

4. While the debates and proceedings respecting the divorce from Queen Catharine by Henry VIII. were pending, all appeals to Rome were cut off, by act of parliament in consequence of the evasions of the pope and his advisers. An act was passed in 1533, (24 Hen. VIII., act xxii,) against appeals to the pope, which widened the breach between the pope and Henry. The preamble declares,—"That the crown of England was imperial, and that the nation was a complete body within itself, with a full power to give justice in all cases, spiritual as well as temporal; and that in the spirituality, as there had been at all times, so there were then, men of that sufficiency and integrity, that they might declare and determine all doubts within the kingdom; and that several kings, as Edward I., Edward III., Richard II., and Henry IV., had by several laws preserved the liberties of the realm, both spiritual and temporal, from the annoyance of the see of Rome, and other foreign potentates; therefore it was enacted that all such cases, whether relating to the king or any of his subjects, were to be determined within the kingdom, in the several courts to which they belonged, notwithstanding any appeals to Rome, or inhibitions and bulls to Rome; whose sentences should take effect, and be fully executed by all inferior ministers: and if any spiritual persons refused to execute them because of censures from Rome, they were declared liable to the pains in the statute of provisions in the sixteenth of Richard II. But that appeals should only be from the archdeacon, or his official, to the bishop of the diocese, or his commissary, and from him to the archbishop of the province, or the dean of the arches; where the final determination was to be made without any farther process; and in every process concerning the king, or his heirs and successors, an appeal should lie to the upper house of convocation, where it should be finally determined never to be again called in question." (Burnet Hist. Ref. b. ii, vol. i, p. 167.)

It may be proper to mention here what occurred in the year 1531. Cardinal Wolsey, two years previous to this time, by exercising his legantine powers, fell into a *premunire*, by which his property was forfeited to the king. In this year, those who had appeared in his

courts, and had suits there, were also found in the same guilt by the law; and they were excepted out of the pardon that was granted under the former parliament. Therefore an indictment was brought into the king's bench against all the clergy of England, for breaking the statutes against provisions and provisors. By this their goods and chattels were forfeited to the king, and their persons liable to arrest and confinement during the king's pleasure. The convocations of York and Canterbury took the subject into consideration; they demanded a considerable sum of money, in lieu of the forfeiture of their goods, or that they should acknowledge the king as *protector and supreme head of the church and clergy of England*, and reject the pope's supremacy in England. The last met with some opposition from both the convocations; but they finally agreed to give the subsidy, and acknowledge the ecclesiastical headship of the king. The convocation of Canterbury prayed the king to accept of the sum of 100,000*l.* in lieu of all punishments which they had incurred by going against the statutes of provisors, and did promise for the future, neither to make nor execute any constitution without the king's *license;* upon which he granted them a general pardon. The convocation of the province of York offered 18,840*l.*, with another submission of the same nature, and were also pardoned. This prepared the way for the passage of the act mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Thus the king pardoned the clergy on their submission; and they acknowledged him protector and supreme head of the church and clergy of England. They rejected the supremacy of the pope, but substituted for its place that of the king. (Burnet Hist. Ref. b, ii. vol. 1, p. 140, 149.)

Let any one compare the bishops' oath of supremacy to the pope and that taken by the bishops to Henry in 1532, and he will perceive that the bishops only changed their masters, without much change in their principles. Our limits do not allow us to enlarge. We refer our readers for both the oaths to Burnet (b. ii, vol. 1, p. 163.)

It may be proper to state here that, in the end of January 1533, King Henry sent to the pope for the bulls for Cranmer's promotion; and though the statutes were passed against procuring more bulls from Rome, yet the king resolved not to begin the breach till he was forced to it by the pope. His holiness was not hearty in this promotion; yet, to prevent a rupture with England, he consented, and the bulls were expedited, though, instead of annates, there were only 900 ducats paid for them. They were the last bulls that were received in this king's reign. By one bull Cranmer is, upon the king's nomination, promoted to be archbishop of Canterbury, and it is directed to the king. By a second, directed to himself, he is made archbishop. By a third, he is absolved from all censures. A fourth, is to the suffragans. A fifth, to the dean and chapters. A sixth, to the clergy of Canterbury. A seventh, to all the laity in the see. An eighth, to all that held lands of it, requiring them to receive and acknowledge him as archbishop. All these bear date 21st Feb. 1533. By a ninth bull of Feb. 22d, he was appointed to be consecrated, and to take the oath that was in the pontifical. By a tenth bull, of March 2d, the pall was sent him.

And by an eleventh, of the same date, the archbishop of York and the bishop of London were required to put it on him. Such were the several artifices employed to enrich the apostolic chamber. When the bulls were brought to London, Cranmer was consecrated on the 30th of March, 1533. He scrupled to take the oath of obedience to the pope; but, after being permitted to make a protestation respecting his sense of it, he took the oath and was consecrated. "By which," says Bishop Burnet, "if he did not wholly save his integrity, yet it was plain he intended no cheat, but to act fairly and aboveboard." Such were the sentiments of the times, that the grossest inconsistencies seem to have been practised without much examination or disgust.

In March, 1534, an act was passed by parliament which, among other things, declares and enacts,—"That the intolerable exactions for Peter-pence, provisions, pensions, and bulls, were contrary to the laws, and grounded only on the pope's power of dispensing, which was usurped. But the king and the lords and commons only had power to dispense or abrogate laws. That the two archbishops might grant no licenses for new things till they were first examined by the king and his council." In short, Henry VIII. modelled the church as he thought fit; and it was well he had such a counsellor as Cranmer. The Church of England was rescued from the grosser popery by this wicked man; but much of its spirit and practice remained. (See Burnet, b. ii, vol. 1, p. 191.)

5. But the act of supremacy which passed in the year 1535, and the 26th of Henry VIII., laid the foundation on which the peculiar polity of the Church of England was built. The various acts of premunire prepared the way; but this act cast the mould into which the church was formed, by establishing fully the supremacy of the British monarch, in making him the supreme head of the church, and in robbing the clergy of almost all part or lot in ecclesiastical matters, except as they may act as counsellors, delegates, or creatures of the crown or parliament. The substance of this act, as quoted by Neal in his History of the Puritans, is as follows. "Albeit the king's majesty justly and rightly is and ought to be supreme head of the Church of England, and is so recognised by the clergy of this realm in their convocations; yet, nevertheless, for confirmation and corroboration thereof, and for increase of virtue in Christ's religion in this realm of England &c.; be it enacted by the authority of this present parliament, that the king, our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed *the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England;* and shall have and enjoy, annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm, as well as the title and style thereof, as all honors, dignities, immunities, profits, and commodities, to the said dignity of supreme head of the church belonging and appertaining; and that our sovereign lord his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall have full power and authority to visit, repress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, contempts, and enormities, whatever they be, which, by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction, ought or may be lawfully reformed, repressed, ordered, corrected, restrained or amended, most to the pleasure of almighty

God, and increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conservation of peace, unity, and tranquillity of this realm; any usage, custom, foreign law, foreign authority, prescription, or any thing or things to the contrary notwithstanding." (Neal's Hist. Pur. vol. i, p. ii, Bath, 1793.) The substance of what is contained in this act was already acknowledged by the clergy; but this act gives it a regular form. Bishop Burnet expresses the most material parts of the act of supremacy in the following words:—"That the king was the supreme head on earth of the Church of England, which was to be annexed to his other titles; it was also enacted that the king and his heirs and successors should have power to visit and reform all heresies, and other abuses which in the spiritual jurisdiction ought to be reformed." (Burnet, b. ii, vol. 1, p. 207.) Here was the rise of the reformation of the English Church. The whole power of reforming, repressing, punishing heresies and errors, in doctrine and worship, and indeed in every thing that referred to religion, was transferred to the king from the pope, without any regard to the rights of councils or synods of the clergy, or the rights, privileges, or creed of the people. It is more than useless to say the power was a *civil one;* when the act expressly says, it was such as *any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought or may do.* It is therefore mere trifling for successionists to assert that the power exercised by the king is civil, when, in its exercise, he can regulate the concerns of the church to any extent to which any ecclesiastical power can or ever did exercise; and that, too, in *opposition* to the views and decisions of all the ecclesiastical power which the English clergy can use, whether as convocations, bishops, clergy, or people. It is true, the change after all was for the better, but by no means such a one a Scripture or reason would justify, whatever successionists may say to the contrary. Indeed, when arguing in favor of this scheme, they studiously avoid to follow the line of succession. And he that attempts to follow it, will be bewildered in the abominations and heresies of popes, and kings, and prelates, who have *usurped,* not only the lawful authority of the pastors and sheep of Christ's flock; but they have invaded the headship of Jesus Christ himself, who in time will dethrone them, and deliver his flock and pastors out of their hands. But we have not yet scarcely touched the heresies and schisms of the system; we will therefore proceed in our undertaking. Indeed we will need to argue very little on this subject, as the reader, from the facts which we will adduce, will see at once that the succession originated in pride and usurpation, was continued by tyranny and corruption, and will perish in proportion as knowledge and pure religion shall prevail on our earth.

By another statute, (32 Henry VIII., c. xxvi,) passed in 1541, it was enacted, "That all decrees and ordinances which shall be made and ordained by the archbishops, bishops, and doctors, and shall be published with the king's advice and confirmation, by his letters patent, in and upon the matters of Christian faith, and lawful rites and ceremonies, *shall be in every point thereof believed, obeyed, and performed to all intents and purposes, upon the pains therein comprised;* provided nothing be ordained contrary to the laws of the realm." (Neal, vol. 1, p. 33, 34.) By this act the king was invested

with the infallibility of the pope; and had the consciences and faith of his people at his absolute disposal. Observe, too, that he was under no control from the people and clergy; and no other ecclesiastical person or persons could do any thing in reference to the faith and government of the church without the king's consent.

The pope, at this period of the Church of England, is discharged from all jurisdiction and authority in the church; but a like authority is vested in the king. On this topic we will take the liberty to give a quotation from Neal, who wrote the history of the Puritans; and though he may in some things have leaned too far to the opposite side from high Churchmen, his observations here will be in point. "His majesty's injunctions," says he, "are as binding as the pope's canons, and upon as severe penalties. He is absolute lord of the consciences of his subjects. No bishop or spiritual person may preach any doctrine but what he approves; nor do any act of government but by his special commission. This seems to have been given his majesty by the act of supremacy; and is farther confirmed by one of the last acts of his reign, (37 Hen. VIII, c. 17,) which declares, 'that archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical persons have no manner of jurisdiction ecclesiastical but by, from, and under his royal majesty; and that his majesty is the only supreme head of the Church of England and Ireland, to whom, by holy Scripture, all authority and power is wholly given to hear and determine all manner of causes ecclesiastical, and to correct all manner of heresies, errors, vices, and sins whatever; and to all such persons as his majesty shall appoint thereto." This was carrying the regal power to the utmost length. Here is no reserve of privilege for convocations, councils, or colleges of bishops; the king may ask their advive, or call them in to his aid and assistance, but his majesty has not only a negative voice upon all their proceedings, but may himself, by his letters patent, publish injunctions in matters of religion, for correcting all errors in doctrine and worship—his proclamations have the force of a law, and all his subjects are obliged to believe, obey, and profess according to them, under the highest penalties." (Neal's Hist. Pur. vol. i, p. 37.)

6. The oath of supremacy, as it was made when the bishops did homage in the time of King Henry VIII, which is on record, and is among Mr. Rymer's manuscripts, will give us additional light into the submission of the clergy, and the supremacy of the king. We give it as it is found in Burnet's Collection of Records, in the ancient English orthography and style. That part of the oath is given which refers to the supremacy, as this only is necessary to our present discussion. "And also I acknowledge and recognize your majestie ymmediately under almighty God, to be the chief and supreme hede of the Church of England, and clayme to have the Bishopriche of —— alanlye of your gift: and to have and to hold the profites temporal and spiritual of the same alanlye of your majestie, and of your heires, kings of this realme, and of none other: And in that sorte and none other, I shall take my restitution out of your handes accordinglye, utterly renouncing any other suit to be had herefere to any other creature liffying, or hereafter to be except your heires." (Hist. Ref. vol. iii, b. iv, col. v.) Here the

king is recognized to be chief and supreme head of the church *immediately* under God; the bishopric is the king's *gift* only; the spiritual and temporal parts are equally derived from and depend on him; and no other *living creature* has any right to interfere; and this prerogative belongs to every king and queen of England to the present time.

7. An act of parliament passed in the second year of the reign of Edward VI., concerning the admission of bishops to their sees, by the king's letters patent, and concerning the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the bishops' courts, gives us a clear view of the entire subjection of the clergy to the crown, as well as the enormous power of the king in spiritual matters. It is true, some changes have taken place as it regards the manner of appointment of bishops; still the same principle is preserved entire to this day; and no man ever did, ever will, or ever can, reconcile it to the New Testament or the organization of the church in the apostles' days, and the age that immediately succeeded. By this act it is set forth, "That the way of choosing bishops, by *congè d' élire*, (i. e., *permission to elect*,) was tedious and expenseful; and there was only the shadow of election in it; and that therefore bishops should be made thereafter by the king's letters patent, upon which they were to be consecrated: and whereas the bishops did exercise their authority and carry on processes in their own names, as they were wont to do in the time of popery; and since all jurisdiction, both spiritual and temporal, was derived from the king, that therefore their courts and all processes should be carried on in the king's name, and be sealed with the king's seal, as it was in the other courts of the common law, after the first of July next." (Hist. Ref. vol. ii, b. i, p. 56.) There were some exceptions made in favor of the courts of the archbishop of Canterbury; but these referred only to dispensations and faculties, for in all other cases they were as much restrained as other bishops. It is said Archbishop Cranmer had a principal hand in this act; as it was his judgment, at that time, that the exercise of all episcopal jurisdiction depended on the prince; and as he gave it, he might restrain or take it away at his pleasure. Accordingly he took out a new commission from King Edward, when he came to the throne. It appears from the foregoing act that the king *made the bishop;* the other bishops had no hand in the matter but to go through a prescribed ceremony made by regal authority, and *consecrate* the man; which is the least part of making scriptural bishops. The bishop's spiritual power, too, was *derived from* the king, and *exercised in his name.* Even *the shadow of election* was dispensed with, and the king's *patent* put in its place. He that can receive all this for scriptural and apostolical, let him receive it. (Neal, vol. i, p. 45.)

An account of the manner of making bishops by letters patent in King Edward's time, will not be unacceptable. This is given from Burnet, and is as follows:—"The patents began with the mention of the vacancy of the see, by death or removal: upon which the king, being informed of the good qualifications of such a one, appoints him to be bishop, during his natural life, or so long as he shall behave himself well: *giving him power to ordain and deprive ministers,* to confer benefices, judge about wills, name

officials and commissaries, exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction, visit the clergy, inflict censures, and punish scandalous persons, and to do all the other parts of the episcopal function that were found by the word of God to be committed to bishops; all which they were to execute and do in *the king's name and authority.* After that, in the same patent, follows the restitution of the temporalities. The day after a certificate, in a writ called a *significavit*, was to be made of this, under the great seal, to the archbishop, with a charge to consecrate him." (Hist. Ref. vol. ii, b. i, p. 285.) This mode of appointing bishops was afterward abandoned in the reign of Elizabeth; and the mode of appointing by *congè d' élire* restored. In the foregoing account we find the king *gives the bishop power to ordain and deprive ministers,* &c. The bishop, too, is to exercise these powers in the *king's name and authority.* Therefore the principal part of episcopal ordination was invested in the crown. In commenting on this, Bishop Burnet says, "By these letters patent it is clear that the episcopal function was acknowledged to be of divine appointment, and that the person was no other way named by the king, than as lay patrons present to livings; only the bishop was legally authorized in such part of the king's dominions to execute that function which was to be derived to him by imposition of hands. Therefore here was no pretence for denying that such persons were true bishops, and for saying, as some have done, that they were not from Christ, but from the king." (Idem, p. 286.) It is to be acknowledged that the good bishop meets the objection as well as the nature of the case will admit of; but then the only weight that can be allowed to it is this—that the appointment of the king, and his authority in reference to the *manner* of constituting bishops, do not invalidate their divine appointment. If so, then to appoint and ordain bishops in a far less exceptionable manner, as is done in the Methodist Episcopal Church, cannot invalidate their divine appointment, on the supposition that bishops are a distinct order from presbyters, by divine right. The truth is, Bishop Burnet's observation is a very good *apology* for the unscriptural and *irregular* ordinations of the times concerning which he wrote, but it is no argument or proof in favour of the power of the English kings in ecclesiastical matters. Indeed most of the ordinations of those times were irregular, whether they were Popish or Protestant.

8. In Queen Elizabeth's reign, the power lost, or rather resigned by Queen Mary, was restored by act of parliament in the year 1559. It was entitled, *An act for restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical and spiritual; and for abolishing foreign power.* It is the same in substance with the 25th of Henry VIII. It revived those laws of Henry VIII., and Edward VI., which had been repealed in the late reign of Queen Mary. (Neal, vol. i, p. 118.) Burnet says that, by it, "all the acts passed in the reign of King Henry for the abolishing of the king's power are again revived; and the acts in Queen Mary's time to the contrary are repealed. There was also a repeal of the act made by her for proceeding against heretics. They declared the authority of visiting, correcting, and reforming all things in the church, to be for ever annexed to the crown, which the queen and her suc-

cessors might by letters patent depute to any persons to exercise in her name; all bishops and other ecclesiastical persons, and all in any civil employment, were required to swear that they acknowledge the queen to be the supreme governor in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, within her dominions; that they renounced all foreign power and jurisdiction, and should bear the queen true allegiance: whosoever should refuse to swear it was to forfeit any office he had either in church or state, and to be from henceforth disabled to hold any employment during life: to this a promise was added, that such persons as should be commissioned by the queen to reform and order ecclesiastical matters should judge nothing to be heresy but what had been already so judged by the canonical scriptures, and by the first four general councils, or by any other general council in which doctrines were declared to be heresies by the express and plain words of Scripture; all other points, not so decided, were to be judged by the parliament, with the assent of the clergy in their convocation." (Hist. Ref. vol. ii, b. i, p. 491.) By this single act respecting the queen's supremacy, what had been done by Queen Mary was annulled, and the church placed in the same state of dependence on the queen and her successors that it was in to Edward VII., and Henry VIII. The only difference was, that the title of supreme head was left out of the oath; though the powers embraced in it were comprised in other words. Another difference was, that there was no other punishment inflicted on those who denied the queen's supremacy but the loss of goods; and such as refused to take the oath did only lose their livings; whereas to refuse the oath in Henry's time brought them into a *premunire;* and to deny the supremacy was treason.

Queen Elizabeth, by an act passed in 1559, entitled "An act for the uniformity of common prayer and service in the church, and administration of the sacraments," was confirmed in the possession of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This statute lies open to view at the beginning of the most authentic editions of the Common Prayer Book. It is sufficient for our purpose to take notice of one clause, by which all ecclesiastical jurisdiction was again delivered up to the crown. "The queen is hereby empowered, with the advice of her commissioners or metropolitan, to ordain and publish such farther ceremonies and rites as may be for the advancement of God's glory, and edifying his church, and the reverence of Christ's holy mysteries and sacraments." (Neal, vol. i; pp. 130, 399.)

In *a declaration of certain principal articles of religion, set out by order of both archbishops, metropolitans, and the rest of the bishops, for the unity of doctrine to be taught and holden by all parsons vicars, and curates*, &c., in the reign of Elizabeth, the monarch's authority in matters of religion is thus defined in the 5th article, "Furthermore I do acknowledge the queen's majesty's prerogative, and superiority of government of all estates, and in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal within this realm, and other her majesty's dominions and countries, to be agreeable to God's word, and of right to appertain to her highness, in such sort as in the late act of parliament expressed, and since then, by her majesty's injunctions declared and expounded." (Idem, vol. v, Appendix, p. iv; Burnet, vol. ii, b. iii, p. 516, col. No. 11.) The queen in her

injunctions requires "all ecclesiastical persons to see that the act of supremacy be duly observed, and shall preach four times a year against yielding obedience to any foreign jurisdiction." (Neal, vol. i, p. 139.) She also explains the oath of supremacy, modifying it somewhat in its rigor; but we think that this explained view was but rarely adopted, and appears inconsistent with the supremacy of the crown. The queen declares that, by her supremacy, "she did not pretend to any authority for the ministering of divine service in the church, and that all that she challenged was that which had at all times belonged to the imperial crown of England, that she had the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons under God, so that no foreign power had any rule over them." (Burnet, Hist. Ref. vol. ii, b. iii, p. 507.) Any person may judge how far this is consistent with the exercise of the supremacy during this reign.

9. The power that was given to the queen to commission some to execute her supremacy, gave rise to that court which was commonly called *the high commission court.* It was designed to come in the place of a single person, to whom with the title of *lord vicegerent,* King Henry delegated his authority. The power was thought too much to be put into the hands of one man, and was therefore divided among several, some of whom were clergymen, and some laymen. After injunctions had been prepared by the queen, she gave out commissions for those who should visit all the churches in England, and correct whatever they thought amiss by *suspending* and *depriving* clergymen. We will quote some extracts from one of these commissions, given in the first year of Queen Elizabeth to the earls of Shrewsbury and Derby, and some others, among whom was Dr. Sands. The commission declares "that, God having set the queen over the nation, she could not render an account of that trust without endeavouring to propagate the true religion; with the right way of worshipping God in all her dominions; therefore she, in consequence of her royal and absolute power, committed to her in this her kingdom, hath determined to visit each estate of her kingdom, as well the ecclesiastical as civil, and to prescribe certain rules of piety and virtue to them, hath appointed, for the accomplishing of this work, these persons, (or any four, three, or at least two of them,) in her *place, name,* and by her *authority,* and have substituted them, to visit, as well in the head as in the members, cathedral churches, &c.: to inquire into the state of churches and places of this sort, into the life, manners, conversation, and qualities of persons living in churches and the places aforesaid, and into all these respects in which it can be the more efficaciously inquired into and investigated," &c. (Burnet, Hist. Ref. vol. ii, b. iii, col. No. 7.) They were also authorized "to suspend and deprive such clergymen as were unworthy, and to put others in their places; to proceed against any that were obstinate by imprisonment, church censure, or any other legal way." This was the first high commission that was given out. It was not a commission immediately warranted by act of parliament, but by virtue of the *queen's supremacy.* And although it was an enormous extent of power, we cannot view it in any other light than as the legitimate exercise of the supremacy.

This court exercised their powers with all freeness; which is described by Neal as follows: "It suspended and deprived men

of their livings, not by the verdict of twelve men upon oath, but by the sovereign determination of three commissioners of her majesty's own nomination, founded not on the *statute laws* of the realm but upon the bottomless deep of the *canon law;* and instead of producing witnesses in open court to prove the charge, they assumed a power of administering an oath *ex officio*, whereby the prisoner was obliged to answer all questions the church put to him, though never so prejudicial to his own defence: if he refused to swear, he was imprisoned for contempt; and if he took the oath, he was convicted on his own confession." (Hist. Pur. vol. i, pref. 7.) The Puritans felt the arbitrary proceedings of this court. They were forced to leave their pastoral charges, and undergo severe punishments for their conscientious adherence to what they believed true, and for what they deemed, and is now acknowledged to be the superstitious, and indeed in some respects, the idolatrous remains of popery.

This court so far exceeded all bounds by fining and imprisoning men for ecclesiastical offences, contrary to that which they were warranted by the statute law, that it was totally abolished in the reign of Charles I., in 1641; when it was enacted that all coercive power of church consistories should be taken away; and the spiritual sword that had done such terrible execution in the hands of some bishops, was put into its sheath. It was enacted that no new court should be erected that would have the same or equal power that the high commission court had; but, all such commissions, letters patent, &c., from the king and his successors, and all acts or decrees made by virtue thereof, should be void. (Idem, vol. ii, ch. ix, p. 445, where the act was quoted.) This seems to be a new era in the English church, and prepared the way for the moderation which afterward prevailed. But, according to Burnet's confession, there was a very small amount of sound religious principle, either among the clergy or laity, when the high commission court commenced its operations; and certainly its doings were not well adapted to promote the cause of true religion. (Hist. Ref. vol. ii, b. iii, p. 510.)

II. THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

As the parliament of Great Britain is the supreme power in England, in all matters both ecclesiastical and civil, it will be necessary to point out what powers it hath and exercises in the concerns of the English church.

1. The constituent parts of a parliament are, *the king* and the three estates of the realm; *the lords spiritual*, *the lords temporal*, (who sit together with the king in one house,) and the *commons*, who sit by themselves in another. Some however consider the three estates of the realm to be the *king*, *lords*, and *commons;* thus comprising the lords spiritual and the lords temporal under one name—*the lords.* The king and these three, or two estates together, form the great corporation or body politic of the British empire, of which the king is said to be *caput, principium, et finis—the head, the origin, and the end.*

2. The king is himself a part of parliament: he convenes the parliament by his writ. On their coming together he meets them

either in person or representation; without which there could be no beginning of a parliament; and he also has the power of dissolving them. The share of legislation which the constitution has placed in the king consists in the power of rejecting rather than resolving; this being sufficient to answer the end proposed. For the royal negative consists in this, that the king has not any power of doing wrong, but merely of *preventing* wrong from being done. The king cannot of himself begin any alterations in the established law, but he may approve or disapprove of any alterations suggested by the two houses.

3. (1.) The house of lords is composed of lords spiritual and lords temporal. These last consist of all the peers of the realm, by whatever title of nobility they may be distinguished, as dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, or barons. Some of these sit by descent, as do all ancient peers; some by creations as do all new-made ones. Others, since the union of Scotland and Ireland, by election; which is the case with the sixteen peers who represent the body of the Scottish nobility, and the twenty-eight temporal lords elected for life by the peers of Ireland. The Scotch nobility sit one parliament only; and the Irish for life. The number of lords is indefinite, and may be increased to any number by the king, who has the power of appointing as many as he thinks fit. The number of Irish peers is limited, so that it cannot exceed one hundred.

(2.) The lords spiritual consist of two archbishops and twenty-four bishops. On the union of Ireland in 1801, four lords spiritual were added, to sit by rotation of session, viz., one of the four archbishops, and three of the eighteen bishops. At the dissolution of monasteries by Henry VIII., twenty-six mitred abbots and two friars held seats in parliament; though now the number of spiritual lords is thirty, the abbots and friars having no seats, or indeed no existence. All these hold or are supposed to hold certain ancient baronies under the king; for William the Conqueror thought proper to change the spiritual tenure of *frankalmaign*, or *free alms*, under which the bishops held their lands during the Saxon government, into the *feudal* or *Norman* tenure by barony. This change subjected their estates to civil charges and assessments, from which they were before exempt. In right of *succession* to these baronies, which were inalienable from their respective dignities, the bishops, and abbots held their seats in the house of lords. Though the bishops are distinguished in most acts of parliament from the lords temporal, yet in practice they are blended together under the one name of *the lords;* they intermix in their votes; and the majority of such intermixture carries. The lords spiritual and temporal are now, in reality, in every effectual sense, only one estate, though the ancient distinction between them still nominally prevails. For if a bill should pass the house of lords there is no doubt of its validity, though every lord spiritual should vote against it; on the other hand the bill would be valid were the majority composed of bishops only, and the minority of lords temporal.

4. *The commons*, according to its ordinary acceptation, consist of all such men of property of the kingdom, as have not seats in the house of lords. In its parliamentary sense, it means the *knights, citizens*, and *burgesses*, who are the representatives, in the house of commons, of the various counties, cities, and boroughs in the

kingdom. They are properly the representatives of the whole people, who do by them what is impracticable to be done by themselves in person. The counties are therefore represented by knights, elected by the proprietors of land; the cities and boroughs are represented by citizens and burgesses, chosen by the mercantile or trading part of the nation. The number of Scotch representatives is forty-five, of Irish one hundred, of English five hundred and thirteen, in all six hundred and fifty-eight.

These are the constituent parts of a parliament,—the king, lords spiritual and temporal, and commons; and the consent of these three is necessary to make any new law that shall bind the subject. Whatever is enacted by one, or by two only of the three, is no statute. And any one who maliciously or advisedly affirms that one or both houses have legislative powers, without the king, incurs all the penalties of a *premunire*. Besides, as it regards the religious character of the commons, they are composed of *Churchmen*, *Presbyterians*, *Roman Catholics*, *dissenters*, and *infidels;* and they are also the representatives of persons who are in like manner divided into corresponding religious and irreligious divisions. Yet their enactments as a religious or ecclesiastical body, for such they properly are, respect only the Church of England. Let this be remembered. (See Blackstone's Com. b. i, c. ii, pp. 153–160; also Jacob's Law Dictionary, under *Parliament;* who are the authorities from which we quote.)

5. The *powers* of the parliament are thus described by Judge Blackstone in his Commentaries: "The power and jurisdiction of parliament is so transcendent and absolute, that it cannot be confined, either for causes or persons, within any bounds. It hath sovereign and uncontrollable authority in the making, confirming, enlarging, restraining, abrogating, repealing, reviving, and expounding of laws, concerning matters of all possible denominations, *ecclesiastical* or temporal, civil, military, maritime, or criminal: this being the place where that absolute despotic power, which must in all governments exist somewhere, is intrusted by the constitution of these kingdoms. All mischiefs and grievances, operations and remedies, that transcend the ordinary course of the laws, are within the reach of this extraordinary tribunal. It can regulate or new model the succession to the crown; as was done in the reign of Henry VIII. and William III. It can alter the established religion of the land; as was done in a variety of instances, in the reigns of King Henry VIII., and his three children. It can change and create afresh even the constitution of the kingdom and of parliaments themselves; as was done by the act of union, and the several statutes for triennial and septennial elections. It can, in short, do every thing that is not naturally impossible; and therefore some have not scrupled to call its power, by a figure rather too bold, the omnipotence of parliament. True it is, that what the parliament doth, no authority upon earth can undo." (Black. Com. b. i, c. ii, pp. 160, 161.) We have been thus particular in describing the powers and component parts of the British parliament, that we might be able to ascertain the claims of the English Church to her exclusive succession; as the parliament is the supreme ecclesiastical legislature to the church, in as full and ample a sense, as it is the supreme legislature to the state.

From the foregoing it appears that the parliament has *sovereign and uncontrollable, transcendent and absolute authority in all matters, as well ecclesiastical as civil;* and therefore sovereign authority extends as fully to the church as it does to the state. But as our business is with the church, we will call the attention of the reader to its ecclesiastical sovereignty. This is *as* extensive and ample in the church *as* it is in the state. The parliament therefore hath sovereign authority in the making, confirming, enlarging, restraining, abrogating, repealing, reviving, and expounding of laws, concerning all possible ecclesiastical matters. On the English Church, the parliament can act so as to change and create afresh its constitution. It can do in the church every thing that is not naturally impossible. In the church the power of the parliament is therefore *omnipotent*, and what it doth in the church *no power on earth can undo*, whether bishops, convocations, or any other person or persons, body or bodies of men! Accordingly, the parliament hath power, and hath exercised it more than once, and will probably exercise it again, *to alter the established religion of the land.*

The parliament then is the supreme ecclesiastical legislature of the Anglican Church, to which all other ecclesiastical bodies are accountable, as convocations, deans and chapters, bishops, &c., and from it through the king they derive their authority. The parliament therefore bears the same relation to the Church of England, that a general council and the pope at its head, together with the consent of the whole church, tacitly or expressly, bear to the Church of Rome. The parliament is to the church the same that the general assembly and presbyteries of the Scotch or American Presbyterian Church are to these churches respectively. Or the parliament hath the same authority in the church, as the general and annual conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church have to the whole of their church. Or the parliament has the same power in the church that the general and particular conventions have in the Protestant Episcopal Church. These ecclesiastical bodies can do no more than *alter the religion* of their churches, and the parliament can do the same, and that too in *all possible ecclesiastical matters.*

Observe too the religious character of the three parts of a parliament. The king is a Churchman; but he may cease to be such, as is proved from the changes already made, and which may again occur; notwithstanding the coronation oath and other guards. The lords spiritual are Churchmen; but then among the other lords, some are Roman Catholics, some dissenters, and probably infidels; and the house of commons is composed of Churchmen, Roman Catholics, dissenters, and even infidels. A large part therefore of the legislators of the Anglican Church is composed of persons of very different religious creeds from herself, and many of them possessed of the most determined hostility to her faith, worship, episcopacy, general order, and in short to almost every thing in which her interests and permanency are concerned. And what is still more strange, no purely ecclesiastical body in this church possesses any power to control or hinder in any degree any changes that may be made in her creed or discipline. The parliament can give as little or as much power to the convocation or clergy, as it pleases; so that without or contrary to the consent of the clergy, the church may be changed in

any manner possible, and that too by persons many of whom may be infidels, of opposite creeds from the church, as well as of immoral lives. But the parliament exercises their ecclesiastical powers to a considerable extent by the kings or queens of England, in confirming and extending the title of *defender of the faith*, which Henry VIII., received from the pope, and in making the reigning monarch *supreme head of the church under Christ*, and thus transferring the supremacy of the pope to the English crown, which will form the next topic of our discussion.

III. ECCLESIASTICAL POWERS OF THE ENGLISH MONARCH.

1. The king of England is the *head* and *supreme governor* of the National Church. Judge Blackstone (Com. b. i, c. vii, p. 278,) says, "By statute 26 Henry VIII., c. i, reciting that the king's majesty justly and rightfully is and ought to be the supreme head of the Church of England; and so had been recognised by the clergy of this kingdom in their convocation, it is enacted, that the king shall be reputed the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England, and shall have annexed to the imperial crown of this realm, as well the title and style thereof, as all jurisdictions, authorities, and commodities, to the said dignity of the supreme head of the church appertaining. And another statute to the same purport was made, 1 Eliz. c. i."

King Henry VIII. first shook off the yoke of Rome, and settled the supremacy in himself, after it had been long held by the pope. The acts of parliament, which suppressed the supremacy of Rome, are said by English jurists, to be acts of *restitution* of the ancient ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which, they contend, always belonged of right to the crown; and that the act of supremacy was not introductory of a new law but declaratory of the old, and that which was, by the fundamental laws of the realm, a part of the king's jurisdiction; by which laws, the king, as supreme head, had full and entire power in all cases ecclesiastical as well as temporal. And as in temporal causes, the king doth judge by his judges in the courts of justice, by the temporal laws of England; so, in ecclesiastical causes, they are to be determined by the judges thereof, according to the king's ecclesiastical laws. The kingdom too is considered as a complete empire, consisting of one head which is the king, and a body politic made up of the clergy and laity, both of them, immediately under God, subject and obedient to the head. There are several instances of ecclesiastical jurisdiction exercised by the kings of England in former ages. The king is the supreme ordinary, and by the ancient laws of the land might, without any act of parliament, make ordinances for the government of the clergy; and if there be a controversy between spiritual persons concerning jurisdiction, the king is arbitrator, and it is a right of his crown to declare their bounds. (See Jacob's Law Dictionary, under *Supremacy*.)

In the articles of religion published in the reign of Edward VI., the 36th article declares that, "The king of England is, after Christ, supreme head on earth of the Church of England and Ireland." In the articles published by the authority of Queen Elizabeth in 1562, which are the same now in use in the Book of Common

Prayer used in the Church of England, the 37th article, entitled, *of the civil magistrates,* give us the following view of the subject on hand:—

"The queen's majesty hath the chief power in this realm of England, and other her dominions; unto whom the chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes doth appertain; and is not, nor ought to be subject to any foreign jurisdiction.

Where we attribute to the queen's majesty the chief government, by which title we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended, we give not to our princes the ministering either of God's word, or of the sacraments, the which thing the injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our queen do most plainly testify; but that only prerogative, which we see to have been given always to all godly princes in holy scriptures by God himself: that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil doers.

The bishop of *Rome* hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England.

The laws of the realm may punish Christian men with death for heinous and grievous offences.

It is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the magistrate, to wear weapons and serve in the wars." (Burnet, Hist. Ref. vol. ii, b. i, p. 219, col. No. 55, p. 262.)

Observe, the *right* by which the power is claimed is, that God himself *gave* the king this power according to Scripture; and that all *godly princes* had this right. The power conferred is declared to be *the chief power in all ecclesiastical causes;* that they should *rule all ecclesiastical degrees;* that this chief power and rule extend as extensively and fully to persons and things in the church, as to persons and things in the state; and that this may be enforced *by the civil sword.* Thus the English king has a *divine right*, according to this article, to the chief rule in ecclesiastical matters; and neither clergy nor people have any right or power to control him in the exercise of this enormous power.

Besides, the prerogative embraces the power of punishing with the *civil sword*, *stubborn* or *evil doers.* The Puritans, Nonconformists, and the different branches of dissenters, were esteemed both stubborn and evil doers, and as such were punished with the power of the sword.

However such are now *tolerated;* that is they are permitted to enjoy a *part* of their religious privileges,—I say a *part*, for though they are permitted to worship God as they judge best, they are compelled to support the ministry of the establishment. Indeed, the very idea of tolerance in religion is an assumption of the rights of others; as thereby a person presumes to *permit* another to do that which he has as good a right to do as he himself can possess.

The foregoing article confers on the reigning English king or queen *the divine right* of ecclesiastical sovereign or pope. Consequently this has been maintained with great earnestness by the English Church. In the reign of Charles I., in the year 1641, the

divine right of kings to the supreme power over all persons civil and ecclesiastical, is maintained in a canon in the *constitution and canons ecclesiastical, treated upon by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, presidents of the convocation for their respective provinces, and the rest of the bishops and clergy of these provinces, and agreed upon, with the king's majesty's license, in their several synods begun in London and York* 1641.

"CANON I. CONCERNING THE REGAL POWER.

"We ordain and decree that every parson, vicar, curate, or preacher, upon one Sunday in every quarter of the year, in the place where he serves, shall read the following explanation of the regal power:—That the most high and sacred order of kings is of divine right, being the ordinance of God himself, founded on the prime laws of nature and revelation by which the supreme power over all persons civil and ecclesiastical is given to them. That they have the care of God's church, and the power of calling and dissolving councils, both national and provincial." (Neal, vol. i, p. 329.) Indeed this was nothing more than carrying out in consequence the doctrine contained in the 37th article quoted above; which is held to this day by all true Churchmen. It is true, this declaration of the convocation was not the immediate act of parliament at that time; but it shows abundantly what was the true doctrine of the article, and what were the views of Churchmen respecting the authority conferred by the act of supremacy. The right of the king, it is proper to remark, to exercise the authority of supreme ruler in ecclesiastical matters is said to be the ordinance of God himself, founded on the prime laws of nature and revelation. This ordinance bestows on the king the supreme power over all ecclesiastical persons, the care of the church, and the power of calling and dissolving ecclesiastical synods. And this supremacy, in the article, is declared to be such as was always exercised by pious kings, both Christian and Jewish. It would, it seems, be enough to state these unscriptural assumptions in order to confute them; but since our American successionists are introducing with great zeal these very doctrines, or such as involve them, we will, in a future page, devote some arguments to their confutation.

It will be proper for us to inquire what powers are vested in the king, what powers he actually exercises, how far these are guarded by the coronation oath, and how far authorized by Scripture and the example of Jewish and Christian kings.

2. The king is the *source of power* in the church as well as in the state.

The king is head of the church. This office was conferred on him by the parliament, is acknowledged by the clergy, and has been submitted to by every true Churchman. The power of the king is as extensive in ecclesiastical matters as it is in civil. And there is a sense in which the king is said to be the only executive magistrate in Britain. For from him, as the source of power, an extensive commission proceeds, giving birth to different offices of executive trust, as well as dignity and effect to all their proceedings. Under shelter of this commission, his ministers manage treaties, settle peace, and proclaim war. The navy, army, mint,

and courts of judicature are, likewise, all filled with their respective officers, who are to be considered as the king's proxies. The clergy, in like manner, when performing divine service, or occupying ecclesiastical courts, retain the same character in the church, which the other officers do in the state. They are administering, in their separate departments, what it is impossible for the king to administer in his own person; yet all holding their places directly or indirectly from the king. And as in temporal causes the king doth judge by his judges in the courts of justice, by the temporal laws of England; *so*, in ecclesiastical causes, the king officiates by his clergy, according to the king's ecclesiastical laws. (See Dyer on Subscription, p. 170.)

(2.) That the king is the fountain and source of ecclesiastical power appears farther from the act of supremacy. By this the king was vested with all manner of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and the clergy, according to this act, have no manner of ecclesiastical jurisdiction but by and under the king's majesty. Accordingly, at the Reformation, commissions were taken out by the bishops for the exercise of spiritual jurisdiction, and these commissions were to be held during the king's pleasure. (For these commissions see Burnet's Hist. Ref. vol. i, p. 345. Collection of Records, No. 14. Also vol. ii, p. 7, Collection No. 2, p. 107, where the Latin commissions taken by Bonner and Cranmer may be seen.) In these commissions, all jurisdiction, ecclesiastical as well as civil, is acknowledged to flow originally from the royal power of its supreme head, the fountain of all power within his own kingdom. Even the power of ordination is nothing but a grant, and was held only during the king's pleasure. And as all the different branches of the ministerial office are trusts derived from the king, all the power is revertible to him as its original source. He may instruct, and prescribe to the clergy; (Injunctions, Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth;) he may suspend them from office, and deprive them of it: he may even excommunicate from the bosom of the church, readmit excommunicated persons, independent of ecclesiastical courts, and even of the bishops and clergy. And what is still more remarkable, this extraordinary authority was held by delegation; one strange title which Lord Cromwell held, being that of lord vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters. By virtue of this title, he had the principal management of ecclesiastical proceedings, and took place of the archbishop of Canterbury. But many of the most eminent Churchmen and lawyers have not done justice to this subject, when in their theories they have lowered the supremacy far below that which the letter, spirit, and practice of its doctrines would justify. Indeed, they have overlooked the foregoing considerations, from which it appears that all ecclesiastical power is vested in the king, by the parliament.

(3.) The same degree of power possessed by heathen kings has been claimed for the kings of England. Bishop Hooker, who is considered the standard writer on church government by Churchmen, asserts in his Ecclesiastical Polity that Christian kings have as much authority to regulate religious matters as heathen kings had. "That which, as kings (speaking of heathen kings) they might do in matters of religion, and did in matters of false religion,

being idolatrous and superstitious kings, the same they are now in every respect authorized to do in all affairs pertinent to the state of true religion." (Eccl. Pol., vol. iii, p. 274.) It is not necessary to prove here that heathen kings were never authorized by the Almighty to establish their false religion. Nevertheless Churchmen, in order to maintain their ground, claim the same authority for the British kings in regulating the church of Christ, as heathen kings did in false religion. Indeed the regal form of church government, which commenced when kings and emperors became Christian, can claim no higher authority than the unscriptural example of heathen kings. Nevertheless the kings of England are, by the act of supremacy, vested with the enormous power which was exercised by the Roman emperors after the days of Julius Cesar, who laid the foundation of the Roman monarchy. They are not, indeed, consecrated unto all kinds of priesthood; but all kinds of priesthood are consecrated by their authority, and supply their place. The direction of sacrifices and ceremonies, which fell to the department of the priests; the authority of the tribunes, who, in the times of the commonwealth, acted for the people; and all the power of the ancient dictators; made up the character of the Roman emperor. Thus the kings of England oversee the ceremonies, which is the province of the priest; they choose to office, which is the right of the people; and they have the government of the whole, which, in the ecclesiastical style, is the proper office of the bishop. (See Dyer, p. 175.)

(4.) The king is the fountain of power in the church as well as in the state, notwithstanding the various qualifying expositions which the advocates of the regal form of government can adduce in lowering the ecclesiastical prerogative and supremacy of the king. They have been compelled by the glaring tyranny contained in the supremacy to lessen the degree of power attached thereto; but not in a manner consistent with Scripture or the primitive organization of the church of Christ.

It is true, indeed, that the kings and queens of England never pretended to belong to any order of the clergy, nor to exercise any part of the ecclesiastical functions in their own persons. They neither preached nor administered the sacraments; nor pronounced nor inflicted the censures of the church; nor did they ever consecrate to the episcopal office, though the right of appointment belongs to them. These things were done by clerical persons deriving their powers from the crown.

Hear what Bishop Hooker says on this point:—"It has been taken, as if we did hold that kings may prescribe what themselves think proper in the service of God, how the word may be taught, how the sacraments administered." And this they certainly did do. He adds, "That kings may do whatever is incident unto the office and duty of an ecclesiastical judge; which opinions we count absurd. (Eccl. Pol., b. viii.) Nothing is more clear than that the English kings have done what pertains to the office and duty of ecclesiastical judges. Instances of this will be unnecessary here, as many have already been given, and no small number will appear in what follows.

Bishop Burnet takes every opportunity of qualifying the supremacy. Having previously spoken of the extent of the king's power

in the reign of Henry VIII., he makes the following observation by way of explanation; though it might be rather denominated an insufficient apology. "Thus it appears that they both limited obedience to the king's laws, with a due caution of their not being contrary to the law of God, and acknowledged the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in the discharge of the pastoral office, committed to the pastors of the church by Christ and his apostles; and that the supremacy then pretended to was no such extravagant power as some imagine." (Hist. Ref., vol. i, b. ii. p. 189.) Now if the good bishop did not consider there was any thing extravagant in the supremacy of the English kings, we are at a loss to know what extravagance is: for by it, the king made laws for restraining and coercing his subjects, in religious matters; to compel bishops and ministers to do their duty, and deprive them if they did not; all which and much more is contained in the page preceding that quoted above, and yet the bishop maintains that there was not any great amount of extravagance in the supremacy exercised by Henry VIII., and his successors. Let the reader peruse the few pages that go before the declaration of Mr. Burnet, and he will see at once that the supremacy considers the king as the source of ecclesiastical authority.

Bishop Warburton seems also to teach a doctrine opposed to the supremacy; for he argues that the magistrate cannot confer the ministerial character. He declares, (Alliance,- as quoted by Dyer on Luber, p. 172.) "We must be careful how we think the magistrate, by virtue of this branch of the supremacy, can make or confer the character of minister or priest, or even himself exercise that office." Churchmen are well aware that, according to Scripture, kings cannot confer the ministerial office; they are also aware that the king *does virtually confer it;* they are therefore in great perplexity when they attempt to reconcile the ecclesiastical headship of the king with the declarations of God's word.

One of the articles, indeed, gives some countenance to the qualified views of the supremacy which their divines, as mentioned above, sometimes give. The article says, "We give not to our princes the ministering of God's word and the sacraments." This clause is farther explained in the injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, for the purpose of meeting the objection of their adversaries who pressed them with the absurdity of a *lay person's* being *head* of the spiritual body. Accordingly she enjoins to her visiters, "That she did not, nor would she ever challenge authority and power to minister divine service in the church; nor would she challenge any other authority than her predecessors, King Henry VIII. and Edward VI. used." Indeed the clause in the article, the injunctions of the queen, and the opinions of the above-mentioned divines, appear to be expositions and glosses which will by no means comport with the powers bestowed upon, and actually exercised by the British monarchs, by virtue of the supremacy. Besides, it is a singular apology by the good and wise Elizabeth, to say that her power did not exceed the limits of that exercised by her father and pious brother; when they exercised the prerogative of the supremacy with no very sparing hand.

3. But if we carefully examine the subject we shall find that *the powers actually exercised* by the English monarchs in ecclesiastical affairs, taken in connection with their prerogative, will be found

enormous, and far exceeding the qualified views given by most of their divines, and the legitimate bounds of scriptural authority and restraint. For the purpose of proving this the following survey of the various parts of the king's ecclesiastical authority is presented to the reader.

(1.) *The authority or supremacy of the pope was transferred to the king.*

All the jurisdiction and authority claimed by the pope as head of the church previous to the Reformation, was transferred to the English crown by the act of supremacy, as far, and perhaps even farther, than was consistent with the laws of the land then in being; though since that time it has undergone some abatements. The reason for the exercise of such a power, as well as the transfer of it to the English kings, is set forth by the judicious Hooker, as he is called, in the following words: "When the whole ecclesiastical state, or the principal persons therein, do need visitation and reformation; when in any part of the church, errors, schisms, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts, enormities are grown; which men, in their several jurisdictions, either do not or cannot help: whatsoever any spiritual authority and power (such as legates from the see of Rome did sometimes exercise) hath done or might heretofore have done for the remedies of these evils in lawful sort, (that is to say, without the violation of the laws of God or nature in the deed done,) as much in every degree our laws have fully granted that the king for ever may do, not only by settling ecclesiastical synods on work, that the thing may be their act, and the king their motioner unto it, but by commissions few or many, who, having the king's letters patent, may in the virtue thereof execute the premises as agents in the right, not of their own peculiar and ordinary, but of his supereminent power." (Eccl. Pol., vol. iii, b. viii, p. 278: London 1822.)

The same author asserts that the king has power to command in matters of religion, and that no other power hath authority to overrule him. Hear his own words, "When, therefore, Christian kings are said to have spiritual dominion or supreme power in ecclesiastical affairs and causes, the meaning is, that within their own precincts and territories, they have an authority and power to command even in matters of Christian religion, and that there is no higher nor greater, that can in these cases over command them, where they are placed to reign as kings." He farthermore remarks that the *king ought not to be under man, but under God and the law.* He also states that "power of spiritual dominion is, in causes ecclesiastical, that ruling authority which neither any foreign state, nor yet any part of that politic body at home, wherein the same is established, can lawfully overrule." (*Idem.* p. 237.) According to this author, whose sentiments here are in accordance with the prerogative of the supremacy, the king's power is a *spiritual dominion*, and no ecclesiastical body or persons can overrule him in its exercise. Whatever may be Mr. Hooker's explanation and qualifying distinctions in other parts of his writings, his sentiments as expressed in the foregoing quotations, will have full weight, if we survey the powers actually committed to, and exercised by, the British monarchs in the affairs of the church.

(2.) *The kings and queens of England exercise authority in matters of faith, and are the ultimate judges of what is agreeable or repugnant to the word of God.*

The act of supremacy says expressly that the king hath power to redress and amend all errors and heresies; to enjoin what doctrines are to be preached, and not repugnant to the laws of the land; and if any should preach contrary, he was for the third offence to be judged a heretic, and suffer death. The monarchs of England claimed and exercised the right to *prohibit* all preaching for a time; as did Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary and Elizabeth. They sometimes *limited* the clergy's preaching to certain of the 39 articles established by law, as King Charles I. did. All the foregoing kings and queens published instructions or injunctions concerning matters of faith, without consent of the clergy in convocation assembled; and enforced them on the clergy under the penalties of a *premunire*. This made it difficult to understand that clause of the 20th article of the church which says, "The church has authority in matters of faith."

Moreover, the articles of religion were not published at first by the convocation. They were prepared by a council of bishops and other learned men, under the direction and authority of Edward VI., and promulgated by him in June, 1553, and directed to the rectors of the universities and all the clergy for subscription. As Burnet declares, they were neither passed in convocation, nor so much as offered to it. It was only in after times, in the reign of Elizabeth, that they received the sanction of the convocation; and even then the queen had the principal hand in publishing them. Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop Ridley were appointed, by King Edward, to accomplish this work. They accordingly framed forty-two articles upon the chief points of the Christian faith; copies of which were sent to the other bishops and learned divines, for their corrections and amendments; after which the archbishop reviewed them a second time, and having corrected them according to his best judgment, presented them to the council, where they also received the royal sanction, and were finally published by the king. This was another high, though legitimate act of the supremacy; for the articles were not brought into parliament, nor agreed upon in the convocation as they ought to have been, and as their title seems to express, and is as follows: "Articles agreed upon by the bishops and other learned men in the convocation held at London in the year 1552, for the avoiding diversities of opinions, and stablishing consent touching true religion. Published by the king's authority." These articles are for substance the same with those now in use, being reduced to the number of thirty-nine, in the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The reader will meet with the corrections and alterations in Burnet. (Vol. ii, b. i, p. 219, col. 55.) The controverted clause in the 20th article, that the church has power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in matters of faith, is not in King Edward's articles, nor does it appear how it came into Elizabeth's. Indeed, it appears to be an interpolation. And as to the title of the articles, which states they were the work of the convocation, Bishop Burnet expressly declares that the convocation had nothing to do in the business. After discussing this point he

says: "These evidences make it plain that the articles of religion did not pass in convocation. We have Cranmer's own words for it, that he drew them, and that he, who was always plain and sincere, did not approve of that deceitful title that was prefixed to them to impose on the unwary vulgar." (Hist. Ref., vol. iii, p. 255.) That the articles were published by regal authority, we have ample proof from the mandate addressed to "the officers of the archbishop of Canterbury; requiring them to see that the article of religion should be subscribed." The same appears from "the king's mandate to the bishop of Norwich, sent with the articles to be subscribed by the clergy." In this last, the king required and exhorted the bishop to sign the articles, and in his preaching observe them, and to cause them to be subscribed by all others who do or shall preach." But we refer our readers to Burnet's History of the Reformation for these mandates. (Vol. iii, b. iv, p. 256; Collections No. vii, and viii.) On the whole, it is manifest that the articles of the English Church were not promulgated by the parliament or convocation of England; but were authoritatively published by Edward VI., and Queen Elizabeth; and that the convocation and clergy were *compelled* to receive these articles without having power to reject or amend them in any way. The kings and queens of England, then, have the sole authority in matters of faith vested in them by parliament; and the convocation and clergy have nothing to do but to submit; or to undergo the penalties of premunire as in former times, or turn dissenters, as in the later days.

As to the catechism of the Church of England, it was printed with a preface prefixed to it in King Edward's name, bearing date the 24th of May, about seven weeks before his death. It was drawn up by a pious and learned man, supposed to be Bishop Painet, and was given to be revised by some bishops and learned men; and was published authoritatively by the king with instructions to all schoolmasters to teach it. (Idem. vol. iii, b. iv, p. 258.) The Book of Common Prayer was published by the same authority as were the Articles and Catechism, (Idem. vol. ii, b. i, pp. 222, 248,) with the addition of parliamentary authority. (For farther information on the articles &c. see Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i, c. ii, p. 68; also Burnet, vol. ii, b. i, p. 219; vol. iii, b. iv, pp. 253–262.)

(3.) *The king regulates the discipline of the church.*

As to the canon laws, by the statute (25 Henry VIII., c. xix, revised and confirmed by 1 Elizabeth, c. i,) it is declared that all canons not repugnant to the king's prerogative, nor to the laws, statutes, and customs of the realm, shall be used and executed. Canons enacted by the clergy, unless such as are already recognized by parliament, do not bind the laity, whatever regard the clergy may think fit to pay them. The clergy are bound by the canons or constitutions made by the king only; but they must be confirmed by the parliament, to bind the laity. The king is the supreme ordinary, and by the ancient laws of England, might, without act of parliament, make laws for the government of the clergy; and if there be a controversy between spiritual persons concerning jurisdiction, the king is arbitrator, and it is a right of his crown to declare the bounds. (Jacob's Law Dictionary on Canon Law *Supre-*

macy.) The kings of England possess the power of the keys to no small extent. For though the old canon law be in force as far as is consistent with the laws of the land and the prerogatives of the crown; yet the king is the supreme and ultimate judge in the spiritual courts by his delegates, as he is in the courts of common law by his judges. His majesty might appoint a single person of the laity to be his vicar-general in all ecclesiastical causes to reform what was amiss, as King Henry VIII. and Charles I. did; which very much resembles the pope's legates in the times before the Reformation. By authority of parliament, the crown was empowered to appoint thirty-two commissioners, some of the laity, and some of the clergy, to reform the canon or ecclesiastical laws; and though the design was not executed, the power was certainly vested in the king, who might have ratified the new canons, and given them the force of a law, without consent of the clergy in convocation. Therefore, at the coronation of King Charles I. the bishop was directed to pray, *that God would give him Peter's key of discipline and Paul's doctrine.*

(4.) *The English monarchs order the rites and ceremonies of the church.*

The act of uniformity expressly says—"That the queen's majesty, by the advice of her ecclesiastical commissioners, or of the metropolitan, may ordain such ceremonies or rites as may be most for the advancement of God's glory and the edifying of the church." Accordingly her majesty published her injunctions without sending them into convocation, or parliament, and erected a court of *High Commission* for ecclesiastical causes, consisting of commissioners of her own nomination, to see them put into execution. And so jealous was Queen Elizabeth of this branch of her prerogative, that she would not suffer parliament to pass any bill for the amendment or alteration of the ceremonies of the church; it being, as she said, an invasion of her prerogative. (Neal, vol. i, pp. 122, 123.)

(5.) *The British monarchs, in consequence of their prerogative, as head of the church, have the right of ordination, or the principal part in the appointment of bishops.*

The kings and queens of England have sole right of nominating bishops; and the dean and chapter are obliged to choose those whom the kings name, under the penalty of *premunire;* and after they are chosen and consecrated, they might not act but by commission from the crown. (Blackstone, b. i, c. vii, p. 280.) A bishop or archbishop is elected by the chapter of his cathedral church by virtue of a license from the crown. When there is a vacancy, "the king may send the dean and chapter his usual license to proceed to election; which is always to be accompanied with a letter missive from the king, containing the name of the person whom he would have them elect." (Idem. b. i, c. xi.) Moreover "it is enacted by statute 25 Henry VIII., c. xx, that if the dean and chapter refuse to elect the person named by the king, or any archbishop or bishop refuse to confirm or consecrate him, they shall fall within the penalties of the statute of *premunire.* Also by statute 5 Elizabeth, c. i, to refuse the oath of supremacy will incur the pains of *premunire.*" (Idem. b. iv, c. 8, p. 114.) These elections, so called, are properly no election at all; and though the writ issued by the

king is called *congè d' elire, permission to elect*, it is the mere shadow of election, and it might be properly called a *compulsion to elect*, which is a most absurd contradiction. For the permission to elect, where there is no power to reject, can never be reconciled with the freedom of an election. But the bishoprics of the new foundation, as well as those of Ireland, are all donative, so that there is no necessity to go through the useless round of a *congè d' elire* for the purpose of having them appointed. We may indeed justly say that the king *appoints to office*, seeing the course pursued leaves it in his power to appoint, or have appointed, whom he pleases.

And even in forming an ordinal for ordaining ministers and bishops, the parliament and king are the actors in this matter. For in a session held the 3d and 4th Edward IV., c. xii, an act was passed for a form for ordaining ministers, which declares, "That such forms of ordaining ministers as should be set forth by the advice of six prelates and six divines, to be named by the king, and authorized under the great seal, should be used after April next, and no other." (Neal, vol. i, p. 57.) Here the very *form* or mode of consecration is thrown out of the hands of the clergy, to whom, of right, this properly belongs.

When bishops were made by letters patent, which was before explained, bishops held their office only during the life of the king, as all bishops do during the king's good pleasure. It was the opinion of Cranmer that the exercise of the episcopal jurisdiction depended on the prince; and as he gave it he might restrain or take it away at his pleasure. Accordingly, at the death of Henry, he took out a new commission from Edward VI.

In short the English bishops not only receive their sees from the king, but they hold them, *durante bene placito—during their good pleasure; privilegio reginæ—by privilege of the queen; vice nomine, et auctoritate nostris*, in *our room, name, and authority; vice regis, in the place of the king*. It is true the mere *ceremony of consecration*, which is the smallest part of ordination, is performed by bishops; but do not the original choice, the special appointment, and the continuance in office, all of which depend on the king, go farther toward ordination than merely the outward rite?

Besides, the kings of England divided bishoprics as they pleased; they converted benefices from the institutions of their founders, and gave them to cloisters and monasteries, as King Edgar did. They also granted these houses exemption from episcopal jurisdiction; so Ina exempted Glastenbury, and Offa St. Albans from their bishops' visitation. And this continued till the days of William the Conqueror who gave to Battle Abbey the following grant, "That it shall be also free and quiet for ever from all subjection to bishops, or the dominion of any other persons, as Christ's church in Canterbury is." And these precedents were quoted and followed by Henry VIII., at the Reformation, (Burnet, vol. i, p. 198.) Thus the bishops usurped the power that originally belonged to the presbyters and people; the kings wrested from the hands of the bishops their usurped authority, and even added thereto; the pope nearly disfranchised both, kept all to himself, and gave back to the presbyters and people none of their original rights, though he inflicted on them many wrongs.

And finally Henry VIII., stripped violently from the triple crown both his temporal and spiritual power in England, and made and unmade bishops at pleasure, as all his successors have done to the present time. It is true, they allowed in the days of Henry VIII., that the *bishop's pastoral care was of divine institution;* but then they also strenuously maintained, and practised accordingly, "that their kings did always make laws about sacred matters, and that their power reached to that (the making, restraining, and unmaking bishops,) and to the persons of Churchmen as well as to their own subjects." Thus, though the bishop's office was allowed to be of, *divine right*, the high and sacred office of kings was of *divine right also:* and consequently kings by divine right could constitute bishops." Thus they argued and overlooked the word of God.

Art. II.—THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN FAITH AND KNOWLEDGE.

That the human mind is restricted in its operations within certain boundaries, is indisputable. However profound our researches, however extensive the field of our observations, or nice and discriminating may be our minds, there are limits beyond which it is impossible to go. We seem, indeed, to be placed in a circle within which we are permitted to range at pleasure: but the moment we attempt to extend our researches beyond it, we are either forced back by an awful apprehension of danger, or, as a punishment for our temerity, are precipitated into an abyss of unfathomable mysteries, where the mind is tossed about in a whirlpool of tumultuous thoughts, which no human intellect can arrange or digest. Is it not owing to a temerity like this, that so many have speculated themselves into the empty dreams of skepticism, or fallen into the gloomy gulf of a heartless atheism? Overleaping the bounds which the Creator has set to human knowledge, they have heedlessly plunged into the depths of an atheistical philosophy, alike dishonouring to God and degrading to man. Is it not from the same cause that so many baseless hypotheses have arisen which have floated about in the intellectual world, and which "dazzle only to blind?" On the other hand, while we prudently keep within our destined sphere of observation, and content ourselves with a knowledge of those facts put within our reach by our Creator, at the same time that our intellect is improved, those things which are beyond the grasp of our comprehension will remain as objects of belief; this is the way of duty and of safety.

In the few remarks we have to make on the subject indicated at the head of this article, we shall be guided by the hints already suggested. But that we may not "speak to the air," we will in the first place, attempt a definition of the two words, *Faith* and *Knowledge*.

1. By *Faith*, we understand that exercise of the mind which embraces any proposition supported by competent testimony. We mean, moreover, those propositions which are not ascertained to be true by scientific investigation, or by the notices of our bodily senses. Propositions which are unaccompanied by testimony, are mere subjects of conjecture, and not objects of faith.

2. Whatever the eye sees, the ear hears, and whatever we taste,

feel, or smell, and whatever may be ascertained by the researches of our reasoning powers, should be comprehended within the circle of the *sciences*. All beyond these are the objects of *faith*.

It is true that the objects of faith are revealed to us through the medium of our senses, while the objects themselves are far beyond their reach. That we may understand this the more perfectly, let us illustrate our meaning by a few pertinent examples. A person who has never seen the city of Pekin, *believes* simply upon the testimony of others, that there is such a place. Now the question is, How was this fact revealed to him? The answer is, either by his hearing some person relate it, and then the testimony was communicated to him through his *ears*, or he has read concerning it, and then it is communicated through his *eyes*. A man gives me information that his neighbour's house is on fire. I *believe* him. The simple fact that the house is on fire, is to me an object of *faith*, but the evidence of it is an object of *sense*. I know it, because I heard it with my ears. So all those subjects which are revealed in the sacred Scriptures, which relate to the invisible world, to the past or the future, are objects of *faith*, while the evidence on which my faith rests is an object of *sense*. I look up to the works of nature, and think I see in them evidences of the existence of a supreme Intelligence. These evidences are visible to the *eye*, and hence through this medium is communicated to my mind the truth of the proposition that there is a God; yet, as I see him not, his existence itself is an object of *faith*. This sublime truth lies far beyond the reach of all my senses, and therefore cannot be included among the subjects of *knowledge*.

From these remarks it is manifest that what is *known* to be true by some, is simply *believed* by others. Thus the man who has travelled in the land of Palestine, and has personally seen and examined the city of Jerusalem, *knows* that there is such a city, while to me, who have never been there, its existence is an object of *faith*. Departed spirits *know* what is in the invisible world, while the living simply *believe* upon the testimony of others. The Son of God *knew* all respecting the invisible world, because he "came forth from the bosom of the Father," and "needed not that any should teach him," while to his disciples all these things were objects of *faith*, in the existence of which they believed upon the testimony of their divine Teacher. From these remarks it will be perceived that the boundaries of our knowledge are enlarged in exact proportion to the extent and accuracy of our own personal observations. He that travels and sees much, reads much, and thinks closely on all subjects which come within the range of his observation, is the least dependent upon others for his information. To those who are confined to a narrow circle of observation, who neither see, read, nor think for themselves, almost every thing is an object of faith; they depend upon the testimony of others.

Whatever passes through our own minds is a subject of *knowledge*. We are just as certain of our desires, emotions, of the sensations of pleasure and pain, of love and hatred, of approbation and aversion, as we are of our own existence. No reasoning, no testimony can increase their certainty. The same may be said of the whole external world, so far as we have seen it. But of those parts which we

have not seen, we are dependent either upon the deductions of reason drawn from those facts we do know, or upon the testimony of others. To the old world, after the discovery of the new by Columbus, the existence of America was an object of *faith*, while to Columbus himself it was a subject of *knowledge*. Their faith, however, was founded upon the evidence which he presented to their senses—they heard him speak, and relate all the adventures of his perilous voyage and travels, and, confiding in his veracity, believed his testimony. In this instance also we perceive the difference between *faith* and *knowledge*, and that the one is derived from the other.

The same remarks hold good in respect to all those truths revealed to us in the sacred Scriptures. The revelation itself is made to our senses, to our eyes or ears, and this revelation is to us an evidence of the truth that God made "all things by the word of his power,"—that Adam and Eve were made "out of the dust of the ground,"—that Abraham and all the patriarchs, Moses and the prophets existed, and did the wonderful things attributed to them. To the same revelation, the knowledge of which is communicated to our minds through the medium of our senses, are we indebted for the evidence of all those facts which relate to Jesus Christ, his apostles and disciples, and all that train of circumstances which accompanied the establishment of Christianity. None of these things did we ever *see*, or *hear*, or *feel;* but we have either *seen* or *heard* the account which is given of them by those who did see or hear them; and hence our *faith* is founded upon the authority of the narrative which revealed those things unto us; the *evidence* is a subject of *knowledge*, while the *truth* supported by that evidence is an object of *faith*. Hence the apostle saith, "Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God." This declaration of the inspired apostle is but a dictate of common sense. By the word of God which had been spoken unto the people, they had presented unto their sense of hearing, and through this external medium communicated to their understanding, an evidence of those truths relating to Jesus Christ and his gospel, which had been revealed by the Spirit for the instruction and salvation of the human family; and while these truths themselves were objects of that "*faith* which cometh by *hearing*," the *evidence* on which faith rested was a subject of knowledge, presented to the analyzation of their reasoning powers, by which they were enabled to judge of its competency to support the alleged facts. In like manner our *faith* in all those truths, whether of history or of direct revelation, which we have not tested by actual observation, or have not been made conscious of from experience, "cometh to us from *hearing;*" and in this respect the evidence and the truth itself, are perfectly adapted to our compound being, made up as it is of body and mind; the evidence is communicated to the mind through the medium of some one or more of our bodily senses.

The same principle is recognized in that declaration of the apostle which affirms that "through faith we understand the worlds were framed by the word of God." How do we understand this by *faith?* The answer is not difficult. The Scriptures affirm the fact. These Scriptures are an object of *knowledge*. We read them with our *eyes*. Through this medium we come to a belief of the fact just now stated, namely, *That God made the worlds by his word:—He spake and*

the foundations of the earth were laid, and the heavens sprung into existence. Having read these things with our *eyes*, the truth contained in them is communicated to the inner man, the *understanding*, through this external medium; and having examined the evidence on which the truth rests, and found it competent to support the proposition that *God made all things by the word of his power*, we lay hold of it by *faith* as the truth of God. Now, as in the other cases, the truth revealed in the words written, is an object of *faith*, for we did not *see* this sublime act of almighty power, while the *revelation itself*, which is to us the *evidence* of the truth, is a subject of *knowledge*, submitted to our examination; to rejection, if found wanting of competent testimony in its support; but of our belief if sustained by such testimony.

It was remarked that whatever passes in our own minds is a subject of *science* or *knowledge*—that we are as conscious of our emotions and sensations, as we are of our own existence. We know, for instance, what is the object of desire, of hope, of fear, as well as those things which excite in our minds pleasurable or painful emotions, love or hate. These things, therefore, are subjects on which the mind ruminates, which may be felt as evidently as we feel an impression which is made upon any of our bodily senses. But how they are communicated, and to what they will lead ultimately, is beyond the reach of our knowledge. Those objects with which we are immediately surrounded, objects of sense which act upon us daily and hourly, and every moment of our lives, and which excite desires, aversions, hatred or love, pleasure or pain, according to the nature of the object with which we come in contact, are generally well known, and are therefore subjects for the exercise of our reasoning powers. I *see* a beautiful object or *hear* a musical sound, and am immediately moved with a pleasurable sensation. Now I know that this emotion is excited by this beautiful object, or by this musical sound, and they are both objects of sense—the one of the *eye* and the other of the *ear*—and the sensation produced by the sight of the one, and the hearing of the other, is also a subject of *knowledge*. I have no more doubt of its existence in my mind than I have of the existence of the object which I beheld, or of the sound which I heard. But the mysterious connection between the one and the other is perfectly beyond the reach of my *knowledge;* it is, therefore, purely an object of *faith;* I *believe* upon evidence; the one my outward sense of seeing and hearing, and the other the inward sense of *feeling;* that there is such a mysterious connection between these objects and my mind, or a law existing which immediately produces this effect upon my mind when it comes in contact with those external objects through the medium of my senses:—I say, I believe this as firmly as I do any truth of divine revelation, or of any historical fact; and the one is as much an object of faith as the other. Here also is an evident distinction between *faith* and *knowledge*. That there is a beautiful object I *know*, because I *see* it; that there is a musical sound I *know* also, because I *hear* it; that in seeing and hearing these, I am pleasurably affected, moved with a joyful sensation, I equally well *know*, because I *feel* it; but *how*, by what law of my being I am thus affected at the sight of the eye, and the hearing of the ear, I cannot tell; and yet of the fact itself, I cannot doubt any more than I can of my own existence. This fact,

therefore, that such a law exists, though perfectly beyond my comprehension, is an object of my *faith*, in which I believe as firmly as I do that there is a God, because the *evidence* of its truth rests upon the same sort of testimony—the testimony of my internal and external senses.

We may, if we mistake not, apply this reasoning to the faith and experience of the Christian. It has already been remarked that all those truths which relate to the invisible world, such as the existence of a supreme spiritual Intelligence, a future state of existence, of a heaven and a hell where rewards and punishments are distributed, are objects of *faith;* they rest entirely on divine testimony. This testimony, however, is itself an object of sense. And even in ancient times God generally, if indeed not uniformly, revealed himself unto the patriarchs and prophets through the medium of some external symbol, which was an object of sense; not, however, to the exclusion of the direct internal operation of the Holy Spirit. Thus he appeared to his first church in the divine *shechinah*, which was a visible symbol of his presence; to Abraham in a *smoking furnace;* to Moses in the *burning bush;* and to the prophets by a variety of symbols and voices, all which were emblems of his presence and indications of his will; such as the *Urim and Thummim* which were upon the breastplate of the high priest; and finally he assumed a bodily shape in the person of Jesus Christ, so that the apostle could say, "We have seen and handled the word of life." In all these variety of ways, as is known to every reader of the Bible, God gave tokens of his presence, and indications of his will, by some visible representation, so made as to convince them that God spoke his will to them by these means. Now these evidences of the divine presence were all visible, and therefore subjects of *knowledge*, through the medium of some one or more of the external senses, conveying to the understanding, by these outward and sensible signs, truths of the highest importance and most tremendous magnitude. But while the *evidence* of these truths was thus visible and tangible, and therefore subjects of *knowledge;* the truths themselves were invisible realities, and in the proper sense of the word objects of *faith*. In this instance we see that faith derives its existence from, and rests entirely upon evidence presenting truth to the mind through the medium of the bodily senses. Such is the mysterious connection between the body and the mind, their mutual dependence upon each other, and the aids they afford one another in the reception of truth, and in the exercise of *faith* and *knowledge*.

Just so revelation is to us a visible vehicle through which we hear the voice of God speaking to us his word and will. This revelation itself is as much an object of sense, for we derive all our ideas from its pages through the medium of our external senses, as are those heavens which declare the glory of God, and that firmament which showeth his handy work. The only difference in this respect is, the one is written in the vast expanse over our heads, and shines out in those brilliant characters which are apparent in the sun, moon, and stars; and the other is written on paper, and transmitted to us by means of the impressions of types. And however mysterious may be the characters of the one, or more plain those of the other, they mutually explain and sustain each other; and the invisible and sublime truths which they proclaim are in each volume conveyed to the mind

through the medium of the *eye*. This exquisitely fine and delicate organ of the body, the workmanship of which alone convinced an atheist that there is a God who made it—so placed by its Creator as to enable it to take an extensive range over his works, and to survey a multitude of objects—is the grand instrument through which God speaks to the soul of man, both in his word and works, and makes it understand that he exists, and that he requires such and such duties at his hands.

But to come more particularly to the application of these remarks to the *faith* and *experience* of the Christian. In the revelation of God's will are made known all those truths in relation to God, to Jesus Christ, to his death and resurrection, to the origin and apostacy of man, to his redemption by Jesus Christ, to the necessity and nature of repentance, of regeneration, justification, and holiness of heart, as well as those principles which are comprehended within the circle of doctrines to be believed or experienced, and duties to be performed. These are presented to us, accompanied, as we believe, with all that weight of testimony which is necessary to command the assent of our understandings. Having examined and analyzed this testimony with all the care and critical accuracy of which we are capable, we pronounce it amply sufficient to support the proposition that *these sacred Scriptures are genuine and authentic*. This proposition therefore we *believe*. That there is such a Book, which we call the sacred Scriptures, we *know*, because we have both seen and handled it. The simple fact, therefore, that such a book exists, is not an object of *faith*, but is a subject of *knowledge*, just as much so as that there is a material world. But the proposition that these Scriptures are the word of God, containing a genuine and authentic record of his acts and will, is an object of *faith*, because its truth rests upon testimony, the testimony of the inspired writers themselves, the internal testimony of the Scriptures, and those collateral evidences derivable from various sources. Here then we have another clear distinction between *knowledge* and *faith;* we *know* there is such a book as the Bible; we *believe* it contains the truth of God upon the strength of that testimony with which it is accompanied. In both cases the evidence is communicated to the understanding through the medium of our bodily senses; we *see* and *feel* the Book, and with the *eye* we read its contents, while the mind is employed in ascertaining the true meaning of its words; we also, with the eye, read the testimonies adduced in support of its Divine authority, while the understanding is busied in sifting and weighing the evidence, and finally determining on its strength; and having found it sufficient to decide the point in favor of its high claims, the mind puts forth its powers and embraces the truth as an object of *faith*. These are the means employed in the investigation of truth, and the process the mind undergoes in laying hold of those objects, as objects of *faith*, which are beyond its comprehension and of the notices of the bodily senses.

Now we have embraced the sacred Scriptures as the truth of God. That evidence which supported the proposition has been forced upon us through the medium of that sort of testimony which is not only tangible, as it is presented to the understanding by means of the external senses, but of that irresistible character which commands such

an assent of the mind as involves criminality if we do not yield to its convictions.

On reading this Book, the first thing which strikes me most forcibly, after looking at that truly sublime account of the origin of all things, of the creation of man, of his innocence, apostacy, and banishment from paradise, is that *I am a sinner.* I ask why? The answer is, because I have violated the law of God. I meditate upon this. I look into my own heart and retrospect my life. I compare each with the requirements of that law. I bow to the truth of this law, and own its justice, its goodness and purity. I confess the truth. I am a sinner. I *feel* that I am a sinner. I find also an inexplicable something pouring light into my mind, and thereby convincing me more and more of my guilt, of my exceeding sinfulness. I ask myself, what is this which so sharply and oppressively pierces my conscience, and makes me tremble from a fear of the consequences of my conduct? I look into the Book which I have believingly embraced as the truth of God, and it tells me that it is *His Spirit* which thus convinces me of sin. I *believe* it. This, then, is an object of my *faith.* I cannot *see* this Spirit with my bodily eyes, nor *hear* his voice with my bodily ears; but I can *see* the Book which tells me the truth that it is this divine Spirit which has reflected light upon my mind, and penetrated my heart with a sorrowful sense of my sinfulness. This Book, therefore, is an object of *knowledge;* I *know* its contents because I have read them; but the fact that the Spirit of its adorable Author has operated upon my heart, is an object of my *faith,* resting upon the testimony presented to my mind through the medium of my bodily senses; and hence, if the one be true, so is the other; for they both rest upon the same testimony, namely, God speaking in his word; for the identical Book which tells me I am a sinner, declares to me in equally plain and unequivocal language that the Spirit of God has impressed this truth upon my heart. Here again *faith* and *knowledge* have their distinct and appropriate place and office.

But now I *feel* that I am a sinner. This also is a subject of *knowledge.* I am as certain of this fact by consciousness as I am by my eyes that that is a Book, and more certain, if that were possible, than I am that it is the Book of God: *this,* however, is made doubly certain to me; that is, its *truth* is now certified to me, when it testifies that I am a sinner, by my consciousness that it is so. For I can no more be deceived in respect to what passes through my mind, of its emotions, its sorrows or painful sensations, than I can of those sensations produced upon my animal frame by external objects.

I have therefore arrived at another truth by means of my external senses, by reading the Bible, and of this, that I am a sinner, I am certain, because I *feel* it; and that I do feel it I am equally certain, from that sort of *knowledge* which arises from *consciousness,* which never deceives, though a wild imagination may, which runs away with the judgment, exciting "fear where no" ground for "fear is;" and yet that grand invisible agent, the Holy Spirit, by which my conscience has been aroused to see and to feel how bitter a thing it is to sin against God, is an object of my *faith;* while the truth respecting His existence and operation is revealed to me in that Book which is itself a subject of *knowledge,* and its contents are made known to

my understanding through the medium of my external senses. O the happy, the mysterious connection between the body and the soul, between external objects and the mind, *faith* and *knowledge*, and the mutual helps they are one to another. The more I study this subject, the more profoundly do I adore my Creator for having so delightfully blended these things together and made them mutually dependant upon and useful to each other.

Now I think I have tested this truth of Divine revelation by my own experience. I am a sinner; the Book of God tells me so; and I *feel* that it is so in truth. This therefore I *know*, while I *believe* that it is the Spirit of God which has convinced me of its truth.

But being convinced that I am a sinner, I feel that I need pardon. Looking into the Book of God, I find that Jesus Christ tasted death for sinners. This truth therefore I *believe*. I *know* indeed that this Book contains a statement of this fact, because I therein *read* it. My *faith* therefore is built in this case, the same as in the others I have examined, upon my *knowledge* of the evidence which supports the fact. It is no conjecture. It is no fancy, no dictate of the imagination, because I *see* the words, and I perfectly comprehend their import. But yet the fact itself, that Jesus Christ died for sinners, is an object of my *faith*, because I did not *see* him die, nor *hear* him groan, nor "*feel* his gushing blood." I receive this truth upon the testimony of others, who did *see* these things; for those who were *eye* and *ear* witnesses of those solemn and sublime events have left them upon record. This is enough; for on examination I find "their record is true, and is no lie."

But the question arises, How am I assured that he died for *me?* I no otherwise believe this fact than by finding myself a member of the human family, for *all* of whom, my Bible informs me, the Lord of life and glory "tasted death." This, however, satisfies me, more especially in conjunction with that truth which pervades every part of Divine revelation, that "God is no respecter of persons," that He is loving to *all* men, that "His tender mercies are over all his works." This fact therefore, that Jesus Christ "tasted death" for *me*, is supported by the same kind of testimony as that which assures me that He died at *all;* for the same book which proclaims the one truth declares the other. Here then my *faith* fixes, as upon a rock, and can no more be shaken than I can blind my eyes to the Book in which it is written, or withhold my assent from the truth which it reveals.

The same unerring witness, the Book of God, testifies to me that the *design* for which Jesus Christ died for me was, that I might be saved from my sins. I read this truth with my *eyes*, and therefore *know* that it is contained in the Book of God; and I *believe* it upon this infallible testimony. That such a truth is recorded I *know* by the most indubitable of all evidence, because I *see* it so written; and that it is true I *believe* upon evidence equally strong, because it is the testimony of God speaking to me in His written word.

Now this same Book tells me that if I *believe* in Jesus Christ as my Redeemer, trusting in Him alone for pardon and salvation, I shall be saved from my sins, and shall be filled with holy peace and joy. That this is also recorded in the Book of God I *know*, as before, because I read it with my own *eyes*, and therefore can no more doubt of it than

I can that there is such a Book. Why then, it may be asked, do I not also *know* that he will save me? Simply because I have not either *seen*, or *heard*, or *felt* that He will do it. But I fully *believe* that He will, because I have all that evidence which a rational being can demand, that such is his will, such is his intention, provided I throw myself upon Him. I finally venture, saying, "Lord, I believe, help thou my unbelief." The moment I do this, I find my consciousness of guilt, which so burdened my soul, is gone, and is succeeded by a calm and holy peace, which I cannot fully describe! I immediately cry out as the children of Israel did when they found the food in the wilderness, *What is it?* This is something to which I am a stranger. I never felt the like before. And though I *know* I have this something, I know not what to call it, because it surpasses my understanding. I say I *know* that I have it, by the most infallible of all proof, namely, inward *consciousness*. I am just as conscious that the uneasy sensation of guilt which I felt, like a gnawing worm, corroding all my happiness, is removed, and that an inward sense of peace and joy has succeeded, as I am that any thought ever passed through my mind. This, therefore, is a subject of *knowledge*; knowledge arising from an inward feeling, the existence of which I cannot mistake. It is feeling accompanied with a love to God and his commandments, which I never before felt.

But whence it came, by what power or invisible agent it was communicated, I *know* not. I again have recourse to my Divine Book. This tells me, in plain, unambiguous language, that "the Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirits that we are the children of God," that "he that *believeth* hath the witness in himself;" that the "fruit of the Spirit is *peace, love, joy*," &c. Now that I have this peace, this holy love and joy, I *know*, because I have the "witness" of it "in myself," and my Bible tells me that this *witness* is given by the Spirit of the living God; "the Spirit of adoption." Here then is another object of my *faith*, the Spirit of God. And that something, which I *felt*, and therefore *knew* that I possessed, but did not know what to call, by what name to distinguish, I am now informed is the witness and *fruit* of this *Spirit*, which has come into my heart, and brings with it all that heaven-born peace which the world knoweth not, which the natural man cannot understand.

Now I think I have tested the truth of my theory by my own *experience*. I *knew* I was guilty, because I *felt* it. I *believed* that Jesus Christ came and died to save just such guilty sinners as I was, because my Bible, the truth of which I had before proved, told me so. I then *believed* on him as my almighty Saviour, and *felt* that my guilt was removed. Not yet knowing how or by what invisible agent this change was effected, I went to my Bible, and this again, by its luminous pages, dispersed the mists of ignorance from my mind, assuring me that it was the Spirit of God, by whose dictation its own pages were written, which had sealed my pardon, and brought into my soul "joy and peace in believing." That I now have this joy and peace, I *know*, because I *feel* them, am as conscious of them as I am that I now think; and I fully and firmly *believe* that they came from God through the agency of the Holy Spirit, because of this fact I am assured in his Holy Book.

It will, it *must*, as appears to me, be perceived by every attentive reader, that all this information has been conveyed to my mind through the medium of my bodily senses. I *see*, I *read* the Book of God. By this means I *know* what it says. The objects therein revealed are not—I mean those which relate to things past and future, and to those which are invisible—objects of sense or subjects of knowledge, but objects of *faith;* and yet the evidence that they do exist, and that such past events as are therein related *did* come to pass, and that such future events as are therein predicted *will* hereafter come to pass, is presented to my understanding through my *eyes* while I read it in the Book of God; and hence my *faith* rests on testimony as palpable, as self-evident, as any matter of fact can possibly be made to appear.

Faith differs from *knowledge* in another respect. We *know* things as they pass in review before us, either as they are presented to our understandings through the medium of our external senses, or as they pass through our minds, and are therefore subjects of consciousness. Thus all I *see* with my *eyes* in the visible and natural world, or *read* in books, or *hear* with my *ears*, whether articulate or inarticulate sounds, all that I *taste*, *smell*, or *feel*, as well as all the desires and emotions which arise in my heart, all these things I *know*, that is, I know that they *exist*, whether I am able to scan their nature or account for their causes and effects or not. Whatever art or science I learn, or whatever conclusion I draw from existing facts, I also *know*, because they come within the reach of my comprehension. But these things are all present to the mind. As to those things of this character which are past, they become objects of contemplation by the effort of memory and the power of association; and respecting all such, when we speak of them, we say we *knew* them; we *knew* such a man who is now dead; we *knew* such an event which transpired at such a time; but respecting the future we know nothing.

But *faith* is occupied about both past and future events. When I read the history of past events; such as the creation of the world; the flood; the dispersion of the human family; the building of Rome; the wars of Julius Cesar, &c. &c., though the history containing these facts is present before me, and I therefore *know* there is such a history, yet the facts which it details are past, and are objects of my faith; a faith grounded upon the truth of the *history*. So in regard to future events. All those predictions which I find in the Scriptures respecting the future destiny of man, the final judgment and its consequences, are objects of *faith*. I *know* indeed that such predictions are contained in the Bible, because I therein *read* them; but the events themselves I *know* not, because they have not come to pass, and yet I *believe* in them as firmly as if they had already passed, because they are revealed to me in the Book of God, which cannot lie.

Now apply these remarks to the faith of an experienced Christian. What God has already done for me I know from memory. I remember the "wormwood and the gall," which I drank in the days of my bitter repentance; the guilt with which my conscience was oppressed, and the groans and cries which I uttered in the ears of my offended Lord. I also remember my happy deliverance from this state of bondage and guilt, and the peace, joy, and love which accompanied that deliverance. All these things, from memory, I know did take place;

they come up vividly to my recollection. And from consciousness I now *know* that this peace, this joy, and this love to God and man, abide in my heart; and since my Bible has told me whence they came, I steadfastly believe in the existence and direct operation of the Holy Spirit, as the agent and source of all these inward and spiritual enjoyments. The enjoyments themselves, the knowledge of which is predicated of the possession and indwelling of the Holy Spirit, are a subject of *knowledge*. I *know* that I have them; while the source whence they came, the Holy Spirit, is an object of my *faith*. Now I am travelling through a world of trials and difficulties, as well as of duties and enjoyments. In this state of pilgrimage, I need help. My race also will soon end. I therefore look forward with not a little anxiety to the end of my earthly pilgrimage, to see, if possible, the momentous consequences which will result from my present course of conduct. But so far as *knowledge* is concerned, all is darkness. I *know* nothing, I cannot indeed tell "what shall be on the morrow."

Here again my Bible comes in to my aid. In this Divine Book I find numerous promises of comfort, of protection, of guidance, while I am passing through my pilgrimage, and finally of everlasting life, if faithful, at the end of my spiritual warfare. On these promises I fix my *faith*. I *know* indeed that these promises are made in the Book of God to the believer in Jesus Christ, because I therein *see* them; and I judge, from comparing my feelings and life with the descriptions of the Christian's character and enjoyments, and with the commandments of God, that I have reason to conclude myself a Christian; and therefore I claim them by *faith* as belonging to me, and derive all the comfort and strength from them I can, while I look forward and anticipate, as the final result, the blessedness of everlasting life. It will be perceived that all those things which refer to futurity, whether they respect the remaining days of my pilgrimage on earth, or my state in another world, are to me objects of *faith;* while the evidence, that is, the Bible, which proves the existence of these invisible realities, is a subject of knowledge, and is communicated to my understanding through the medium of my external senses. In the Bible I *see*, I *read* those blessed promises which its adorable Author has left upon record for my encouragement and comfort; and, believing them true, I fix my *faith* firmly and unwaveringly upon them, and hold fast under all the circumstances of life. In these respects, therefore, the distinction between *faith* and *knowledge* is very apparent, and the manner in which they mutually assist each other. The evidence on which *faith* is founded is *known*, while the truths supported by that evidence are objects of *faith*.

But here a question may arise whether *faith* is equally certain with *knowledge?* I think it is. Though I never myself saw the city of Pekin, or Constantinople, or Jerusalem, I have no more doubt of their existence than if I had surveyed them with my own eyes, because I have the fullest evidence imaginable, that those cities do exist in the longitudes and latitudes in which geography has placed them; and yet their existence is purely an article of faith, no less so than it is that there was such a person as Jesus Christ, and that he suffered, died, and rose again; and my faith in these facts is built upon the same kind of testimony, and that is the testimony of those who had

seen these cities; for I believe that there was such a person as Jesus Christ on the testimony of those who saw him, conversed with him, and actually handled him after his resurrection from the dead. All these facts, therefore, are as evident to my mind, though purely and strictly objects of *faith*, the moment I admit the truth of the historians who have related them, as if I myself had seen them in the manner the historians themselves did. Indeed, I can no more doubt of those facts which are related in history, allowing the history to be true, than I can question the evidence of my external senses; because I have the evidence of my senses that those things are recorded, whenever I read them in an authentic history; if therefore I am not deceived by the one, neither can I be by the other.

The same remark holds true respecting all those things revealed in the sacred Scriptures. The moment I admit the truth of those sacred Books—and I have something more than my external senses to convince me of their truth—I oblige myself to the most unwavering belief in every thing they say respecting events past, present, and to come; respecting God, heaven, and hell; and the eternal destinies of the righteous and the wicked. Before I can allow myself to doubt the truth and reality of any of these things, I must abandon the Books as spurious in which they are recorded. In these respects therefore I am just as certain of the truth of these invisible realities, as I am that I see the Book which has revealed their existence. This Book I *see* and *read*. There can be no deception here. In this Book I read that there is a God, a heaven, a hell; that I possess an immortal soul, and that I shall be rewarded or punished in a future state; and that the one or the other depends upon the manner in which I improve my time and opportunities in this world. There can be no deception in these points. These truths therefore I must, to be consistent, as firmly *believe* as I assuredly *know* that the Book records them. Hence it is said that "Faith is the substance," or confidence "of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen." It is accompanied with evidence so strong and commanding that it brings to the mind a realizing sense of the realities of the invisible world.

The same may be said in relation to those truths which regard experimental godliness. In respect to the experience itself, it is a subject of *knowledge*. As before said, I am just as well assured from consciousness that I now have a peace and a joy, and a love to the commandments of God, which cannot be derived from any earthly source, as I can be that I am pained at the recollection of any mournful event. This I *know* because I *feel* it. And as the Bible tells me, "Love is of God,"—that "he that loveth is begotten of God,"—that the joy of the Christian is "joy in the Holy Ghost,"—and that "he who loveth God keepeth his commandments," I am authorized to believe that the love and joy of which I am conscious come from God and are communicated to my heart by the Holy Spirit. This I am authorized to call the witness and the fruits of the Spirit. The Bible is my authority.

But in regard to heaven or the invisible world, properly speaking, I *know* nothing respecting it. I *know* indeed that the Bible speaks much of heaven, and gives many vivid and delightful descriptions of its enjoyments and of its inhabitants. All these things I *know*,

because I *see* and *read* them in the Bible. Do I therefore doubt their existence because they are objects of *faith* and not of *knowledge?* Not at all. So long as I confide in the Divine authority of that blessed Book, I no more doubt of the real existence of these things than I do that I have a thinking and conscious soul. Indeed, my faith rests on the same sort of evidence in respect to the existence of both; the evidence conveyed to my mind through the medium of my *eyes* while I read in God's Book that He made man "a living soul," and that He prepared a kingdom "*for the righteous* before the foundation of the world."

Let no one therefore say that because objects of faith are beyond the reach of sense, or the comprehension of reason, or the investigations of science, their existence is the less certain. Before this is yielded to the skeptic, it must be made to appear that his faith in those past events which are matters of historic truth, is uncertain merely because those events were not known to himself. They were known to others, and those others have handed them down to him in the authentic records of history in such a manner that he no more doubts of them than he does of those things which he himself sees and knows. And we have evidence of precisely the same character as to the truth of every thing related in the Bible. As to its historical facts, our faith rests upon the credibility of those who have related them. The experimental parts are tested by *consciousness*. The preceptive commend themselves to every man's judgment. The doctrinal also address themselves to the understanding, and challenge our approval and belief from their adaptation to our condition—our moral, relative, and responsible condition; and those truths which relate to the invisible world have been unfolded by God himself, who certainly had as perfect an acquaintance with all those eternal realities, as any, even the wisest and most accurate historian had of the events which he details. If therefore we must believe in the latter because he relates what he *knew*, we should by all means believe the former for the same reason; and indeed, if the strength of our faith should be in proportion to the wisdom and credibility of the witness, then the faith of the Christian should be the strongest of all others. Hence says an inspired apostle, "If we receive the witness of man, the witness of God is greater." If we are to confide in the testimony given by a fallible man, who from the imperfection of his knowledge is continually liable to be imposed upon by the illusions of error, how much more should we confide in the testimony of God, whose omnipotence enables him to resist all adverse powers, and whose knowledge is so vast and comprehensive that to him deception is impossible. This is the argument of the apostle, and it commends itself as sound and conclusive to every man who believes in the existence of an infinitely wise Intelligence. And as to those who disbelieve this fundamental truth of all religion, their minds must be so blinded by the illusive dreams of a false philosophy, that to them reasoning is lost and demonstration powerless.

Let it no longer be said that faith in invisible things is a delusion. The faith which rests upon this evidence is as firm as demonstration itself. If, indeed, the Bible were false, "our faith were vain," and we are yet in the sinful pollution of a fabled religion. But this foundation of the Christian's faith has been tested by science, by the most

critical researches, by the most profound investigations; and by these means it has been found resting upon the immoveable ROCK OF TRUTH. On this foundation therefore he builds the structure of his faith and hope, and on these he ascends to heaven, the throne of the eternal God. He brings his heart to the test of experience, and measures his character by those infallible rules laid down in the word of God which distinguish the righteous from the wicked; and though he may find himself, while "weak in the faith," and young in religious experience, coming short in many things, yet, placing himself beneath the "mercy seat," he there waits for the reviving influences of divine grace, by which means, with suitable exercise, he "grows to the perfect stature of a man in Christ Jesus." He then looks up by faith in God, through his glorious Mediator, takes hold of those promises which he has made to His believing people, and joyfully presses forward to the "mark of the prize," hoping ere long to arrive at that mansion which his heavenly Father hath prepared for those who have "washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." And such a one can say, "I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me; and the life that I live, I live by FAITH in the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me."

It will be perceived by the attentive reader, from what has been said, that it is taken for granted we receive our knowledge through the medium of our external senses. As some may be disposed to question this, it may be worth our while to spend a few moments in its proof. The soul of man, whatever may be its powers or activity, is now enclosed in the body. Here it is as in a prison. The external senses are the only windows through which it can see, or hear, feel, or develope any of its powers. Of consequence, whatever ideas the mind possesses, or whatever impressions are made upon it, it must receive them through this outward vehicle. Any man must be convinced of this, who will imagine to himself a fellow being blind or deaf. What idea can this man have of either colors or sounds? And suppose him also devoid of the sense of feeling, tasting, or smelling, can you imagine any one impression of any sort of which he is susceptible? Not one. He could have no more ideas of any thing, either external or internal, than a stick or a stone. To such a man you might preach in vain—on his ears the thunder might roar, on his eyes the lightnings might flash, or he might be surrounded with the most fragrant flowers and the sweetest spices, and he would remain unaffected by either the one or the other. Talk to a deaf man of God, of religion, of heaven or hell, and he would have no more idea of what you say, than if you were to descant upon the beauty of a landscape to the man born blind.

Though this has long since been admitted by all sound philosophers,*

* "Who can deny," says Mr. Wesley in his Thoughts on Necessity, "that not only the memory, but all the operations of the soul, are now dependant on the bodily organs, the brain in particular? insomuch that a blow on the back part of the head (as frequent experience shows) may take away the understanding, and destroy at once both sensation and reflection, and an irregular flow of the spirits may quickly turn the deepest philosopher into a madman. We must allow likewise, that while the very power of thinking depends so much upon the brain, our judgments must needs depend thereon, and in the same proportion. It must be farther allowed, that, as our sensations, our reflections, and our judg-

yet there are some timid Christians who are afraid to allow it, lest it should in some way weaken the authority of divine revelation, or at least undermine experimental religion. This, to say the least of it, is a vulgar prejudice, which has no foundation in truth. Our religion is not of a nature to be shaken by any truth in sound philosophy. And it will be found, on examination, that this theory, so far from weakening our faith in any part of Christianity, does but confirm it the more strongly.

It is manifest, from the entire history of God's dispensations, that he has always adapted them to this compound state of man, by conveying instructions to his mind through the medium of the external senses. This I have already proved. Now why did he do this? Manifestly because, as man is constituted, there was no other possible way by which it could be done so as to make an intelligible and lasting impression upon his mind. As this mind is locked up in a material vehicle, and cannot receive impressions or develop its powers otherwise than through its external senses, God has ever adopted a mode of instruction suited to man's constitution, by addressing him through external signs or symbols, by speech addressed to his understanding through his ears, and by a variety of figures under which was veiled moral and spiritual instruction. The whole body of divine revelation is addressed to the understanding through the *eye* or the *ear;* those who can read it *see* its truths; and those who for want of education cannot read for themselves, *hear* it from others that can.

Now, we ask, is not this the surest of all possible methods of affording to man a demonstration of the truth of God? Of what can we be more certain than of that which we *see* and *hear?* In this manner God makes himself, in some sense, visible to man—that is, his *will* is expressed to him by visible signs or symbols—in words or speech which can be easily comprehended and applied to experimental and practical purposes. All this is perfectly adapted to the state of man, as a compound being, made of body and mind, the latter being caged, as it were, in the former, and receiving its light through those windows of the body which the Creator placed there for that very purpose. Intelligible speech, which I hear, my mind comprehends.

We allow, indeed, that God can and may communicate to the heart of man directly by his Holy Spirit. Here an impression of truth is made. By this means the believer is assured of his adoption into the family of God, and of his interest in the atoning merits of the Lord Jesus Christ. But the question here arises, how he came to *know* any thing about this Spirit, or even that there is such a Being as the eternal Spirit? Suppose a man destitute of the revelation of God's word, could he have had any perceptions of the existence and all-pervading energy of this Spirit if he had no eyes to behold his works, or no ears to listen to the oral instruction of others, or no external sense through which he could receive those impressions from without which cause a correspondent feeling within? Most certainly every person must at once perceive that he could not. Equally impossible is it for such a man, thus deprived of the benefits of an

ments, so our will and passions also, which naturally flow from our judgments, ultimately depend on the fibre of the brain." Wesley's Works, vol. vi. p. 209.

outward revelation, to comprehend any of those truths which are sustained by either external testimony or internal consciousness. The external testimony is excluded for want of eyes to see it or ears to hear it; and the internal consciousness is excluded because there are no avenues to the soul through which the impressions can be conveyed to it.

And of what use is a revelation to a man who can neither see nor hear it? Let the mode of speaking to such a man be whatever it may, whether by an audible voice or written characters, he can neither hear the one nor see the other, and therefore his understanding cannot be instructed by either.

It may, however, be contended, that the Eternal Spirit can make impressions upon the mind independently of those external mediums. Allowing this to be so, and we certainly shall not pretend to set limits to Almighty power, it will follow nevertheless, that we could have no intelligent idea concerning the character of those impressions, were it not for those figurative representations which are made to the mind respecting the existence and operation of this Spirit. How have we received ideas of Spirit? Manifestly from analogy. We cannot conceive any other possible way by which we could have ever come to any perception at all that there is such an agent as the Holy Spirit, or any Spirit at all.

That we receive our ideas of the existence and operation of the Spirit from analogy, is manifest from the figures used in the Holy Scriptures whenever they speak in reference to the subject. Thus it is compared to *wind*—to *fire*—to *water*—to *wine* and *milk*—to a *seal*—to a *witness*—all which symbols are taken from material agents, and are evidently used by the Spirit himself, in condescension to our weakness, to assist us in forming as correct a perception as possible of the nature and effects of the Holy Spirit. Now, these figures all being taken from material objects, and used to convey an idea to our minds of this eternal Spirit, the language is addressed to our understandings through the medium of our bodily senses. Thus we either *see*, *taste*, or *feel* the *wind*, the *fire*, the *water*, the *wine* and *milk*, and we know from our outward sense of seeing what a *seal* is, and judge of the character of a *witness* from what we see and hear of him.

By *consciousness* we inwardly *taste* or *feel* the operations of the Spirit of God, and we learn how these sensations were produced in the soul, for which we cannot account on the principles of reason, and whence they come, from the written word; and we form a perception of them from the analogy existing between those material and external symbols, of which we have before spoken, and the inward sensations produced on our minds by the direct operations of the eternal Spirit. It is therefore in this manner that we obtain an idea of the existence and operation of this Spirit; and without pretending to determine whether God does or not, communicate directly to the heart without the medium of our outward senses, it is most manifest that we form our perceptions of the nature and effect of this Spirit by means of external symbols.

Now these symbols we *know*, because we *see* them. And being told in the sacred Scriptures that they represent the agency of the Holy Spirit, we *believe* it, and hence rest our *faith* upon this declaration,

for all our information respecting the Spirit and its operations. So neither in this case can we dispense with the use of our bodily senses.

Why else is it that the sacred Scriptures, more than any other writings whatever, abound in metaphors? It is in condescension to our weakness. "If," says our Saviour, "I have told you earthly things, and ye believe not, how shall ye believe if I tell you of heavenly things?" Had he assumed the language of immortality, his hearers could not have understood him. Much less if he had undertaken to explain those things which relate to the spiritual and invisible world, without a metaphor. Hence, that they might the more easily comprehend his meaning, he adopted the parabolical method of instruction. Even when discoursing with Nicodemus on the necessity and nature of the new birth, which involved the agency of the Holy Spirit, he resorts to the metaphor of the *wind*, in order to convey his meaning with the more facility:—"The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth; so is every one that is born of the Spirit."

So also in all the parables that he uttered—"and without a parable he spake not"—he addressed himself to the understandings of men, through the medium of their external senses. If he spoke of his kingdom, he compared to *leaven*—to *ten virgins*—to a *man seeking goodly pearls*—and to *a man travelling into a far country*:—his word is compared to *seed*, and he himself to a *sower*—and faith in his word to a *grain of mustard seed*. If he speaks of the future residence and rest of his people he compares it to a *mansion*, and the different degrees of glory to *many mansions*. All these figures of speech—and many more instances might be mentioned equally illustrative of our views—plainly indicate that all our ideas of spiritual and heavenly things are derived from analogy, and are communicated to the mind by means of material things, through the medium of the external senses.

Indeed, the words of our Saviour to Nicodemus confirm the entire view we have taken of this subject from the beginning. He says, "We speak that we do KNOW, and testify that we have SEEN; but ye receive not our *witness*," and then adds the words before quoted, "If I have told you earthly things, and ye BELIEVE not," &c. Because he "came forth from the bosom of the Father," he was perfectly acquainted with spirit, and all the realities of the invisible world, and therefore could speak of the things which he *knew*, for he had *seen* and *heard* them; but to Nicodemus and others all these things were objects of *faith* when thus revealed to them by Him to whom they were perfectly familiar; they *knew* them not, but were called upon to *believe* them upon the testimony of Jesus Christ. They *knew* that he had spoken to them, and because he spoke in figurative language, taking the figure from objects with which they were well acquainted, they could understand his language, and *believe* in the truth of what he said.

Well, are these truths any the less certain, because they are presented to the mind by those symbols through this material vehicle? Certainly not. Indeed, as man is constituted, they are hereby rendered more certain, much more palpable and demonstrative than other-

wise they would be. With the utmost stretch of my capacity, I can form no idea either of my own spirit or of the eternal Spirit, only as it is presented to my mind from analogy, or from its effects. I see the works of nature; I ask who made them? My Bible answers, "By his Spirit he garnished the heavens, and all the host of them were made by the breath of his mouth." I ask where and what is this Spirit? My Bible tells me, "He rideth upon the wings of the wind, and maketh the clouds his chariot." How is my mind filled with the sublimest perceptions by these lofty metaphors! The *wind* I *hear* and *feel* when it rushes through the fields or sweeps over the plains, or whistles through the cities; and I *see* the *clouds* over my head, and both *see* and *hear* the chariot rolling over the pavements. By these means I get an idea, however faint and imperfect, of that eternal Spirit, which made the heavens and garnished them with all their beauty. I read the analogy in the clouds, and instinctively bow before his mighty power.

Thus delightfully do we perceive the harmony subsisting between the external and internal senses—between the body and mind—between faith and knowledge;—and by their mutual adaptation to promote the end of our existence, they tend to assist each other in conveying instruction to the understanding. By these means I see the connection between the visible and the invisible world, and the manner in which the mind puts forth its powers to grasp firm hold of those truths which relate to things past and future, or of those eternal realities which are revealed to me in the sacred Scriptures. These inform me that "God is a Spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." This truth, being supported by all that weight of evidence which authenticates the Holy Scriptures as the revealed will of God, my mind lays hold of by *faith*, and I prove that my faith is genuine by falling down before this eternal Spirit and worshipping him as the "Father of the spirits of all flesh."

SOLO DEI GLORIA.

Art. 3.—THE PRESENT STATE AND FUTURE PROSPECTS OF THE PAPAL CHURCH.

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Ambition is a quality inherent in mankind, and when they get the power into their hands they are very prone to abuse it, as the history of the world and even the church plainly shows, except prevented by very strong moral principle within, which is the case with but very few, or powerful checks from without, which latter, owing to the ignorance of mankind, exist in but few instances. This remark may serve to throw some light upon what is to follow.

It has been said, and with much truth, that every man is a pope in his own way, although but few have an opportunity to exhibit their popish spirit to any considerable extent. This remark may serve to lessen the surprise that we may feel while taking a view of the character of the pope of Rome. Consequently, as we are

informed by St. Paul, the mystery of iniquity, which finally grew into popery, began to work even in his own day, although it could not be fully revealed until that which then let or hindered, which was the Roman power, was taken out of the way; which, however, was not till several centuries after.

The authority of the pope of Rome is founded upon the supposition that to Peter, of whom he is the pretended successor, was committed what is termed the power of the keys; that Christ promised to build his church upon him; and that he was the first bishop of Rome. But the power of the keys was given to the apostles in common, and not to Peter in particular; and Christ was the rock upon which the church was to be built, according to many other Scriptures, and a fair grammatical construction of the passage in question; and as for his being first bishop of Rome, it remains to be proved that he was ever so much as in that city, and even if both could be proved it is nothing to the point. They also pretend to an uninterrupted succession in the papal chair. But, as Father Wesley well remarks, the succession never was nor ever can be proved; for several links are wanting in the chain; three rival popes have ruled the church at once, and it has never been determined by the church which was the true one; and beside this, a woman in disguise occupied the papal chair for a considerable time. This last fact has been disputed by modern historians, although it was never called in question for five centuries after the event.

The first bishops of Rome, like the other primitive bishops, were humble, pious, and zealous men, who never so much as dreamed of such a thing as pre-eminence among their brethren; as, in those days of gospel purity, all the bishops possessed equal authority. It was not till after the days of the Emperor Constantine, when Christianity became the established religion of the empire, that any pretensions were made to pre-eminence by the bishop of Rome. At first these pretensions were very humble, but even then they were very fiercely and indignantly disputed by the other bishops, especially by those of Constantinople, who were always in a condition to make head against their rivals.

But notwithstanding the contempt with which the aspiring pretensions of the bishops of Rome were treated, yet, owing to their inflexible obstinacy and perseverance, the increase of ignorance and the decline of true religion, joined to the numerous dissensions of the clergy and people among themselves, and a variety of other circumstances which tended to favor them, their power and influence continued to increase, until it spread over the whole western church. But popery cannot be considered as fully established until the year 606, when Boniface III. engaged the usurper Phocas, who had waded to the imperial throne through the blood of his master, the Emperor Mauritius, to proclaim him universal bishop. This may be considered the commencement of the reign of the beast. Although the several pontiffs left no means untried to augment their power and authority from day to day, yet their progress was slow, as the several churches in different countries, with their bishops and clergy, were not easily brought under the yoke. The Greek or eastern church never would submit, and have maintained their indepen-

dence to this day. Many and bitter were the contests which arose between these two churches, and which were continued for successive centuries with great zeal, until Constantinople was taken by the Turks in 1453, and the Greek empire was so broken and the church so weakened by these infidels, that the Greeks excited the envy of the Latins no more, and the former either would or could not continue the contest any longer. The church of Milan, also, would not submit for a long time, and did not until forced by treachery and arms so to do. The Caldees of Scotland, among whom learning and religion flourished for several centuries, were not reduced until the twelfth century; and the Waldenses, although sorely persecuted and almost exterminated, were never brought under the yoke.

The papal power may be said to have arrived at its summit during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the popes not only acted as lords over God's heritage, but even put their feet upon the necks of kings; bound their princes in chains, and their nobles in fetters of iron. This power suffered no sensible diminution, but flourished, notwithstanding the tumults of nations and the strifes of kings, until the time of Martin Luther, in 1517. At the commencement of this century, the court of Rome was in as flourishing a state as ever; and there was no appearance of disturbance or trouble from any quarter. Although the labors of Wickliffe of England, and John Huss and Jerome of Prague, had given the minions of Rome much trouble during their lives, and after their deaths continued to exert a very powerful and extensive influence, yet the pope, as the strong man armed, had kept his goods in comparative peace, and at this time the labors of these men were but little felt. But behold, while the pope was crying Peace, peace, and unconscious of coming wrath which should shake his spiritual empire to its foundation, a movement was made in Germany, which soon attracted the attention of all Europe. In 1517, Martin Luther, an Augustine monk, began to preach against the doctrine of indulgences, the abuse of which had now risen to a most enormous height, and could be borne no longer. He did not intend to leave the church, but only to reform some of her abuses. At first he was very modest in his demands, but his arguments and appeals meeting with nothing but abuse and contempt, and when at last Pope Leo X. published a bull against him, the bold and zealous reformer was roused to activity, and was led to carry on to greater perfection what he had so well begun; and being patronised by Frederic, the elector of Saxony, and finding the people ready for a reform, in despite of the bulls of the pope and the anathemas of the council of Trent, he succeeded in overthrowing popery in a considerable part of Germany; and by his coadjutors his doctrines were carried into Denmark and Sweden, in which countries Lutheranism has since been the established religion. He was a man of extensive learning, of great magnanimity, and of ardent piety—admirably adapted for a reformer; and well did the work that was appointed him.

Luther was soon followed by Zuinglius in Switzerland, who, soon losing his life by violence, was succeeded by Calvin the Genevan reformer, who, although differing from Zuinglius both in doctrine and

discipline, with surprising activity and zeal, soon brought to a considerable degree of perfection what his predecessor had begun. His doctrine soon spread through a considerable part of Switzerland, France, Holland, and the British Isles. In the latter country the people were ripe for a reform even before it was begun; and although Henry VIII. seems to have been a very conspicuous actor in this, yet the fact is, that he was rather a hinderance than a help. The work was rather done by the clergy—Archbishop Cranmer, and Bishops Latimer, Ridley, and Rogers, being the most useful in the good work. In Scotland the work was carried on by John Knox, in the reign of Mary, the famous queen of Scots. He had been taught in the school of Geneva, and adopted both the doctrine and discipline of the Genevan reformer, so that the Kirk of Scotland has since remained Calvinistic in doctrine and Presbyterian in government. In Ireland the work was carried on by the godly labors of Dr. George Brown, archbishop of Dublin. But the work was not of so general extent in this island, the greater part of the people yet remaining Papists. In Poland, Prussia, Austria, Hungary, and Spain, the work was very partial, and in some of these countries, especially the latter, was soon stopped by the Inquisition. In Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia, the work scarcely began; and in Portugal not at all.

This work of reform, as I have briefly sketched it, went on with great rapidity; the progress of the truth—of the principles of civil and religious liberty, was almost inconceivable. The most that was done then, was done during the lives of the reformers who first began the work, or of their immediate successors. Light burst forth all at once, like the rising of the sun; and kingdoms were shaken as by a general earthquake. But we are not to suppose that all who embraced the principles of the Reformation were truly converted to God. This was not the case. Multitudes who embraced Protestantism were no better after than before. This was as might have been expected. Thousands now who are called Protestants are such in external profession merely. And so it was then. But the work was begun; a light was then kindled, which we trust will never be extinguished; and although it has not since made such progress as we could have wished, yet a most deadly blow was given to the beast, of which he has never recovered, but which continues to grow worse and worse, and which will soon, as we shall presently show, end in his complete destruction.

There are two circumstances in the history of the popes which I think worthy of particular notice in this place. The first is, their ambition, avarice, cruelty, and most insufferable arrogance. For these things the papacy well deserves the denomination given it by St. Paul, "the man of sin." Their ambition was such, that after having brought the greater part of the whole western church under their yoke, they must proceed to reduce civil rulers with their entire people to the same ignoble vassalage. To their ambition, both temporal and spiritual, there were no bounds. After gorging whole empires, they were incessantly grasping and panting for more. Their avarice was such that they had no hesitation in involving whole nations in the direst calamities of war and bloodshed, if it would but help fill their coffers. The crusades, which

filled Europe and all the west of Asia with the greatest suffering, for two centuries, draining them of both wealth and population, although originally begun with another design, yet were afterward encouraged by the popes for this very purpose. Their cruelties for the purpose of sustaining their ungodly pretensions exceed all the bounds of credibility. As illustrative of this, we may simply mention the destruction of three millions of pious Waldenses, and the thousands slain and tortured by the Inquisition in the several popish countries. And as for their arrogance, especially of those professing to be Christ's vicars on earth, and the very representatives of the great Head of the church, it exceeds all bounds. History nowhere exhibits such cases. Their strifes and contentions with the bishops of the church and the several kings and princes of the western world, set this part of their character in a very striking light; and although they often met with naught but contempt and derision for this, yet they always most obstinately adhered to their purposes, and insisted upon the acknowledgments of their usurped authority.

The second of these circumstances, and which I believe has a very intimate relation to the first, is the very short reigns of most of the popes. The reigns of some of them amounted to but a few months; and others but to a very few years, although I do not know but one who came to his end by violent means, and that was Clement XVI., who suppressed the order of the Jesuits in 1773, and was supposed to have been poisoned by them. For instance, in the tenth century, there were twenty-two popes, while there were but seven archbishops of Canterbury in the same length of time. This appears to have been an interposition of Almighty God in mercy to the church and the world; for if these men had been permitted to live longer, to mature their schemes of aggrandizement, and to carry them into execution, it might have been much worse for a wretched world than it was. And that this supposition is perfectly correct, I am more inclined to believe from the fact, that since the Papal power has been so reduced as to be incapable of doing much mischief, the lives of the popes have been proportionably longer; for in the last century there were but nine popes, and eight archbishops of Canterbury.

I now come to the subject in hand—the present state of the Papal Church in Europe. This may be disposed of in few words.

Popery has never been able to regain any of those countries it lost at the time of the Reformation, by the permanent establishment of Protestantism, although it has left no means untried to effect its purpose. Open wars, secret plots and conspiracies, bloody massacres, and all the various arts of proselytism, from the sly insinuation of the Jesuits to the dragooning of French Protestants by Louis XIV., have all been resorted to, but never with complete success. Wherever the truth obtained firm footing at the first, it has resolutely maintained it, so that although Protestantism has not proportionably advanced, popery has visibly declined. Its place has been supplanted in most cases by infidelity, although not the infidelity of the last century, but an infidelity which may be approached by Christianity, and reasoned with and persuaded to embrace the truth. In other cases an almost total indifference to all religions

has taken place. But this is a state in which no people can remain for any length of time. So that we are now cheered at seeing a great part of Europe already, or fast becoming, perfectly accessible to Protestant truth.

In the British empire, Protestantism is established by law. England, which once saw the almost total extermination of the Papists, has of late years, however, seen a considerable increase of them. This, however, is partly owing to certain local and temporary causes; and, in the opinion of intelligent men, affords not much ground for alarm. The Jesuits have a college at Stonyhurst in Lancashire, and much of the surrounding population is under their influence, especially the town of Preston. It is said that they amount to about six hundred thousand, reckoning their whole population, among whom are a few of the English nobility. Their chapels have prodigiously multiplied of late years, but their converts not so rapidly. The vast increase of the Methodists and dissenters, together with the increase of evangelical piety in the established Church, oppose insuperable barriers to their progress. In Scotland they have made most strenuous exertions to spread their tenets, especially in Glasgow, but with little success. As in this country, a great part of their members are the poor emigrant Irish. "A Scotchman," says Rowland Hill, "is the very antipodes of the pope, so that his minions cannot make much head against the descendants of the old Covenanters and disciples of Knox."

They are the most numerous in the Highlands, many parts of which, partly owing perhaps to their adherence to the Stuart family, have never renounced the popish faith. But no danger is to be apprehended from such a quarter, especially as the last of the Stuarts is now gone. Their exertions in Glasgow gave rise to the publishment of McGavin's Protestant, which was continued for four years with great success; and which, after having passed through several editions in that country, has now been republished in this. In Ireland, three-fourths of whose inhabitants are Papists, popery is said to be visibly on the decline. The Irish have always been ardently attached to the see of Rome; and their shocking ignorance and degradation have been partly the cause and partly the effect of this. The Protestants are the most numerous in the north, and the Papists in the south. The Presbyterians, whose ancestors were from Scotland, are mostly from the north. The Methodists, who amount to about twenty-six thousand, are found in different parts, especially in the north and east. The church establishment has met with much trouble of late, owing to the refusal of the people to pay their tithes, and the disturbances that have arisen in consequence. The severity of the ancient laws against the Papists has been much mitigated of late years in this empire; but to little purpose. The more you grant them, the more you may. Give them an inch, and they will take an ell. Many of the ancient laws of the realm may, to us, look very severe. But to those who are better acquainted with this subject, they wear a different aspect. The fact is, that from the time that Protestantism was established in England till all hope was lost, the Papists were incessantly engaged in plotting its downfall, and these rigorous laws were necessary to keep them in check. Their incessant clamors at the

present time, with O'Connell at their head, are but for the purpose of disturbing, and, if possible, overthrowing the present government, and re-establishing popery. They already enjoy as many rights as other dissenters; and why not be as quiet?

In Sweden, Denmark, and several of the German states, Lutheranism is the established religion. In the two former the triumph over popery was more complete than in the latter, in several parts of which popery still exists. In Holland, and in several of the Swiss cantons, the reformed is the established religion; although in the former country it exists in far greater purity than in the latter, where, especially in Geneva, it has degenerated into Socinianism of the worst kind. There are yet many Papists in Holland, but they are merely tolerated by the government, and make no conspicuous figure. Ten of the Swiss cantons are under popish sway; six others are about equally divided between them and the Protestants, and the other six belong wholly to the Protestants, of which Bern is the most flourishing.

In Prussia, Lutheranism is the established religion, the king being of that persuasion, a pious man, and a promoter of godliness; taking a deep interest in the cause of religion both at home and abroad. Here popery is on the wane. The king has lately suppressed a very great number of the monasteries. This augurs well for the downfall of popery; for the monastic order, from the time of their rise in the early ages, have been liberally patronised by the popes, and of course have added greatly to the strength and stability of the hierarchy. Indeed, they have been one of the chief pillars in this corrupt spiritual edifice; and therefore with their decline, we look for the decline of the whole church, or indeed a great modification of her character; and such is the nature of Papacy, that whatever modifies, also weakens.

In Poland, although there are many Jews, some members of the Greek church, and many Protestants, yet popery is quite formidable, being in a more flourishing state than in many other parts of Europe. But such have been the political changes in this very unhappy country, and such is its peculiar situation, that although we are all well acquainted with its political condition, which has so excited the deep commiseration of the friends of liberty and humanity both in Europe and America, yet but little is known in the Protestant world respecting its religious state. But as the Polish refugees in this country, who have fled from the tyranny of the Russian autocrat, are papists, we conclude that in that part, at least, which belongs to Russia, popery was predominant, but is now supplanted by the Greek Church, by the authority of the emperor.

In France popery has received its death wound. Here, where the Protestants have met with the most severe and cruel treatment by the church of Rome, have the just judgments of God visited her in the most signal and triumphant manner. Here, where so much pains have been taken to give it permanence and stability, it is now in its death struggles; and in all probability will soon expire. The Protestants commenced this work at the time of the Reformation, and carried it on with great zeal and success, till they were farther prevented by the terrible persecutions they experienced after the revocation of the edict of Nantz. But when they were

removed, the providence of God permitted the work to be carried on by persons of a very opposite character—the disciples of Voltaire and D'Alembert. But these did their work in a strange way. They passed over the church like a tornado over a fruitful field. Ancient customs, usages, and superstitions—the reverence of ages, received no quarter from them. Their movements, combined with politics, soon produced the French Revolution, which resulted in the almost total prostration of the Papal church. Under the reign of Bonaparte, the church saw more prosperous days; but even this prosperity was attended by the most humiliating circumstances, as the usurper, not able to bear a rival of any kind, reduced the authority of the pope in his dominions to a mere shadow, and made himself, in fact, the head of the church. But here it did not end: he obliged the pope to come to Paris, and crown him emperor in the presence of the multitude, for which, however, his humbled holiness most heartily repented and gave himself a severe flagellation: but to little purpose in the eyes of Europe, who were spectators of this uncommon event. But here his troubles did not end; for upon a quarrel arising between him and the emperor, (and, by the way, this is no strange thing in the lives of the popes,) a French army was marched into Italy, and he was made a prisoner of war, a circumstance of the most afflictive and humiliating kind. After the reaccession of the Bourbons to the throne, by the assistance of the allied powers of Europe, popery was again established. But it was now too late to heal its deadly wounds—its dissolution was fast drawing near. In the Revolution of July, 1830, it was again prostrated and put upon the same footing with Protestantism, both being tolerated by the government upon equal terms. And now such is the situation of France, that if the Protestants of England and the United States join their labors with those of the few French Protestants, we may soon look for the total extinction of the Papal power and influence in that nation.

In Spain, the world has witnessed a most astonishing change in the affairs of the papal church—a change that was quite unlooked for, even by the most sanguine friends of the Reformation. This country has been one of the strongholds of popery—a country ruled by priests, and overrun by friars. Here, owing to the uncontrolled sway of the Inquisition, that abominable scourge of mankind, Protestantism has never been able to obtain a firm footing. It was introduced at the time of the Reformation; but never being recognised by the government, and the inquisitors being left unchecked, it never accomplished any thing toward the overthrow of popery, or the establishment of a purer religion. But the work has been done, so far as the partial overthrow of popery is concerned, in quite another way. Without doubt the progress of liberal principles in Europe, and a knowledge, or rather complete conviction, that the friars and the Inquisition have ruined the nation, have gone far to open the eyes of the Spaniards to the truth; and infidelity, as in France, has also contributed its quota. But the late war between the queen of Ferdinand, who is the lawful successor to the throne, and his brother Don Carlos, who has attempted to usurp the government, has done the work of a century in humbling the court of Rome. The priests and friars, in order to strengthen the cause of

the church, have associated themselves with the usurper, and have proved his most violent partisans. But, instead of strengthening the church, it has brought it to the very brink of dissolution. Owing to this interference and rebellion of the priests and friars, the queen's government has been provoked to suppress the monasteries, and thus to annihilate the monastic order at a blow. It was thought, or rather feared, that this would so excessively exasperate the ignorant and superstitious multitude, as to lead to disturbances; but, to the astonishment of many, it was found upon experiment, that the contemptible and lazy monks had so wholly lost the confidence and veneration of the people, that their humiliation was a matter of great rejoicing with them; and in one place, after the order for the suppression of the monasteries had gone out, before the monks could vacate their premises, the people fell upon and robbed their gardens, and even beat them with clubs. Even the regular clergy look upon the monks as a pack of contemptible and lazy drones, who the sooner they are out of the way the better. Mr. Rule, the Wesleyan missionary at Gibraltar, has lately made a journey through a part of the kingdom, in order to collect information respecting the state of religion among the people. He represents them as ripe for the overthrow of popery; and that they will soon be accessible to the labors of Protestant missionaries. He also states, upon the authority of a citizen of Seville, that of the ninety thousand inhabitants of that city, seventy thousand do not attend mass. He also had an interview with a Spanish bishop, who had lately completed and published a new version of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue for general distribution, and who had so far divested himself of popish prejudices, that he even went so far as to propose the union of the Spanish with the English Church; and who deeply felt that there must be a union of the friends of religion to make head against the rapid advances of infidelity. "How manifold are thy judgments, O Lord, and thy ways past finding out."

The late revolution in Portugal has also been disastrous to the cause of the Papal Church in that country. Here popery has reigned and flourished as in Spain. But in the late war between Don Miguel the usurper, and his brother Don Pedro, in favor of his daughter Donna Maria, the rightful heiress to the throne, the church party, which always, as a matter of course, sides with tyranny, took up the cause of the usurper; and as a consequence, when Donna Maria became triumphant, the church was humbled. Many of the bishops were ejected from their sees, and others put in their places, without so much as consulting his holiness, and the monasteries, as in Spain, were suppressed, and the property confiscated to the crown. The monks, in order to save them from absolute want, are allowed a small pension from the government, and the clergy are now no longer distinguished from the other citizens, except by their Suwarrow boots. This, for such a country as Portugal, may be considered no small work; and it also argues ill for the authority and influence of the pope, that his spiritual thunder upon this audacious invasion of his ancient rights, produces no effect.

In Italy itself, the very seat of the beast, the spirit of revolution

and reform is so rife, that the pope is wholly indebted to the Austrian bayonets for his seat in the chair of St. Peter. Immediately after the election of the present pontiff, which was brought about by the intrigues and superior influence of Austria in the college of cardinals, a revolution broke out in Italy, which would have deposed the pope, and wrought very important changes in both church and state, and which came near being consummated without bloodshed or serious disturbance. But in this important juncture, the pope called in the assistance of Austria, which was immediately granted; and the Italian patriots were obliged to succumb to superior numbers. If this revolution had been perfected, the final dissolution of the Papal power in Europe, would have been vastly accelerated. But the spirit of reform is not extinguished, it is merely slumbering, or rather waiting for an opportunity of doing its glorious work.

Austria is now the only temporal support of the Papal power in Europe. Under the ministry of the most tyrannical Prince Metternich, she continues her support to the court of Rome. This Prince Metternich is one of the greatest enemies of mankind now living; a man who has done more for the support of despotic principles, and to enslave the millions of Europe than any other man. And his influence is not only exerted in the Austrian dominion, but almost throughout Europe. And as one instance of many of his most villanous deeds, I may mention his having even supplied the Turks with ships in their war against the Greeks, lest the achievement of the independence of this people should further the progress of free and liberal principles in his own neighborhood. And now if a revolution should take place in Austria, which is not at all improbable upon the death of Metternich, or some such circumstance, the Roman pontiff has lost his last prop, and his temporal power must come to an end at once, which would immediately pave the way also for the extinction of his spiritual power.

It will be recollected that Russia belongs to the Greek Church, by whom the ancient Sclavonians and other barbarous nations from whom the Russians are descended, first received the gospel. They have consequently adhered to that church until now, never having had any disposition to change this relation for that of the Latin Church. The Russian Church, however, is independent of the other branches of the Greek Church, the authority of even the Patriarch of Constantinople not even amounting to a shadow in the dominions of the Czar. Since the days of Peter the Great, before whose time the Russians were but semi-barbarians, the Russian power has become truly formidable to the rest of Europe, and not only to Europe, but even to Asia. Possessing a territory which includes one ninth of the whole world—all the north of Europe and Asia, and perfectly unconquerable by the armies of the south, as the misfortunes of Bonaparte amply testify; and comprising a population of fifty millions, this mighty empire with its despotic head, frowns down upon the rest of Europe with a most fearful aspect. And although the political principles of Russia are so like those of Austria, yet, as their religion is so very unlike, we expect that the prosperity of Russia will be no advantage to Rome.

What is said of the present state of the Papal Church in Europe,

may with equal propriety be said of it in other parts of the world. By the late revolution in Mexico, Protestantism was tolerated, which is something altogether opposed to the peculiar genius of popery,—and, consequently, what is given to Protestantism is so much taken from that. And although by the union of the usurper Santa Anna with the priests and church party a dark cloud has come over the prospects of liberal principles in Mexico, yet the present movements in Texas, and also the manifestation of the same spirit in some other parts of the republic, threaten a counter revolution, which will undo more than Santa Anna's party have been able to do. For the war which has begun in Texas may yet be carried to the very walls of Mexico; and then wo to an intolerant and licentious priesthood. In all the South American states the spirit of revolution, although not so enlightened as we could wish, has produced much the same effects, especially in Brazil, which is much the most considerable government on that continent. And although the morals of the people have not improved, yet their decreasing regard for the superstitions in which they were educated is opening the way for the establishment of Protestant missions, of which our own church is now taking the advantage. And be assured, that if Methodism once gets firmly established upon those shores, the reign of error is soon at an end, and the glory of God will rise upon the people.

In India popery is on the decline, as in other places. Here the papists once had very flourishing settlements and missions. The Portuguese settlement at Goa was truly formidable. It even had an inquisition, which was not altogether idle. But now its strength is wasted, and its glory is departed. In Ceylon, the Portuguese were also successful, but of late their labors have not been prosecuted with that zeal and success as formerly; and the Wesleyan missionaries are now presenting a most formidable barrier to their farther progress. Many of the Wesleyans preach in the Portuguese language, and in one instance of which we have heard, a whole church of Papists forsook their own communion for the fellowship of the missionaries, taking the church property with them. China was once the scene of very successful missionary operations. But the wicked and contemptible arts of the Jesuits, who had the charge of this mission, not only excited the indignation and excessive displeasure of many of their own communion, but without doubt proved their own overthrow. For notwithstanding they found access even to the foot of the golden throne, and were the special favorites of the emperor, yet they were afterward banished from the empire, and have never since obtained a footing therein. Indeed, the duplicity, the corruption, the insufferable arrogance, and the incessant political intermeddlings of this fraternity, render them the scorn, the contempt, and the dread of the people wherever they are known. In Japan they had also met with very considerable success, but certain letters being intercepted which revealed a conspiracy against the government, the missionaries with all their converts were immediately obliged to renounce their religion or be exterminated. This edict of the king was carried into effect with the most unrelenting severity. Even the very appearance of Christianity was annihilated. And such is the watchfulness of this

excessively jealous government, that they will not even have tradings with any Christian nation except a few Dutch from Batavia, who are permitted to have a factory, or rather prison, in one of their ports, but who are not even permitted to have a Bible on board their ships. But such is their contemptible love of gain that they will even submit to these humiliating conditions, rather than lose the profits of the trade. This is one of the most glaring instances of the immense injury done to Christianity by the Jesuits, in the eyes of the heathen, who judge of the nature of religion wholly by the conduct of its professors.

In these United States Papists have increased prodigiously of late years, and have given cause for serious alarm to all the friends of civil and of religious liberty. They have erected colleges, seminaries, and nunneries for the education of Protestant youth, while they have surprisingly neglected their own. This increase has been promoted principally by means of emigration, mostly from Ireland, which of late years has been very great indeed, amounting to about thirty-seven per cent. of our whole increase. This rapid and somewhat systematic increase by immigration, the erection of literary institutions for the education of Protestant youth, their extraordinary zeal in using the various arts of proselyting,—together with their boastings of success, and the free expression of their hopes with regard to the future, have given occasion to suppose that they designed the final subjugation of this land of the pilgrims to the Romish yoke. The suppositions were abundantly confirmed when it was found that a society called the St. Leopold Foundation was in existence in Vienna, which had received the apostolic benediction of the pope, the imperial sanction of the Emperor of Austria, and was under the special patronage of that most detestable of all modern tyrants, Prince Metternich. From numerous circumstances connected with the formation and movements of this society, it was well ascertained, that there existed a regular and well-laid conspiracy against the liberties of these United States, and which was fast ripening for execution. This society has for its object the propagation of the popish religion in this country, and for this purpose has remitted large sums of money, which have been expended for this purpose, and which remittances have also been accompanied with a great number of priests, the most of whom are Jesuits, a class of men who, on account of their political intrigues, their constant intermeddling in the affairs of government, and the extreme laxity of their morals, were suppressed in several popish countries in Europe the last century, but whose society was afterward revived by the pope, as being indispensable to the support of his waning power.

There are two important facts well worthy of observation in this matter. The first is, this republican country has been the grand source from which have emanated those liberal principles which have produced those several revolutions and various political movements which have proved such a source of affliction to the legitimate governments of Europe. Now the question arises, how shall they quench this light which shines into the dark places of their despotic dominions? To do it by force of arms is out of the question—is absolutely impossible. An ocean of three thou-

sand miles rolls between us, and, more than that, the well-known valor and prowess of our people render it hopeless for them to attempt any such things. But by means of the Catholic Church, the work may possibly be accomplished. Popery has always lent its aid in the establishment and support of monarchy, and has generally been supported in return. Now if by any means popery can become the prominent religion in this country, or even become sufficiently powerful to constitute the balance of power, it may very easily overthrow our present government, and substitute in its stead one more to its liking. And we well know what that would be. And we are farther to remember, that the peculiar structure of a republican form of government affords them admirable facilities for this.

The second fact is, that as popery is everywhere on the wane in Europe, its friends and abetters are naturally looking round for a place in which it may obtain a firm footing, and be perpetuated through succeeding generations—a place of secure retreat from the fierce and ruthless attacks made upon it in the Old World. This country appears to afford this desired retreat; and the vast tide of emigration flowing in from popish countries, together with the protection that our government affords all religions, affords them admirable facilities for furthering their work. And it is a sober fact, that their hopes have been greatly excited by the prospect of success.

But there is one circumstance which has done them great injury, if it does not indeed ultimately defeat all their efforts to establish themselves among us; and that is, being flushed with unlooked for success, they began to suppose the victory already achieved, and raised the shout of triumph. In an instant, the watchmen of Zion gave the alarm, and the whole nation waked up to a sense of its danger. The controversies against the priests carried on by Dr. Beecher, when in Boston, by Dr. Brownlee of New-York, and by Mr. Breckenridge; the publication of Miss Reed's little book, and the disclosures of Maria Monk, together with the publication of the Protestant Vindicator, and the Downfall of Babylon, in New-York, and Zion's Herald in Boston;* and indeed of numerous other

* We by no means agree with the writer either as respects the great cause of alarm to the liberties of our country, from the inroads of popery, or the utility of the means used to check its progress. We allow, indeed, that popery, as such, is inimical to civil liberty; and that therefore it is the duty of all to guard against its encroachments, more especially in our country; but we cannot perceive—and we have not been unmindful of events—the imminent danger arising from such a small minority as the Papists form in this republic, to the stability of our government. We apprehend the chief danger lies in that "sin which is a disgrace to any people," in that spirit of insubordination which is so rife in the community, and in that wild democracy which levels all distinctions in society, and battens itself in slandering public characters, in defying the power of magistrates, and in openly contemning the majesty of the laws—and which evinces its recklessness in fomenting mobs, and rallying around "King Lynch;" the most fearful tyrant that ever reared its maddened head in our beloved republic. Let all enlightened men do what they can to check these alarming evils—and if papacy be leagued with them, let it share their fate—and, by the blessing of God on their labor, we are safe.

papers in the country, have put the people on their guard against this insidious foe. Indeed, such has been the extraordinary effect produced by these publications—by the flood of light that has been cast upon this subject, that many believe that the crisis has already taken a favorable turn, and that our danger is past. We indeed hope that this is the case; but whether it is or not, we firmly believe that the danger may easily be averted by the activity and watchfulness of the people. Let us but keep a watchful eye upon this foe, remembering that the experiment of a republican form of government among us is yet to be completed, and we are safe.

From all this it apears that the Papal Church is on the wane—that it is in the very last stages of decline, and that its dissolution fast draweth near. Its case is the most deplorable imaginable. The prophecy is now fulfilling, that the kings and princes of the earth, who formerly gave their power and authority to the whore of Babylon, shall now, becoming incensed against her, eat her flesh, as fire. Almost every government in Europe is now engaged to crush the Church of Rome. Since the French revolution, whose partisans learned the principles of political liberty from our revolutionists,

And then as to the means used to shake and overwhelm popery, we have still greater doubts. We could, indeed, had we leisure, write a volume, to show our dissent, and the grounds of it, from resorting to such measures as Miss Reed's narrative and Maria Monk's Disclosures, to overturn popery. We have no faith in them, true or false, as instruments of righteousness. What! Is the truth of God to be vindicated by resorting to such doubtful authorities? We venture to say that no Christian denomination under heaven could stand the test of such an ordeal. Let a man, prejudiced against any sect, pick up and publish insulated facts which have occurred in that sect, and make them the touchstone of their orthodoxy or innocency, and we venture to affirm that none would escape unscathed. Of Maria Monk's Disclosures we have no good opinion, nor do we believe the Protestant Vindicator a judicious weapon to fight the "man of sin" with. There is, in our judgment, too much of the "wrath of man" in all their publications, to "work the righteousness of God."

Let us, therefore, do by the Roman Catholics as we do by all others whom we believe to be in error and sin: try to convert them to the knowledge of the truth, by the "armor of righteousness on the right hand and on the left," and by our spirit and conduct convince them that we are actuated solely by a love to their souls. This, if even we should not succeed in our wishes for their salvation, will at least ensure the blessing of God upon our own souls.

Besides, if popery be doomed to that sudden destruction predicted by the writer in his closing remarks—we cannot but hope it is the case,—there cannot be much danger of its permanent establishment in our country, nor indeed in any other. If Protestants will do their duty, live wholly to God's glory, and devote their means and energies to the conversion of the world, in the true spirit of the primitive Christians, we shall soon witness that mighty spread of the gospel which will consume the errors of popery, and all other abominations which make desolate.

Though we thus record our dissent from this item in the above essay, it nevertheless contains valuable information of a general character, as well as many pungent remarks upon the objectionable features of Roman Catholicism.

EDITOR.

popery has gone down with the most fearful celerity; and all the arts and ingenuity of its friends and abetters are wholly unavailing to support their dying cause. More has been done within a few years since, than could have been anticipated by the most sanguine friend of the Reformation. The beast now no longer presents that imposing and most formidable front as formerly, neither exhibits those menacing attitudes when attacked and assailed by enemies. No; the spiritual thunder of the pope has almost wholly spent its force. It no longer alarms the potentates of Europe, nor makes the nations tremble. The old man who now fills the chair of St. Peter has been obliged to take several important lessons in the virtue of modesty, and to good purpose.

We now come to speak of the future prospects of the church. These are dark beyond description. Every thing with regard to her has the most gloomy appearance, and down she must go; and all her friends on earth and friends beneath will not be able to sustain her. There are several circumstances which will tend to accelerate her downfall with most fearful rapidity, and from the powerful action of which nothing can possibly save her.

One is, her constant interference with the civil affairs of nations. For centuries the Roman pontiffs have claimed jurisdiction over all temporal rulers, and insisted that they held their kingdoms as their vassals, and not from mere inherent or hereditary right. This is now a most unfortunate circumstance for her, especially as no succeeding popes have made any animadversions upon their predecessors as though they had been mistaken in this matter, nor have given up a single pretension of this kind. The princes of Europe will bear in mind the most insufferable arrogance of the pope when he obliged Henry, emperor of Germany, to travel to Rome in the depth of winter, and to stand three days barefooted at his palace gate before he would grant him admission; and to kiss his big toe before he would grant him absolution, for having dared to say that his kingdom was his own, and that he would rule it as he pleased, despite of his holiness. They will remember his quarrel with John, king of England, respecting the nomination to the archbishopric of Canterbury, which was claimed by the pope and denied by John, and which, after several years' contention, resulted in the most humiliating degradation of the latter. They will also remember the numerous popish plots against the English government, after the establishment of Protestantism in that nation, especially the gunpowder plot, so called, and the numerous conspiracies against the life and government of Queen Elizabeth. All these things will be borne in mind, and will most powerfully tend to the total subversion of the papal power.

The second of these circumstances is, the persecuting spirit of this church. Not but what others have also persecuted; but her persecuting spirit has been of a pre-eminent character. Scores and hundreds have not satisfied her bloodthirsty spirit; thousands and even millions have been sacrificed to her cruelty. The destruction of the three million Waldenses, and the unparalleled sufferings connected with the slaughter, concerning which Milton has exclaimed—

" Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughter'd saints,
Whose bones lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold;"

all this will be remembered against her by the nations of Europe. The massacre of the French Protestants, and the unheard of cruelties of the Inquisition, especially in Spain, which nation has been partly depopulated by it, will all be treasured up against her. This must be the case, for these deeds have never been execrated or denounced by her as incompatible with the spirit of our holy religion. To be sure, Protestant communities have persecuted, but they learned it in the church of Rome; they brought it away with them, and it is one of the last rags of popery that they have been inclined to throw away.

'A third circumstance is, the character of the monastic orders,—ignorant, lazy, licentious, corrupt, and shockingly avaricious in grasping for the wealth of others, they are now looked upon with the greatest contempt and detestation, and as worse than burdensome upon the community, yea, as a stinking nuisance. And as the monastic orders have been greatly patronised by the popes, and have been their principal support, they will be considered as a part and parcel of the Papal Church; and as they go down, the church must inevitably share their fate, and both be destroyed together.

The fourth and principal circumstance is, the pretensions of this church to infallibility, which also utterly precludes the possibility of her reformation. Now this pretension she has never given up, and probably never will. The consequence is, that she hereby declares that what she once was she now is, and always designs to be. She hereby declares that all her past doings are right, and of course, that if she had the power, she would do them again. This will always cause her to be regarded with a jealous eye. It also precludes the possibility of a reformation. This, if it could be brought about, might save her from final dissolution. But her very constitution does not admit of any cure for her diseases—she must inevitably die of them. I have heard some persons talk of a reform in the Church of Rome. I should as soon think of a reform in hell. Some think that a partial reform has already taken place; but this is a great mistake. The fact is, that the Church of Rome is now worse than she ever was; for with all the superior light afforded by the Reformation for more than three centuries, she has not changed a single doctrine or practice. Her present members consequently sin against greater light, and are therefore greater sinners, than their fathers.

But the word of prophecy of which we now come to speak will set this matter in a clear light, and show us that we are not to look for the reform of the Church of Rome, but for her destruction. This we shall do in few words. The prophet Daniel describes the Church of Rome as a little horn, before whom three other horns, (that is, states or kingdoms, which were those of Ravenna and Lombardy,) were plucked up by the roots; and as having the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things, and a back more stout than his fellows; and as having made war with the saints, and prevailed against them: and then adds, "until the Ancient of days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the Most High; and

the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom." He farther proceeds in his description of the character of the little horn, thus: "And he shall speak great words against the Most High; and shall wear out the saints of the Most High; and think to change times and laws; and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time." And then he says: "But the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion to consume and to destroy it unto the *end*." And concerning the period of its destruction as specified by the prophet, the time, times, and the dividing of a time, amount to one thousand two hundred and sixty years, which added to the year six hundred and six, in which Boniface III. was proclaimed œcumenical or universal bishop, and which may be put down as the commencement of this power, will bring it to the year eighteen hundred and sixty-six, which is but thirty years to come. And we presume from what the signs of the times most evidently indicate, that the power of the bishops of Rome will come to an end by that time. We do not suppose that all Papists will be converted by that time, for that may be the work of more years; but that both the temporal and superior spiritual power of the pontiff will be broken; and the conversion of his subjects may take place with the conversion of the rest of the world. St. John the Revelator, in his computation, agrees with Daniel, and after having described the rise, and progress, and special character of the Roman hierarchy, devotes the whole eighteenth chapter to an account of its fall and final dissolution, which he represents as being very violent and sudden, thus: "And a mighty angel took up a stone, like a great millstone, and cast it into the sea, saying, Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and shall be no more at all." Then shall the cry of the mighty angel be heard, Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen; and the voice of the great multitude in heaven, saying, "Alleluia, the Lord God omnipotent reigneth."

For the Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review.

Art. IV.—PAUL AT ATHENS.

In the course of his labors among the Gentiles, Paul arrived at Athens from Berea, a city of Macedonia, whence he had been driven by the inveterate malice of the Jews. Having reached this celebrated city, his attention was soon directed, not to its schools, but to its temples, its statues, its altars; not so much to admire the beauty of the architecture, or the skill of the sculptor, as to mourn over the dark system of idolatry of which they formed so conspicuous and important a feature. We should do injustice to the distinguished reputation of Paul as a man of classical taste and refinement if we were to conclude from this circumstance that he was insensible to the claims of philosophy and literature; or unmoved by the works of art with which he was surrounded. But a paramount object engrossed all the powers of his mind, as well as his deepest sympathies, before which even the unrivalled schools of Athens, and the most splendid productions of human art, dwindled into comparative insignificance. The inexpres-

sible solicitude which he felt for the glory of God, and the salvation of souls—a solicitude which would have led him, as in the case of the Thessalonians, "to have imparted unto them, not the gospel of God only, but also his own soul,"—was powerfully awakened in his pious bosom, and absorbed all thoughts leading to a gratification of an ordinary curiosity, when he "saw the city" to which he had undoubtedly been directed by the providence of God, "wholly given to idolatry."

As was his custom, he first directed his attention to his own countrymen the Jews, who, it appears, had built a synagogue in this proud city; and then to the "devout persons," Greeks and others, who, having renounced idolatry, had embraced the Jewish religion. In addition to his stated labors in the synagogue, every day was employed by him in personal discussion "in the market with them that met with him."

Among others it appears he "encountered certain philosophers of the Epicureans and the Stoics." It is not at all likely that Paul, though a Jew, was ignorant of the philosophy of either of the "Attic schools:" these schools, at the time Paul was at Athens, still maintaining, in the fallen condition of the city, "their superior reputation."* Adhering, however, to his determination of "knowing nothing among them save Jesus Christ, and him crucified," he preached in the market to all whom he met, philosophers as well as common people, "Jesus and the resurrection." His "speech and his preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom; but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power." He did not depend upon those rules of elocution taught in the schools of rhetoric in Athens, by which her orators attained such skill and celebrity in this renowned art; but he earnestly sought, and for success relied upon, that divine influence which is "quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart." The Spirit of God had fully taught him that the heathen could not be "turned from idols to serve the living God" by mere "excellence of speech," even though a Demosthenes himself spoke, but by preaching "Christ crucified." "Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God."

Coming in contact with these philosophers, and by the novelty of his doctrines exciting their curiosity—a curiosity which was not wholly unmingled with contempt—he was favored with an opportunity, before probably a large assembly of Athenians on Mars-hill, of testifying against idolatry, and enforcing the claims of Christianity.

Whether Paul was brought before the court of the Areopagus as a criminal, or whether he merely occupied Mars-hill as "a convenient place where those who were disposed might hear what his doctrine was, is a matter about which there exists difference of opinion." We incline to that of Mr. Wesley, that "it does not appear he was carried thither as a criminal." Both at Philippi and at Jerusalem, when he was actually taken into custody, there is evidence sufficient of judicial proceedings. But the narrative in this case shows no marks of legal form. In the instance of Socrates' trial, a bill of

* Gibbon.

indictment was first found—regular charges were preferred by his accusers, and every opportunity allowed, at least so far as related to technical forms, for a full defence. But not so here; though, if Paul were tried, it was on a similar charge. Not only was there a want of form in the first steps taken in this case; the conclusion of it was equally irregular. It seems that the moment allusion was made to the resurrection of the body, the assembly was abruptly interrupted by the very persons who had called it together, a mode of procedure which does not comport in any respect with a court so celebrated for its impartial regard to justice as was the Areopagus. Even allowing that this court, as was the case, had greatly degenerated from its ancient purity, and rigid regard to justice, it certainly would show some respect to the common forms of a legal trial, especially as it is supposed to have had cognizance at this time of an offence deemed capital by the Athenian laws. Such an abrupt and irregular termination might suit the capriciousness of a promiscuous assembly, but does not at all comport with the technical forms of a solemn legal tribunal.

In addition to the want of evidence from the tenor of the narrative, so far as respects any regular arraignment of Paul as a criminal before the Areopagus, the reason assigned by the writer of the narrative for what occurred on Mars-hill appears to be satisfactory, that he occupied that position chiefly to accommodate the multitude, whose curiosity at this time was probably greatly excited to hear him. After stating that "they took" Paul, "and brought him unto Areopagus," he says, "For all the Athenians and strangers which were there spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell or to hear some new thing." Here we have a clew to the object of the scene. Not only the Athenians, but the numerous strangers who flocked to the city to enjoy the benefits of its schools of rhetoric and philosophy, wished to "hear something new." It was the novelty of Paul's doctrine which engaged their attention, and produced the courteous request, "May we know what this new doctrine whereof thou speakest, is?" There appears in all this not a single circumstance that borders on a criminal accusation.

That Paul may have been brought to Areopagus as a convenient place for all to hear him, may be also indirectly inferred, if we suppose with some that by Areopagus is to be understood "the whole suburbs of Athens, wherein stood the hill on which the court was built." Somewhere within these precincts may have been a spot much better adapted than the market to accommodate the multitude. The concourse of people was probably, as has been asserted, exceedingly large. At places where the apostles had preached, so great was the interest excited, that whole cities flocked to hear. In this light Paul's preaching at Athens would resemble that of Whitefield's and Wesley's preaching, not in the thickly settled parts of London, but in Moorefields, to twenty thousand people at once. Besides, we know when the Athenians listened to their orators they loved to breathe the free air of Attica, not the pent atmosphere of a crowded city; and to stand, not under colonnades, but under the broad expanse of their clear firmament. The Pnyx, where their orators spoke, was out of the city, under the open sky, and in view of some of the noblest objects of

nature and art in the world. So that in bringing Paul, a stranger, to Areopagus, the Athenians may have merely followed the natural impulse of that refined people, and complied with their common customs. Agreeably then to what we have said, we suppose that the Athenians assembled at some convenient place on or near Mars-hill "to hear this new doctrine whereof Paul spoke."

In his discourse to the Athenians Paul charges them with excess of superstition. Not satisfied with the worship of a very great number of gods, to whom they had given names, and to whom they ascribed certain qualities, they had actually erected an altar to a god without a name, without any particular attributes, and yet worshipped this "unknown God."* This must indeed be acknowledged to be excessive superstition. As our worship of God is pure and spiritual in proportion as we form correct notions of the nature and perfection of God, how exceedingly debasing and unworthy a rational creature must he that worship which is rendered to some unknown, nameless figment of the imagination, without a single quality to excite fear or hope, reverence or love. And yet this very worship the Athenians adopted in erecting an altar to an unknown god. Upon the basis of this wretched superstition, Paul erected the noble superstructure of a belief in that Supreme Being which is the foundation of all true religious worship. "Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you."†

The existence of "one Supreme God, the self-originated Being,"

* From the earliest times the objects of religious worship multiplied among the Athenians. They received the twelve principal divinities from the Egyptians, and others from the Lybians and different nations; and they were so fearful of omitting religious worship, that they even erected altars to the unknown god.—Rees' Cyclopedia.——"St. Chrysostom ascribes the erection of this altar at Athens to the unknown god, to the excessive superstition of the Athenians, who, fearing lest they should be punished for neglecting the worship of some god of whom they were ignorant, dedicated an altar to the unknown god, for the purpose of providing for any possible omission."

† We are aware that while the superstition of the Athenians is not denied, the rendering of the word is considered liable to objection on the ground of its being too harsh and unconciliatory. But the word is used as it reads in the English translation, because it appears necessary to free the apostle from at least the appearance of "flattering," (which, as he was particularly careful to avoid in Thessalonia, so also we think in Athens,) even in the most indirect manner, the zeal of the Athenians upon the observance of what Peter calls "the abominable idolatries" of the heathen. While we do not wish to detract from the courteousness of Paul, we feel the greatest solicitude that he should be regarded as stating a simple but important fact clearly, so as to be distinctly understood, even by the most refined assembly on the earth.

If it be observed that it was imprudent to bring a charge of this nature in the commencement of his discourse, then we observe it was equally imprudent to endeavor to show the absurdity of idolatry, which was done almost in the same breath. If the one would offend, so would the other; and in either case Paul would be deprived of a hearing. The same observation would apply to what was said in reference to the resurrection of the body, which did actually produce the dreaded result, and deprived Paul of an opportunity of exhibiting more fully on this occasion—as he no doubt would have done but for the interruption which an allusion to this subject produced—the nature and the requirements of Christianity. As it is according to the argument of those who say it was imprudent for Paul to charge the Athenians with superstition, we may say it was imprudent for him to introduce the theme of the resurrection of the body, as it cut off his discourse just as he had finished the exordium. But we do not think the objection sound. We think, in charging the Athenians with superstition, Paul simply "stated a

to use the language of Plato, had long before been taught, with more or less mixture of error as to his nature and perfections, in the Academy, the Lyceum, the Portico. Paul therefore may be regarded in some sense as enforcing the doctrine of Plato on this point by the sanction of divine revelation. But though it be true that this great truth was not unknown to "the philosophers of Greece," yet this remark will not apply to the great body of the Athenians. Neither revelation nor philosophy had enlightened their minds; and though perhaps the atheistical sentiments of Epicurus, which were now very popular, had produced some effect upon the common people as well as upon the higher classes, yet this is a class in general too susceptible of their own wants and weaknesses wholly to throw away all reliance, whether imaginary or real, upon a power higher than themselves. To these then the declaration of Paul would be strictly applicable, "Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you."

Having exhibited this prominent truth, Paul proceeds, with no intemperance of expression or action, to attack the whole system of Athenian idolatry, however splendid and imposing to the eye—however incorporated with prejudices and attachments which had been the growth of centuries. How different was his conduct in this respect from that of the "philosophers of Greece." While they despised the absurd and ridiculous system in their hearts; or, to use the apologetic language of Gibbon, (for his language is in fact, whatever he meant, an apology for their selfishness,) while "they viewed with a smile of pity and indulgence the various errors of the vulgar," they still "diligently practised the ceremonies of their fathers, and devoutly frequented the temples of their gods." In other words they were not disposed to disturb their philosophical equanimity by laboring to remove the ignorance of "the vulgar," teaching them the absurdity of idolatry, and elevating their minds to the knowledge and worship of the "true God." This cold, calculating indifference to the best interests of their fellow creatures might suit the selfishness of Grecian philosophy, but did not accord with the nature and design of the "ministry of reconciliation." Paul therefore, with the Parthenon not far from where he stood, in sight of some of the most splendid temples of antiquity, declares that the gods to whom these temples were dedicated were unworthy of their religious adoration: that He who made the heavens dwelt not as a cold, insensible image in "temples made with hands:" that He who gave to vegetable nature "life," and "breath" to the animated creation; who provided "all things" for the wants of his creatures; whose "offspring we are;" and upon whose favor and mercy we are momentarily dependant for our "being," that this Supreme, self-originated Being "needed" not to be "worshipped with men's hands," required not the sculptural "art or device" of a Phidias to "grave an image of the Godhead, of gold, or silver, or stone." The Athenians "ought not to think so." Such a

fact acknowledged by the best Greek writers;" and that the Athenians heard the charge without exhibiting any evident marks of disgust or resentment.

Perhaps it ought to be noticed that Paul charges the Athenians with superstition not merely in *one* thing, but "in all things." He seems to consider it as a general trait; and not as confined exclusively to religion.

view of the Godhead was not only unworthy of the philosopher, but of "the vulgar." Conceptions so low and grovelling, not only detracted from the glory of God, but were exceedingly debasing to their own natures. Look, Athenians, beyond your temples, your altars, your statues, to the God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth. He it is whom "I declare unto you."

Here is Christian piety and compassion. The philosopher could look "with a smile of pity upon the errors of the vulgar:" but pity with him was an emotion of the heart, rather than an active principle. But not so with Paul. To see was indeed to feel: but to feel was to act. He did not consult "with flesh and blood," but declared, not in the retired grove with the philosophers, to a select circle of congenial minds, but in a large, promiscuous assembly of idolatrous Athenians, God to be the Lord of heaven and earth; and as such the only object of religious worship. This is the benevolence of Christianity, not the selfishness of heathen philosophy. The gospel aims a deadly blow, in the truth it announces, at the whole system of idolatrous worship. It is true it speaks calmly,—meekly: but it is a calmness arising from a deep conviction of the truths it utters: it is a meekness sustained by an undaunted spirit, which gives truth a keener edge and a brighter lustre. The precepts of heathen philosophy are often argued along with those which dropped from the lips of the Saviour, but the conduct of those who delivered them, at least in one important particular, as acknowledged by an oracle of infidelity itself, will admit of no comparison with that of Paul, the apostle of the Gentiles. Which course, we ask, as an exhibition of true benevolence, recommends itself the most strongly to every sincere and ardent inquirer after truth? Whether of the twain, the philosopher or Paul, felt the most deeply for the happiness of all men?

But Paul is not satisfied merely with declaring the great truth of the existence of one Supreme Being; of asserting his power and providence; and of showing the baseless fabric of idolatry: he takes still higher ground. He announces the law of God as to idolatry authoritatively, as a messenger from Heaven: as an ambassdor for Christ. Moses originally delivered the very same law, amidst the sandy plains of Arabia, to believing Jews, while the mountain on which he had received it was enveloped in smoke, and thunder and lightning proceeded from it. Paul on Mars-hill, surrounded by enlightened, inquisitive idolaters, enforced the same law, accompanied by no other sanction than that which the Holy Spirit should make on the hearts of those who heard him. Paul thus speaks of the law of God on this subject. "And the times of this ignorance God winked at; but now commandeth all men everywhere to repent."

The former prevalence of idolatry in Athens Paul excuses in some measure on the ground of ignorance. And in view of this declaration of Paul it should be remembered that more or less superstition and ignorance obscured the minds of the wisest and best of the philosophers of Greece. Even Socrates, styled by his disciple Plato "the best, the wisest, the greatest, the justest" of the Greeks of his time, after he had delivered his sentiments to his friends on the immortality

of the soul, so admirably portrayed in the Phædon of Plato, just before he died—they were his last words—directed Crito to fulfil a vow he had made to offer a cock to Æsculapius, charging him especially not to forget it.* Here we perceive a tincture of superstition still cleaving to the almost divinely illuminated mind of Socrates. Neither need we be surprised at this, when we consider that heathen philosophers were left to the efforts of the understanding, unassisted by revelation, to grope their way out of the darkness which had for ages been settling upon the human mind. And even after they arrived, as a few of them did, at the knowledge of a first cause, of the "true God," their deductions, allowing that they made every effort universally to disseminate them, which they did not, were merely the deductions of philosophers: they were not especially sanctioned by God himself. In addition to this, the course of truth is always slow; and doubtless much slower in its progress among "the vulgar," dressed in a philosophical garb, than in the plain, simple, divinely authoritative diction of revelation. "This direct intercourse brings God much nearer to the mass of mankind."† From these causes some allowance may be made even for Athenian idolatry.

But whatever allowance might heretofore have been made on the ground of ignorance for the idolatry of the Athenians, Paul informs them with the utmost distinctness that God "now commandeth all men everywhere to repent." The introduction of the gospel into Athens placed idolatry on a different footing from what it had ever been before. The Athenians would now be indeed "without excuse" if they should continue to bow the knee to idols, worshipping Minerva in the Parthenon, or Jupiter in the superb temple of Jupiter Olympus, or paying adoration to any idol statue instead of bowing the knee at the name of Jesus, and with the tongue confessing that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.

In assigning a reason for a strict compliance with this divine injunction, Paul introduced Jesus Christ as the man whom God had ordained to judge the world in righteousness, of the certainty of which most solemn event he had given the strongest assurance in that he had raised him from the dead. The resurrection of the dead was a new and startling doctrine to the Athenians. Even the doctrine of the immortality of the soul was considered as attended with a great deal of doubt and uncertainty. Men, Cebes tells us,‡ looked on what Socrates advanced on this subject as incredible: almost every body fancying that when the soul parted from the body it was no more: that it died along with it. From the four schools of Athens, with the exception of the Academy, we obtain little light on this point. Epicurus taught without disguise that the soul was mortal: Zeno, it is

* We cannot but think that Socrates spoke these words literally, not enigmatically. There is a matter of fact earnestness in delivering the direction to Crito which seems to us to express that he meant just what he said. We can easily conceive that a remnant of superstition may have been blended with the superior religious light which Socrates enjoyed. But, even if this had not been the case, if Socrates had been entirely free from all bias to idolatry, he may, notwithstanding, have regarded it as his duty to comply with the religious institutions and customs of his country.

† Channing. ‡ See Phædon.

thought,* confined its existence to a limited duration: while it is at least considered doubtful whether Aristotle believed this everlasting truth. If so much difference on so vital a subject existed among the most celebrated schools in the world; if also the atheistical sentiments of Epicurus had at this time gained the greatest currency; if "almost every body" were disposed to believe the soul mortal, novel and startling indeed must the grosser doctrine, so to speak, of the resurrection of the body, have been considered. Indeed, the mere allusion to this subject appears to have been received with the most profound contempt. It led to an abrupt dispersion of the assembly. The great truth of a future judgment, to which they were all accountable, and at which time they would all be judged in righteousness, even in reference to the use they made of the truths Paul delivered to them that day, was entirely overlooked, in the supreme silliness, as they conceived, of his allusion to the resurrection of the dead. Some had heard all they desired of such a babbler; others, with Athenian courtesy, but not a whit the more sincere on this account, pretended that they would "hear him again." Wise in their own conceit, their foolish hearts darkened, they did not think one who could advance so absurd a doctrine worthy of further attention. They therefore "turned" nearly "every one to his own way." "And when they heard of the resurrection of the dead, some mocked, and others said, We will hear thee again of this matter."

Deeply affected at their incredulity, at the vanity of their minds, Paul turned to a higher source for consolation, leaving his work with the Lord. But the labours of Paul in Athens were not altogether as water spilled upon the ground. "Howbeit certain men clave unto him and believed; among the which was Dionysius the Areopagite, and a woman named Damaris, and others with them."

Several observations occur to us from what has been said as to Paul's first visit to Athens. We select one or two. One is "the travail and labour" of soul that Paul, as a minister of the glorious gospel of God our Saviour, constantly felt that Christ might be formed in the hearts of those who heard him. Of all the cities in the world, Athens presented the most numerous and striking objects to attract the curiosity, and engage the attention, of an intelligent stranger. But even in Athens, one object wholly engaged the attention of Paul; the vast, the splendid, the imposing, but mournful exhibitions of Athenian idolatry. His heart was full of what he saw. His "spirit was moved within him." Who can describe the deep concern, the inconceivable anguish, implied in this expression! It arose from an unutterable solicitude for the overturning of idolatry; for the upbuilding of the Redeemer's kingdom; for the success of his ministry. This solicitude to "make full proof of his ministry," which Paul labors in vain adequately to express, we discover to be his predominant feeling, not only in Athens, but wherever he went—whether to Asia, or Macedonia, or Greece, or Italy. And to it, accompanied by the divine blessing, we are to trace his amazing success in preaching the gospel to the Gentiles. This exclusive devotion to his high and glorious calling, this deep concern for the salvation of souls, is not

* A variety of opinions on this point prevailed among the Stoics.

confined to Paul; it has also invariably distinguished every true, successful minister of the Lord Jesus. This "great desire" to have "fruit" in the ministry expresses itself in unceasing prayer, in tears, in groanings which cannot be uttered. It is the mark by which we may clearly distinguish between "the hireling" and "the good Shepherd." It was men of this spirit, who in this respect possessed eminently "the mind which was also in Christ Jesus," who, succeeding their Master, raised up from "stones, children unto Abraham." They were but a few men in number: yea, very few, and entire "strangers" in the cities and countries where they went to "preach the gospel of the kingdom." "They went from one nation to another, from one kingdom to another people," and their "entrance in unto" the heathen "was not in vain." The ignorant, especially in a religious sense, the superstitious, the licentious heathen, receiving the word of God which the apostles preached "not as the word of men, but as it was in truth, the word of God," became followers of the churches of God which in Judea were in Christ Jesus." Men of this spirit have sustained, revived, and enlarged, in all ages, the church of the living God. We discover in the earlier part of the last century an exhibition of precisely the same spirit, which "worked mightily" in Paul, in Brainerd in our own wilderness among the Indians, not only sunk in ignorance themselves, but contaminated by the vices of the whites, while, about the same time, but in another portion of the globe, we see its influence in the incipient stages of Methodism as Mr. Wesley went from London to Bristol; to Kingswood; to Wales, directed simply by the Spirit and providence of God. If the blood of the martyrs has been the seed of the church, it is this "travail and labour" of soul for sinners, in the ministers of Jesus Christ, which, in every age, and in every country, has built up the church as "a spiritual house, composed of lively stones, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ." It is this love for souls, this unutterable solicitude to "make full proof of their ministry," which they who love the peace of Jerusalem pray that the labourers may richly possess when they go forth into the wide field of the world already white unto the harvest.

We will venture to offer another observation suggested by our subject. It is the diffusive nature of Christianity. The philosophy of Greece, as has been already noticed, seems almost exclusively to have been confined to the richer and higher classes of society. "The vulgar" were regarded with "a smile of pity" indeed, but little, if any thing had been done at the time Christ appeared upon the earth, though about four hundred years had elapsed since the academy of Plato was opened, (which was quickly followed by the other schools,) to teach them the nature and perfections of the First Cause: to "turn them from idols to serve the living and true God." The great body of the people were still deeply sunk in idolatry. Not so with the Christian religion. Contrasted with the partial and exclusive nature of heathen philosophy, an increased beauty and force may be perceived in that declaration of our Saviour's, "The poor have the gospel preached to them." Not indeed that the rich were excluded from the benevolent and comprehensive design of the gospel, but that it was peculiarly adapted to the limited opportunities, the scanty acquirements, and the unfavorable circumstances of the poor. The brilliant

but cold beams of philosophy may have thrown a lustre upon the polished surface of heathen society, but it required the vital warmth and quickening energy of the Sun of righteousness to reach the very heart of a "world lying in wickedness," and to "cause righteousness and praise to spring forth before all the nations. This was to be effected not merely by enlightening and purifying one class, and that a comparatively small class, but by bringing every human being within the influence of that knowledge which is life eternal to them that "lay hold upon it." And as the great mass of society consists of the poor, and those in a middling condition in life, these were to be convinced of sin; to be instructed in all righteousness. Many were to run to and fro, constrained by the love of Christ, and knowledge was to be universally diffused among all classes and conditions in life. Is it not to this very principle in Christianity we are to ascribe the immense superiority in religious knowledge, in intellectual culture, in the social condition of the poorer classes now, to the same classes in the highest state of Athenian refinement? The gospel in its simplicity, truth, and power, is exactly adapted to the poor; but the metaphysical subtlety of Grecian philosophy never was. Blessed be the name of God, through the diffusive, practical nature of Christianity, the poor have the gospel preached to them.

Art. V.—WEST RIVER CIRCUIT.

I DESIGN to give you an account of the field of labour assigned me and my worthy colleague from our last conference, which, if you think it would not disparage the reputation of the excellent miscellany you conduct, it would be gratifying to see in its columns. I fear, however, from the range of observation in prospect, you may with reason, judge it too prolix for the patience of your numerous readers.* But there is one consideration which may be pleaded in justification this once. The voice of West River circuit, as such, has never been heard abroad, and it seems but reasonable to favour it with an introduction to the great community. It is the upper division of what was known, until our last conference, as Calvert circuit, and included entirely in Anne Arundel, excepting at the southern extremity, where the Friendship congregation wings out over a portion of Calvert county. It has its name, with its centre neighbourhood and post-office, from a beautiful sheet of navigable water which empties into the Chesapeake.

At a time when the tide of emigration is rushing on, thousands deep, into the forests of the far West, and we feel grateful to every traveller who will give us any, even the least intelligence of regions so interesting, and, till now, so little known; there is many an eye which runs over with eagerness the descriptions of forests, and mountains, and prairies, which opens daily, though listlessly, upon scenes as worthy of notice as those a thousand miles distant.

I am induced to make the foregoing remark, because the circuit of

* This was originally designed for the Christian Advocate and Journal, but has been thought more suitable for this place.—EDITOR.

which I furnish some account lies so immediately in the heart of the old state of Maryland, so contiguous to her large city of Baltimore—to her own capital—and to the capital of the Union, (the north-eastern boundary of the circuit being four miles only from Annapolis, and the western, twenty-two from Washington,) that it might be supposed there is nothing as regards its geographical situation, the features of its scenery, or the manners, morals, and religion of its inhabitants, which at this late day could command attention, as distinguishing it from other circuits in so old a state. The following particulars will show that *the West River circuit* is not only peculiar in respect to its situation; but that it is inhabited by a peculiar people.

This circuit is about twenty miles in length, and in breadth varies from eight to twelve. From the summit of a high hill in the immediate vicinity of Mount Zion meeting house, the eye embraces at once the whole extent of it, in length and breadth; and the observer thus favourably situated would be induced to exclaim, "Truly it is a goodly land!" Surely these people should have grateful hearts, for "their lines have fallen in pleasant places." That long unbroken line of blue vapour which stretches away from the northeast to the southwest through the whole extent of the prospect, and gives to every object on which it rests that soft azure tint so much admired in the paintings of Claude Lorraine, hovers over and indicates the course of the river Patuxent, which forms the northwest boundary of the circuit. Along its whole eastern border rolls the Chesapeake, presenting to the eye from the spot we have designated, as the sun rises over its broad wave, one burnished sheet of living gold. Following the windings of its shore, and passing over creek and inlet, and lofty forest, and highly cultivated plain, we reach the banks of South River, its northeastern boundary, near to which stands Hope Chapel, of which we shall speak in its place. Amid that range of hills which lift their naked heads against the southern horizon, stands the village of Friendship, at a short distance beyond which runs the line which divides the West River from the Calvert circuit.

Having thus taken a bird's eye view of the objects which designate the limits of the circuit, we proceed to speak more particularly of the country contained within them; and if the lover of the picturesque is gratified by the pleasing alternation of hill and dale, of field and forest, which is everywhere presented, not less satisfactory will be the result of inquiry to those more immediately interested; for in point of fertility of soil in the production of the staples of Maryland, no lands in the state surpass, and very few equal those of this district. Fertile as they now are, it is nevertheless true, that thirty, or even twenty-five years ago, the same lands were so worn down by injudicious tillage as to have become nearly worthless. Their recovery has been owing to the application of gypsum. While on this part of my subject, it would be doing injustice to the memory of a public benefactor to the district, not to mention the name of John Galloway, Esq., of West River. Having satisfied himself, by actual experiment, that clover could be made to grow on the most barren spots by the use of gypsum, though its *modus operandi* was then, as indeed it still is, utterly unknown, with much cost and trouble, for then it was difficult to obtain it, he strewed it lavishly on his extensive fields, and the

desert and waste places began literally to bloom and blossom as the rose. To men who had as little philosophy as Shakspeare's shepherd, the effect seemed nothing short of magical, and many a seedtime and harvest had attested its efficacy, ere it came into general use. It is needless to say that it is now universal.

If the inhabitants of a country on which we have bestowed so much praise are not thankful, it is not because they have wanted the means of grace to make them so—if they are not happy, it is not because they do not "hear the joyful sound." There are five commodious chapels belonging to the Methodist Episcopal Church, and two primary school houses, in which there is preaching once in two weeks, beside the houses for the exclusive accommodation of the coloured people, who claim an equal share of ministerial labour. In addition to which, there are two large and venerable Protestant Episcopal churches—the pulpit of one we know now is, and for several years has been, filled by a gifted, zealous, and spiritual minister; and of the other, although we have not a personal knowledge, the minister having been but lately inducted into the parish, yet we have reason to believe he is a truly estimable man, and highly acceptable to the congregation.

The inhabitants, of whom it remains that we now speak, can scarcely be divided into the two classes of rich and poor; for as, with a few exceptions, there are none who, in the common acceptation, can be called rich, so there are few who can be said to be absolutely poor. They seem, indeed, to be placed in that happy medium so favourable to sound morality and steady, consistent piety. Cool, quiet, and persevering, they continue to keep the noiseless tenor of their way through life, as though that speculating, improving, "go-ahead" system, which rages around, had never reached them; and as it is our heart's desire, and earnest prayer for them, that "they may be called" Hephzibah, and their land Beulah, because the Lord delighteth in them, we do fervently hope it never may.

So far as our observation goes, and it is co-extensive with the limits of the circuit, there is no strife in all its borders. On the agitating questions which divide the political world, there is here an unprecedented unanimity of sentiment. And on the still more agitating, because supremely interesting subject of religion, society here presents the image of an empire, composed of separate but not hostile provinces, whose subjects are ready to go forth, whenever the banner is unfurled, and who, in rushing forward in the great contest with the powers of darkness, are unmindful of every other distinction but that of the friends and foes of Jesus, being too eager for the contest to ask any other question than "Who is on the Lord's side?"

Of their domestic habits we might say much did time permit—*this* particular trait, however, must not be passed over—their unwillingness to leave home. So far is this carried that we know men of property, and information too, who, living within thirty miles of Washington, have nevertheless never seen the capitol. Men who daily read the speeches of our politicians, who have never seen the face of one of them; and it may be doubted if of the five hundred and twenty voters which this circuit contains, twenty of them ever saw General Jackson. Nearly every individual who is now the head of a family was born in it. There are some few exceptions, and even among

those exceptions our information can number but *three* who are not natives of the state of Maryland.

Among a people thus happily situated, it would at the first glance appear strange that there should be any who had not yet embraced the Saviour, and connected themselves with one or the other of the two churches which exist in the district, or that, having joined either, they should stagger for a moment at the promise, or fail to put forth their whole strength in running the race which is set before them. Alas! that this most melancholy consideration should here force itself on us, that the circumstance of their being *not far* from the kingdom of God may prove a possible reason for their not entering into it; if their being *almost* Christians should be the very preventing cause of their being *altogether* such! Whoever has examined the reasons given by Hannah More (from whom the last observation is borrowed) "why some good sort of people are not better," will perfectly understand our meaning; and to no persons on earth do those reasons apply with more force than to the unconverted part of society in this circuit. We may not, however, quit this subject, without acknowledging that if among these people conversions are not as numerous and as frequent as they should be, they are generally genuine; if the flame of devotion does not rise as high as we could wish it, its heat for the more part is regular and constant; and we humbly trust that in the day of account a goodly number both of Methodist and Protestant Episcopalians in this part of the Lord's vineyard will be found among those "who have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb."

This hasty sketch of the circuit would certainly be incomplete without some more particular mention of our places of public worship. We will begin with that of *Friendship*, which is a large and substantial building of brick, erected within the last two years, and capable of containing a thousand persons. It is neatly and most appropriately finished, and will suffer nothing in comparison with any place of worship out of a city in the state of Maryland. The spirit with which this building was undertaken by the membership in the vicinity of Friendship, the persevering zeal with which it was carried on, and finally completed, call upon the society to esteem them very highly in love for this work's sake: and but for that we know

> "Who builds a church to God, and not to fame,
> Will never mark the marble with his name,"

we would gratify our own feelings, and perform an act of gratitude, and justice, by enrolling them on this page. But what would it avail? seeing that we trust and believe their names are already written in the Lamb's book of life.

Passing upward, we come to Union Chapel, a small house, but Bethel indeed, accommodating a society of truly devoted Christians. The ground on which it stands was generously given by a member of our sister church, and the more generously, in that the gentleman who gave it is supposed to be warmly and devotedly attached to the particular tenets of his own denomination. Let it be our fervent prayer that in the great day for which all other days were made, he may hear these welcome words, "In that ye did it unto the least of these, ye did it unto me."

Following the course which we have prescribed to ourselves, we come next to the Swamp Chapel, a name so unpromising, that a stranger to the scenery around it will be surprised to hear that few situations can be more romantically beautiful for a place of worship, than the one of which we are now to speak. That large tract of land lying between West River and Herring Bay is called the Swamp, and in times not very remote was entirely covered by a noble and extensive forest of trees, furnishing timber the most valuable of any on the shores of the Chesapeake, and in many respects little inferior to live oak. It will readily be supposed that a forest thus valuable would not be suffered to flourish long within fifty miles of the ship-yards of Baltimore, and the winds and the waves have dispersed the greater part to all the corners of the earth. That part of it, however, which still remains, surrounds the chapel, and though from the ground's being level for miles, there is no running stream, and in summer it becomes hard and parched; and in the winter, when not frozen, is muddy and disagreeable, yet during the spring and autumn 'tis every way beautiful. The wood being in this place open, and free from brush and underwood, where neither shrubs nor weeds are to be seen, the green turf extends in every direction, over which the stately white oaks fling their gigantic arms, in some places so closely intermingled as totally to intercept the sunbeams; in others receding from each other; and forming those long sweeping vistas in the intricacy of which the eye delights to lose itself, while imagination pursues them, as the paths to yet wilder scenes of sylvan solitude. It is not, however, to be denied, that the Swamp, picturesque and inviting to the eye as it at times really appears, excepting in spots, is no desirable place of residence. The chapel is new and commodious, and in all respects evidences the fostering care of those who watch over its concerns. May they who are travelling through that "valley of Baca," ever find it a well on "the way which leadeth to the holy city," trusting in God to strengthen, and prosper, and conduct them to the house of his habitation, the place where his glory dwelleth.

We have now arrived at Mount Zion. This church stands at the base of a wooded hill, and in a tract of country where the axe has been ceaselessly plied since the days of Cecilius Lord Baltimore (for the ground on which it is built was once a part of his lordship's particular property.) It is both a pleasing, though uncommon circumstance, that it is nearly encircled by a grove of lofty oaks. The structure and *outward* appearance of the house itself do not well correspond with the natural beauty of its situation. But when we consider the difficulties that were to be surmounted, the deep-rooted prejudices that were encountered, ere it could be placed there at all, we can have no other feeling but that of gratitude, at finding it *where* it is, and such *as* it is.

Of those by whose exertions this house was built, two only, it is believed, remain. As they were the most efficient in building it, so they have been most active in supporting it—through summer's heat and winter's cold, for more than twenty years, they have occupied their seats in it. May they, when their pilgrimage shall close, with the enlightened society with which they are connected, hear the gladsome invitation, saying, "Friends, come up higher!" But many an eye will be dim, and many a heart will be cold, ere the names of

Robert Case and Benjamin Atwell will be forgotten amid the shades of Mount Zion.

We have yet to speak of Hope Chapel, of which, however, there is little to say. The location, it is presumed, is good, as regards the convenience of the surrounding inhabitants, standing, as it does, on what may be called the throat of South River Neck. There is nothing claiming particular attention in the house itself, though it may be remarked that its name will probably ere long descend to a substantial and inviting edifice, which, by the blessing of God upon the enterprise and liberality of brethren and friends, we trust shall be reared. But of a prophet's chamber standing hard by, it would be ingratitude to omit the mention. He who had kept it swept and furnished for the messengers of the gospel, during many a long year, has lately gathered up his feet and departed in great peace. Doubtless he has witnessed the truth of the promise, "Whoso shall give a cup of cold water to one of these in my name, shall in nowise lose his reward." But the chamber is as well prepared—the welcome is as warm and cordial as ever—for his leading staff has descended to no unworthy hands. The family he has left behind are all pressing toward the mark of the same high calling, and

> "When soon or late, they reach that coast
> O'er life's rough ocean driven;
> May they rejoice—no wanderer lost—
> A family in heaven."

Our charge, as suggested by the foregoing remarks, is so compact that we have been able to form it into three leaders' meetings, and to transact our official business with a degree of regularity highly desirable, and which contributes much to the health and prosperity of the whole. In our ministerial labours we have been favoured with a good degree of success. We cannot state, however, the precise number converted to God—but about two hundred and forty, professing, for the most part, the knowledge of sins forgiven, have united with the church, one hundred and ninety of whom are of the injured race of Africa. Some have removed, a number have died in prospect of a glorious immortality, a very few have been expelled, and here and there one on probation has been discontinued. But after deducting on every account, we have a considerable nett increase. To God be all the glory! There are in some instances, even here, lingering taints of that wicked, soul-chilling penuriousness which, practically, bids the preachers toil and suffer, and obtain from other resources their daily bread, or take comfort in prospect of their full reward beyond the grave; yet, generally, the spirit and liberality of the people speak out with David, "Neither will I offer burnt-offerings unto the Lord my God of that which doth cost me nothing." And we have ground for strong confidence that if the measures of our excellent Discipline are faithfully followed up, the time is not far distant when they shall experience a powerful and extensive revival of the work of God. The Lord send it speedily for Christ's sake! Amen.

Yours in the best of bonds, JOHN A. GERE.

West River Circuit, Balt. Con., Feb. 28th, 1837.

From the Biblical Repertory.

Art. VI.—MARTIN LUTHER AT THE DIET OF WORMS.

As soon as it was determined that Luther should appear at Worms, his enemies endeavored to bring it about that he should go thither without the imperial safe conduct, but with that of the elector alone. In this way, they thought that Luther would either be deterred, or that he might more easily be seized. But the elector did not countenance this proposal of the emperor, and upon this was issued on the 26th of March, 1521, the imperial citation to appear at Worms within twenty-one days, with a safe conduct, together with the bull and the discourse of Aleander. The former had this remarkable superscription: "To the reverend, pious, and beloved Doctor Martin Luther, of the Augustinian order;" and neither of the instruments contained any mention of a recantation to be demanded. He was furnished with letters of protection from the princes through whose territories he was to pass, as well as from the elector of Saxony and his brother John, and Duke George. As his personal escort Caspar Sturm was appointed herald, under the title of Germany. On the same account the elector expressly wrote on the 12th of March to the bailiff and council of Wittenberg, commanding them to provide that no hinderance in word or deed should occur, and that, if necessary, he should have a guard, and a respectful outfit. Luther then set out, in God's name, with his herald, for Worms, accompanied by Justus Jonas, afterward prebendary at Wittenberg, Nicholas von Amsdorf, Peter von Schwaven, a Danish nobleman, and Jerome Schurf, a civilian of Wittenberg.

At the same time it was that the pope, in excess of contentious zeal, repeated the excommunication of Luther in another form. On Maundy Thursday, the 28th of March, in the notorious bull *In coena Domini*, he included Luther among the other heretics who are annually condemned anew in the same way at Rome. "In the name (so it runs) of Almighty God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and by authority of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and also our own, we do hereby denounce and curse all manner of heretics, (among whom are included the Arnoldists, Wiclifites, Hussites, and Fratricelli,) and also Martin Luther, lately condemned by us, for like heresy, together with all his adherents and such as show him favor that he may escape punishment, whoever they be, and all other heretics, as they may be named, and all their fautors, adherents, and retainers. We excommunicate and curse all pirates, all who in their territories institute new taxes or exact such as are forbidden; all who furnish horses, arms, iron or wooden work or other forbidden articles to Saracens, Turks, and other enemies of the Christian name, enabling them to contend with Christians," &c. This new anathema, however, did Luther no injury, especially as every one knew how it must be regarded by him. At a later period, he published it himself, with keen and vehement notes, pungent sarcasm and sparkling wit, under this title: "The Bull *Abendfressen** of our most holy father the pope." At that period it was not un-

* In allusion to the title of the bull, *in coena Domini.*

common to attack human passion and hypocrisy in religion, with these weapons of sarcasm and coarse wit; indeed it was but a little before the appearance of this bull that the famous painter, Lucas Kranach, published at Wittenberg a series of wood-cuts, entitled "The Passional of Christ and of Antichrist," with titles by Philip Melancthon. In general, all that Germany could then boast of poetry and art was arrayed on the side of the Reformation, and voluntarily came into its service. The two greatest masters of the imitative arts, Albert Durer and Lucas Kranach, were friends and followers of Luther, and celebrated by their productions the name of this reformer and of the chief defenders of the pure faith. In 1523, Hans Sachs, the Nuremberg minstrel, composed in honor of Luther the pleasing song which even now is everywhere familiar, under the title of the Wittenberg Nightingale.

The vehicle in which Luther travelled to Worms was given to him by the council of Wittenberg, and drew from him a letter of courteous thanks. At Weimar, he received from Duke John a sum for his travelling expenses. At Erfurt his reception was particularly honorable. Crotus, at that time rector of the university, accompanied by Eobanus Hessen, Euricius Cordus, John Draco and others, forty being mounted and a large number on foot, received him two German miles from Erfurt, and escorted into the city the carriage or wagon in which Luther and his friends were journeying. Here and in all the streets through which the procession passed the throng became still greater. At the request of many he preached in the Augustinian convent. This entry and visit to Erfurt has been celebrated in four beautiful Latin poems by his friend Eobanus. At Eisenach he was sick. He was bled, and the mayor of the town gave him an excellent potion, after which he enjoyed a night's rest, and on the next day was able to continue his journey. Whenever he entered a town, multitudes of people met him, in order to see the brave man who had dared to withstand the pope. Some there were who gave him but poor encouragement, saying that as there were so many cardinals and bishops at Worms, he would certainly be at once burned to powder, as was Huss at Constance. But he replied, that if they should make a fire, between Wittenberg and Worms, that should reach up to heaven, he would nevertheless appear there, in the Lord's name, and in the jaws of behemoth, between his very tusks, confess Christ, and recognise his dominion. From Frankfort he wrote to Spalatin, that he had heard of the promulgation of the imperial edict: "We are coming, dear Spalatin, although Satan has laid a variety of ailments as stumbling-blocks in the way; for all the journey from Eisenach hither I have been indisposed, and am so even now, in a manner altogether unwonted. I hear likewise that a mandate of the Emperor Charles has been published to alarm me. But Christ still lives, and in his name will we enter Worms, in spite of all the gates of hell, and the powers of the air. I have made up my mind to brave and despise the devil. Prepare us a lodging forthwith."*

An attempt was made, by the practices of the archbishop of Mentz, as Luther afterward proved, to dissuade him from taking

* Ep. 309, De Wette. Ap. 14, 1521.—Tr.

the direct road to Worms, in order that he might go to the castle of Ebernburgh, and confer there with the wily Glassio. Possibly this took place in good faith, as that castle belonged to Francis of Sickingen, who in like manner sought a conference by means of Bucer. Luther, however, looked upon the worst side of the affair, being apprehensive of snares, and thought that they meant to detain him until the three remaining days of his safe-conduct should have elapsed. He therefore answered firmly, that he would go forward to the place whither he was called, and that he might be found at Worms. In Oppenheim he was counselled by Spalatin not to proceed directly to Worms, and thus place himself in so great jeopardy. But he replied to him, that he would go to Worms even if there were as many devils there as tiles upon the houses. In recounting this, a few days before his death, he added: "Thus reckless of consequences, can God make a man; I know not whether I should now be so light-hearted."

On the 16th of April he arrived at Worms. Before the wagon rode the imperial herald with the eagle arms, accompanied by his servant. Behind these came Justus Jonas with his academical Famulus. They were met by a number of the nobility, and at ten o'clock, when he entered the city, he was accompanied by more than two thousand men to his lodging, which was near the Swan, where Louis the elector palatine had his abode. In the same house with him were the Saxon counsellors, Frederick von Thunau and Philip von Feilitsch, both knights, and also Ulrich von Pappenheim the imperial marshal. This we learn from Veit Warbeck, a canon of Altenburg, who, on account of his familiarity with the French language, was retained at the court of the Elector Fredrick; he gave an account of Luther's entry into Worms to Duke John the brother of the elector.

On the very next morning he was cited by Pappenheim, the hereditary marshal of the empire, to appear before the imperial council the same afternoon, and this gentleman himself called for him at four o'clock, and joined the herald in conducting him. So great was the throng in the streets, that many ascended the housetops to get a sight of him; and to avoid the press, they went through several houses and gardens. As Luther was about to enter the assembly-hall, the famous general GeorgeFrundsberg, clapped him upon the shoulder and said: "Monkling, Monkling, thou art now on thy way to take a stand, the like of which I and many other captains have never taken in the fiercest conflicts. Now if thou art in the right, and sure of thy cause, go forward in God's name, and be of good cheer, God will not forsake thee." Ulrich von Hutten had likewise encouraged him by two noble letters, inscribed "to Martin Luther, invincible theologian and evangelist, and my pious friend." The former of these opens thus: "The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble; the name of the God of Jacob defend thee; send thee help from the sanctuary, and strengthen thee out of Zion; grant thee according to thine own heart and fulfil all thy counsel; hear thee from his holy heaven with the saving strength of his right hand. For what else, at this time, should I wish for you, most worthy Luther, my honored father? Be of good cheer; be strong. You see what a game lies before you, and how much is

at stake. From me you have every thing to hope. If you stand firm, you shall have me by your side until my last breath." Even in the assembly of chiefs, princes, counts, barons, bishops, and other deputies, there were those who gave public expression to their sympathies. According to the account of an eye witness, there were more than five thousand spectators, German and Italian, in the hall, and antechamber, and around the windows.* On every side Luther was encouraged to be confident, and not to fear such as could only kill the body. Marshal Pappenheim (the Pappenheims became counts at a later date) reminded him that as now standing before the emperor and other dignities, he must speak nothing except as he might be questioned. John von Eck or Eckius, the official of Treves, then came forward, and in the name of the emperor asked whether he acknowledged for his own certain books which were pointed out as lying before him, and whether he was willing to recant their contents. Upon this, Dr. Schurf, who had been assigned to him as his advocate, cried out that the books ought to be designated by name; and when this was done, Luther answered affirmatively to the first question, but prayed for more time to answer the second, which was allowed by the emperor. Indeed it was in the highest degree becoming to his own dignity, and that of this illustrious assembly, to evince the greatest caution, in these high and holy affairs, and utterly exclude every thing that might betray levity, want of solemnity, or stormy passion.

As he was now summoned to a second appearance before the diet, the interest and avidity of public expectation were increased, with regard to his decisive answer. To this audience he was again conducted by the herald, about four o'clock. He was however under the necessity of standing and waiting in the midst of a great multitude, until six o'clock. At this hour the torches in the council-hall were burning. When he was at length introduced, and allowed to speak, he delivered himself in the German language as follows:—

"Most serene emperor, and you, gracious electors, princes and lords,—as an obedient subject I appear at the limit yesterday assigned to me, and pray by the mercy of God, that your majesty and serene highnesses, as I hope, will graciously hear these true and righteous things. And if peradventure, from ignorance, I should withhold from any one his due title, or in other respects should exhibit an uncourtly demeanour, I crave your forbearance, inasmuch as I have never been at court, but always confined to the cloister; and of myself can offer only this, that in whatsoever has been heretofore taught and written by me in the simplicity of my heart, I have intended and sought only God's glory, and the profit and salvation of Christian believers, to the end that they might be rightly and purely instructed." And here he made a distinction among his books. Some there were, in which he taught correctly and in a Christian manner concerning faith and good works, his adversaries themselves being judges. These he could not revoke. Yea, said he, even the pope's bull, hot and hasty as it is, nevertheless

* George Vogler, secretary to the Margrave of Brandenburg. V. Mensel's Hist. Lit. Mag., 1802, I, p. 207.

makes some of my books harmless, though by an unnatural and monstrous decision it denounces the same. In a second class of works, he attacked popery and popish doctrine, which by false teaching and bad example had desolated Christendom in body and soul. For experience shows, and pious hearts bewail, and hence no man can gainsay or dissemble it, that by the pope's law and doctrines of men, the consciences of believers have been entangled, burdened, and tormented in a way the most lamentable and horrid; and their property, lands, and possessions, especially in this renowned German nation, exhausted and devoured with incredible tyranny, as indeed they continue to be devoured in the most unrighteous way up to this present hour. These books, therefore, he could not revoke, for so doing he should strengthen tyranny and corruption. "And O," cried he, "what a tool should I thus become to hide the shame of all villany and despotism!" The third class of his books comprised those aimed at certain private persons, who presumed to defend Romish tyranny, and to falsify or suppress the godly doctrine which he had taught. In these he had sometimes evinced more heat than became his calling, yet he could not revoke even these, lest he should give occasion hereafter for the defence of every ungodly thing, and lead the way to new abomination and fury. "Nevertheless," continued he, "since I am man, and not God, I can no otherwise support or defend my books than as my Lord and Master did with regard to his doctrine; who, when he was examined before the high priest Annas concerning his teaching, and was smitten by one of the officers, answered: If I have spoken evil bear witness of the evil. If then the Lord, who knew that he could not err, refused not to hear testimony against his doctrine, even from a poor sorry menial, how much more should I, who am dust and ashes, easily liable to error, crave and await whatever witness may be alleged against my teaching. Therefore I pray your imperial, electoral, and princely highnesses, as also all others high or low who may be able, by the mercy of God, that you would bear witness, and prove by prophetic and apostolic Scriptures that I have erred, and when I am convinced I will be willing and ready to recant all my errors, and be the first to commit my poor writings to the flames. And here I clearly and publicly declare that I have fully considered the distress and danger, the stir and variance, which will be awakened by my doctrine, and of which I was severely reminded yesterday. And of a truth it is to me the greatest pleasure and joy to see that contention and discord arise about God's word, for this is the very way and course and fortune of God's word. Wherefore we should well consider how wonderful are the counsels and judgments of God, lest perchance that which we pretend leads to discord and contention, should result (if in the confidence of our own strength and wisdom we should begin by persecuting God's word) in a frightful flood of invincible peril of both bodily and spiritual misfortune and injury. And we should beware lest the reign of this famous and excellent young prince, the Emperor Charles, (in whom under God our hope rests,) have not only its beginning, but its middle and end, evil and ungodly. I could much more fully explain and illustrate this point by examples from the Holy Scriptures, as for instance by the case of Pha-

raoh, the kings of Babylon and of Israel, who involved themselves in the greatest misfortune and destruction, mainly because they thought to quiet and sustain their realms by most wise plans and counsels. For there is one who taketh the wise in their own craftiness: who removeth the mountains and they know not; Job v, 13; ix, 5. Therefore it is needful to fear God. This, however, for the sake of brevity I now omit. And even what I say is not from the notion that such great princes stand in need of my instruction or advice, but because I ought not and will not withhold my bounden duty from the German nation, my dear native country; and with this I do most humbly and submissively beseech your highnesses that you will not suffer me to be disturbed without cause by my adversaries."

Thus, and at much greater length, Luther spoke in German. It was well known, however, that the emperor understood Spanish better than German, and moreover could not endure the German language, "and therefore (so Luther himself relates) as I so spake, they begged that I would repeat the same once more in Latin words: but I was sorely overheated by reason of the throng, and from standing below the princes. Then said Frederick von Thunau, If you cannot do it, Sir Doctor, that is enough. However, I repeated every word in Latin; this pleased Duke Frederick the elector exceedingly well.*

All this was uttered by Luther in the most humble and submissive manner. He elevated his voice but little in speaking, evinced no passion, but spoke courteously, modestly, and discreetly throughout, but with great cheerfulness and resolution. But when the official of Treves now interposed, and sharply demanded a plain direct answer, Luther replied: "Since then your highnesses demand of me a simple, unequivocal, and direct answer, I will give you this, which has neither teeth nor horns; I believe neither pope nor councils alone, since it is clear as day that they have often erred, and contradicted themselves. Therefore, until I am overcome and convinced by testimony of holy Scripture, or by open, plain, and clear grounds of reason, my belief is so confirmed by the passages I have produced, and my conscience so bound by the word of God, that I cannot and will not retract any thing. Here I stand: I cannot do otherwise. May God help me! Amen."

"When I had thus spoken, (says Luther in his narrative,) I was permitted to withdraw, and two persons were appointed to accompany me. Upon this a tumult was excited, and some of the nobles cried out to inquire whether I was led out under arrest; but I replied that these simply accompanied me. And so I came again to my lodging, and returned no more to the imperial council."

The cheerful confession of the truth which Luther here made in the face of the whole German empire, won him the hearts of many nobles and princes, even those who subsequently did not stand firm in professing the gospel, and also such as for other reasons had hitherto concealed their approbation. The old Duke Erich of Brunswick sent him for his refreshment a silver tankard of Eimbeck beer.

* It is to be regarded as a mere failure of memory, when Spalatin, otherwise well informed, says: "Luther made his speech firstin Latin, then in German."

Luther asked what prince it was who showed him this grace, and when he was told who it was, and that he had previously drunk out of the tankard, he was relieved from all suspicion, and said while he partook of it: "As Duke Erich has remembered me to-day, so may our Lord Christ remember him in his final conflict." The duke called to mind these words in his last moments, and desired Francis von Kramm, one of the pages who attended at his bedside, to strengthen him with evangelical consolation.* It is certainly true, says the excellent Spalatin, that God honoured Doctor Martin in such manner at the diet, that he was the object of greater attention than all the princes and gentry. As long as he sojourned at Worms, his inn was full of people. Beside other counts and gentlemen, I have with my own eyes seen at his lodgings, Philip, landgrave of Hesse; William, duke of Brunswick; and Count William, of Henneberg. And our gracious Duke Frederick, elector of Saxony, was so full of admiration at the Christian, intrepid answer of Doctor Martin, uttered both in German and Latin before his imperial majesty and the high estates of the empire, that just before supper, as he was about to retire to the bath, casting his eye on me, he gave me a sign to follow him into his closet, and when I entered, his grace said, with every mark of admiration, "Well indeed has Father Martin spoken before the emperor and the estates of the empire; perhaps with too much fire." "My noble master (added Spalatin) was somewhat timorous; for while he certainly loved Doctor Martin, and would have suffered greatly if any evil had befallen him, and also was unwilling to offend against the truth of God, still he was not prepared to commit himself with the emperor."

We perceive how truly Luther's affairs were an object of the elector's care and attention, from certain letters which this prince wrote with his own hand, during the diet, to his brother John. In one of these, dated January 16th, and of course before Luther was cited, he says, among other things, that he discerns how Luther is daily plotted against, in order that he may be put under the ban of outlawry by the pope and the emperor, and that every means was employed to get him into their power. "This," he adds, "is the work of the men who swagger in red hats, and the Romans with their retainers." He farther says, that on that very day the Landgrave Philip had arrived with six hundred horsemen, many of them valiant men, and that this prince had immediately come to see him, and his father-in-law, Duke George. The latter conversed in a friendly way with the elector. How his heart really stands, he adds, God only knows. On the 30th of January he writes that Martin's affairs were in the same condition as when he had lately written, but he hoped that God's truth would eventually come to light. In another letter of March 25th, he laments the onerous business to which he was subjected, and that he spends eight or nine hours every day in the council-hall. "Doctor Martin is cited hither, but I know not whether he will come. Every thing goes on tediously, and I am unable to promise much good." On the 16th of April, he writes, "I know not whether Luther will come; orders have been promulged against him:" meaning those concerning the surrender

* Seckendorf, German, p. 354.

of his books. "The cardinals and bishops are sternly opposed to him; may God turn all to the best! Would God I could render Martin some service; I should not fail so to do." On the 23d of April, when Luther had been admitted to his audience, he writes, "If it lay in my power I would gladly uphold Luther in every thing righteous. I assure you that you would be astonished if I were to relate how I have been harassed on account of these matters. It seems that they have no other intention than to hunt him down, and drive him to extremity. Whoever betrays the least favor toward him is accounted a heretic. May God, who surely will not forsake the righteous cause, direct it for the best! Concerning his discharge I will write in my next." On the 5th of May; "Martin's affairs have come to such a pass that he must be driven into exile; it cannot be prevented; but the event is with God. If by God's help I come to you, I will relate wonders. For you must know that not only Annas and Caiaphas, but also Pilate and Herod, are against Luther."*

Not long after this, farther attempts were made by various persons to induce Luther to recant. Among these was the popish theologian Cochlaeus; (his true name was Loffelmann, or Loffler, and Luther often called him Rotzloffel, or *impertinent coxcomb;*) he was afterward Luther's bitter enemy, although he made a merit of having shed tears in the greatness of his desire that the recantation should take place. There were not a few who thought that the best way of dealing with Luther was to deny him a safe-conduct on his return.† Among these was the elector of Brandenburg; but not only the emperor and elector Palatine, but also, strange to say, Duke George of Saxony, resolutely opposed this. In this controversy, Louis, the elector Palatine, with whom, as Mathesius says, German tranquillity and peace were buried, fell into such a quarrel with Joachim, the elector of Brandenburg, that, as Luther relates, they drew their knives. Duke George declared frankly that the princes of Germany would never allow so gross a scandal as that a safe-conduct should be violated, at the very first diet of their emperor; that this was not consistent with ancient German honor; what one promises he must perform. This was well said, and in a princely spirit, though by one who in other respects was a zealous foe.

It was still hoped that Luther might be influenced by private conversation. In a conference of this nature, in which Richard, archbishop of Treves; Joachim, elector of Brandenburg; Duke George, and certain counts and imperial delegates took part, Dr. Vehus, chancellor of Baden, led the discourse; and afterward the elector of Treves took him into a chamber apart, where were present Cochlaeus and the official Eck. On the next day, April 25th, Vehus brought forward the same business, morning and afternoon, with Dr. Peutinger. But the elector Frederick was unwilling that Luther should deal with these alone, and sent some of his own council. Finally, the archbishop of Treves undertook the matter himself, on which occasion Luther said that he knew no better

* Seckend. Weim. Arch., Lat., p. 158; Germ., p. 365.
† Sleidan. I, p. 148.

advice than that of Gamaliel: "If this council or this work be of men, it will come to naught; but if it be of God ye cannot overthrow it." He added, "If my work be not of God, it can endure only two or three years: but if it be of God, it cannot be overthrown." And when the elector inquired whether something could not be effected as to the recantation of certain articles, Luther answered, "Yes, gracious sir, provided they are not those which were condemned at Constance." "Those," said the elector, "are the very articles I intend." "As to these," said Luther, "I cannot move, happen what may."*

At length the desired discharge from Worms was granted to him. The official of the electorate of Treves and the emperor's private secretary explained to him that, as he had refused to yield himself to the unity of the church, notwithstanding many admonitions, their majesties must henceforth regard their character as defenders of the catholic faith; they therefore commanded him to betake himself to some place of safety, under safe conduct, within twenty-one days, and meanwhile not to disturb the people by preaching or writing. Luther answered, "As it seemed good unto the Lord so hath it happened: blessed be the name of the Lord." He farther gave hearty thanks to the emperor, electors, and princes of the empire, in the most humble and submissive terms, for the audience he had enjoyed, and for the safe conduct which had been accorded to him and was now continued. For he said he had sought nothing save that the Reformation, according to holy Scripture, for which he had been instant in prayer, should be set on foot and completed. In all things else, he was ready to do and suffer any thing for their majesties and the empire; life and death, honor and disgrace, and to count all these nothing, if only he might freely declare the word of God. And finally he solemnly and respectfully recognised his entire subjection to the emperor and the realm.†

In this manner Luther left Worms on the 26th of April, taking leave of his friends after an early meal. From Friedberg, where he arrived on the 28th, he sent back the herald who had accompanied him, being now in the Hessian territory; and gave him two letters, of which one was to the emperor, and the other to the states of the empire. In these, after a relation of all that had occurred at Worms, he laments that his doctrine had not been examined by means of the Scriptures, and renders courteous thanks for the *salvum conductum*. He concludes his letter to the emperor with these words: "These things I pray most submissively, not in my own name merely, for I am of no account, but in the name of the whole church; which has also moved me to send back this letter. For with all my heart I desire that your imperial majesty, the whole empire, and the illustrious German nation may be prosperously directed, and kept happy in the grace of God. Nor have I hitherto sought any thing but God's glory and the common salvation of all, not consulting my own profit; whether my adversaries condemned me or not. For if my Lord prayed for his enemies when he was upon the cross, how much rather ought I, with joy and trust in Christ, to be solicitous, to pray and to supplicate for

* Spalatin, I, p. 46. † Spalatin, I, p. 48.

your majesty, for the whole empire, and for my dear progenitors and the whole German nation, for whom I entertain every good hope, confiding in the foregoing representation."*

At his departure from Worms he was strictly commanded to forbear preaching; but he by no means consented to this condition, reserving to himself that God's word should not be bound, and that he should be free to profess and declare it. He therefore preached at Kirschfeld; where the abbot, who was a Benedictine, and one of the princes of the empire, received him with extraordinary honor, and even constrained him to preach, although Luther reminded him that he might thereby lose his abbacy. At Eisenach also he delivered a discourse. As he now turned aside from his course in order to visit certain friends near Salzungen, he was suddenly seized by a number of horsemen in disguise, taken out of his wagon, set on a horse, and after a circuit of some hours, in the forest, brought about eleven o'clock at night to the castle of Wartburg, near Eisenach. It was here that the ancient landgraves of Thuringia had their residence. Luther soon found that his captors were kind foes, acting agreeably to a plan of the elector, and with the privity of John of Berlepsch, governor at Wartburg, and Burkhard Hund, lord of Altenstein and Waltershausen.

The emperor being a young Spaniard, rather than a German, perpetually surrounded by foreigners, and practised upon by the popish legates, had sent a schedule to the diet, immediately upon Luther's audience, of the following import: "Inasmuch as Luther will not retract, the emperor, following the example of his predecessors, must defend the ancient faith, and the see of Rome, and pronounce a ban upon Luther and his adherents, nevertheless securing their safe conduct."†

As the young and impetuous prince, however, acted in this matter contrary to all the precedents of the diet, and without previously collecting the suffrages of the princes, it was deemed proper to take the business into consideration. Yet this sufficiently evinced the mind of the emperor and of his advisers, and what might be expected to ensue.

The elector of Saxony, on account of indisposition, had left Worms, and a number of other princes had also departed. The emperor passed immediately into Spain, where war and insurrection required his presence.‡ On the 26th of May this imperial edict was published, bearing the appearance much more of a papal bull than a decree of the empire. By virtue of this, Luther (and his adherents were included) was declared to be an open heretic, under ban and outlawry; his books were prohibited, and all who should protect him were subjected to the same penalty. All his crimes are rehearsed, and his books and their theological contents reviewed. Among other things it is said that Luther's doctrine is contrary to the doctrine of the seven sacraments, of holy matrimony, the holy eucharist, confession, priestly orders, the see of Rome, the mass, fasting and prayer, the fathers and councils.

* We have, of course, preferred the original Latin letter, De Wette, vol. i, ep. 312, date Ap. 28, 1521.

† Seckendorf, p. 355.

‡ Sleidan, p. 170; Robertson, ii, p. 250.

Moreover, he had written nothing but what tended to uproar, discord, war, murder, robbery, conflagration, and the total downfall of the Christian faith. For he inculcated a licentious, self-willed life, loosed from all law, utterly brutish,—showing himself to be a licentious, self-willed, and brutish man, who condemned and trampled on all laws, as he had been neither ashamed nor afraid to denounce decrees and spiritual enactments. "And, in fine, to omit the remainder of Luther's innumerable wickednesses, he has, not like a man, but rather the evil spirit himself, in man's form and with the assumption of a monkish cowl, gathered together sundry gross, long-hidden, and condemned heresies of many heretics, into one stinking pool, and added to these others of his own invention; and all this under pretext of preaching that faith which he uses his utmost labor to impair, and under the name and guise of evangelical doctrine to overturn and suppress all evangelical peace, love, and good order." It was also said that the powers now convened at Worms had agitated the subject with the greatest care, and with the clearest determination had concurred in this decision.* But in reality the diet had been already dissolved with all formality before this edict saw the light. The subsequent meetings of those who adhered to it were held not in the council-hall, but in the emperor's private chamber. They moreover appended to the edict the date of May 8, to cause a belief that the assembled electors, princes, and states of the empire had taken part in it. That this could never have been the case, is plain enough from the nature of the transaction, and still more from the unfavorable reception which the edict met almost throughout all Germany, even before the ink with which it was written was dry, as the Cardinal Julius de Medici, afterward Pope Clement VII., expressed himself. Sleidan says explicitly that it was the work of a few.† The contents and temper of the instrument may be judged by any one who is informed that it was drafted by Aleander.‡ He had here expressed and made public, as if officially, all the venom which had been boiling in his breast. For what though a league of more than four hundred nobles (as Pallavicini relates) was formed for Luther, or that the troops of Francis of Sickingen were in readiness, or that Hartmuth of Kronenberg, one of the most accomplished cavaliers of the age, had in utter disgust renounced his service to the emperor, which had brought him in two hundred ducats; still, as this imperial-papal edict exactly reached the end of setting the German princes with their people at variance among themselves, it accomplished precisely what Aleander had intended and declared: "Even though you Germans choose to cast off the Roman yoke, we shall nevertheless effect such a havoc in Germany by this edict, that you will tear one another to pieces, and be strangled in your own blood."§ It was not, as Frederick Schlegel says,‖ Luther's appearance at the diet, but

* Luth. Op. XV, 2264. † Sleidan, p. 163.

‡ Sarpi Hist. du Conc. de Trente. ed. le Courayer. I, 35.

§ Seckend., Lut., I, p. 158. Eia, si nihil adeo præclare his Comitiis effecimus, tamen certum est, nos magnum hoc edicto in Germania lanienam concitare, qua Alemanni, ipsi in viscera sua sævientes propediem in proprio sanguine suffocabuntur. Sculf. Annal. I, p. 75.

‖ Vorlesungen u. d. neuere Geschichte.

the manner in which he was treated, that gave the first occasion for the dissolution of the German empire, and the disruption of the German people, which of necessity took place afterward. At this diet there was seen no vestige of ancient German freedom, and of the laudable institution which made such diets truly national councils; for in order that it might not consist of mere secular lords and stupid dunces, there sat in the princes' council archbishops, bishops, and abbots.* But it was their duty to consult for the well-being of church and state in the German empire, and seriously and intelligently to discuss religious affairs. Even if this was not the proper time for disputation, yet both time and place were in the highest degree proper for considering the spiritual and eternal welfare of the German states, connected as for centuries this had been with their external prosperity. From the tenor of the imperial writs it had been expected that these religious affairs would constitute a leading topic of the discussions; for the words of the emperor imported that the diet was convened almost solely for this end. But now at length this edict was fabricated at the very close, as something supplementary; it was done in darkness, in a partial manner, and by few persons, and was then promulgated as the decision of the diet. "What grief has been experienced," says Ulrich von Hutten in a frank epistle to the noble Counsellor Pirkheimer, of Nuremberg, "by every German heart, at the wretched issue of this diet. His refusal to retract is enough, it seems, to subject this man of God to extreme condemnation. Blessed God! where will these things end? I truly believe that it will now be made apparent, whether Germany is governed by princes, or by well dressed stocks. For the ecclesiastics determine nothing in Luther's case but superlative wickedness and villany. Over Luther's last letter to me, I could do nothing but weep, when I read how unjustly he had been treated. Among other things, this was one, that he received his discharge under a command not to preach the word of God on his way home. O abominable outrage! O crime demanding the remediless wrath of God! thus to trammel God's word, and to stop the mouth of an evangelical teacher. Look to this, ye Christian princes! What will foreign countries say of this? I blush for the land of my fathers."†

In the preface to the Exposition of the 37th Psalm, Luther himself speaks thus concerning the transactions at Worms. "What a mockery have they introduced! I had hoped that the doctors and bishops there present would have given me a righteous examination; instead of this, the sole judgment was that I must recant. Through God's grace, this proposal was not agreed to by all the princes and nobles, or I should have been mortally ashamed of Germany, that she should have yielded herself to be thus befooled by the popish tyranny." He also wrote to Master Lucas Kranach, the artist, then at Wittemberg: "I supposed that his imperial majesty would have convened some fifty doctors, and have clearly refuted the monk. Instead of this, the whole transaction was no more than this, *Are the books thine?—Yes.—Wilt thou*

* Beside the emperor and the Archduke Ferdinand, there were six electors, who were also prelates, twenty-four dukes, eight margraves, thirty bishops, &c.

† Luth. Works, XV, p. 2322.

recant or not?—No.—Away with thee. Alas for us blind Germans!"* And farther to Spalatin: "It is no wonder that Charles is involved in war. The unhappy young man, who at Worms, at the instigation of evil counsellors, openly rejected the truth, will never more have prosperity, and will receive his punishment in the wickedness of foreigners; he will also involve Germany in his disaster, since she concurred in his ungodliness. But the Lord knoweth them that are his."

From the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine.

OLD METHODISM.

"Thus saith the Lord, Stand in the ways and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein; and ye shall find rest to your souls."

A LIVING divine, of great celebrity, has described Methodism as "Christianity in earnest;" a description which public opinion proves to be no less just than laudatory. Whenever any man, in any country, professes to feel the constraining power of divine love, and under its influence zealously devotes himself to the service of God, and the salvation of his fellow-creatures, he is forthwith styled a "Methodist." This general and instinctive proneness to identify whatever savours of experimental religion, or is singularly holy and benevolent in human conduct, with our connectional name, is highly honourable to the morality and piety of our people: and our heart's desire is, that we may more fully deserve the distinction, whether it be awarded in the spirit of eulogy or of scorn.

Religion is the life of God in the soul. The change which it effects in its subjects is fitly represented as a "regeneration;" by which "all things are made new;" as a "passing from death unto life," and from a state of "bondage" into "glorious liberty." Being quickened by the Spirit of life, and stimulated by the lofty motives of the gospel, those who experience this change are led to deny themselves of all "ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world." They "lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset" them; and they "run with patience the race which is set before" them, "looking unto Jesus."

Among other branches of holy and self-denying conduct, in which the fathers of our Connection sedulously followed their divine Exemplar, was that of RISING EARLY TO ENGAGE IN DEVOTIONAL EXERCISES. The venerable Wesley regularly rose at four o'clock; and, with his zealous coadjutors in the work of the ministry, he ordinarily preached at five. In his Treatise on Christian Perfection, after enumerating various instances of enthusiasm, he says, "Others thought they had not so much need of hearing, and so grew slack in attending the morning preaching. O take warning, you who are concerned herein! You have listened to the voice of a stranger. Fly back to Christ, and keep in the good old way, which was 'once delivered to the saints;' the way that even a heathen bore testimony of: 'That the Christians rose early every day to sing hymns to Christ as

* Luth. Works, XV, p. 2173.

God.'" His people, impressed by his appeals on this subject, and stimulated by examples so disinterested and influential, in like manner spurned the bed of sloth, rose with the dawn, and, congregating in the house of prayer, joyfully listened to the word of life, or joined in fervent supplications for the salvation of the ruined race. By means of these holy exercises their health was promoted, their term for labor was extended, their knowledge of divine things was increased, and their separation from the spirit and practices of the world was effectually secured. They were also made to feel that, in the estimation even of the ungodly, they stood fully committed to the cause of Christ; habits of self-denial and diligence were matured; and their devotional feelings were cherished and interwoven with their domestic arrangements and secular toil.

We are aware that, in the early periods of our history, the paucity of preachers, and the dearth of evangelical instruction, rendered these morning services more imperiously necessary to the carrying on of the work of God, than we can allege them to be in the present matured state of our discipline. But while this is conceded, we see weighty reasons why they should be patronised and perpetuated, as extraordinary and exciting helps to the devotion and zeal of the community. If we view them as a branch of that system of saving means which God so signally sanctioned in effecting the late revival, and which our fathers so highly prized, they merit our esteem, and ought not lightly to be laid aside. The prevalence of a mere Sabbath-day religion is a visible plague-spot on most of the churches in these lands; and we deem the services in question of great value, because of their tendency to cure this evil, by rendering piety habitual, and by teaching professors to mingle its comely and harmonizing manifestations with their every day business. The habits of the present generation manifestly veer to the side of softness and self-indulgence; and we, as conservators of whatever is calculated to renovate society, instead of DESTROYING, ought to STRENGTHEN, the defences against a tendency so corrupt, and so contrary to the religion of the cross. It is of vital importance to our spiritual prosperity, as a people, that our children and the junior members of our congregations should be taught to live by rule, to redeem the time, to improve their gifts, and familiarize themselves with the Holy Scriptures, and the cross-bearing part of the Redeemer's service; and what means, we ask, are more likely to secure these results than early rising and attendance on early worship? Many of our people are so engrossed with business, that, unless the door of the sanctuary be open in the morning, they are necessarily precluded from the possibility of uniting with their brethren in special intercession during the day; and, in times like the present, when iniquity abounds, and the love of many waxeth cold, it is unwise to neutralize the advocacy of any, even the meanest, among those who "pray for the peace of Jerusalem." The venerable men who are now at our head, bearing our banners, and guiding our counsels, were all trained to self-denial, and to habits of holy hardness, in their youth; and to this circumstance, under the divine blessing, much of that decision of character, Christian fortitude, deep piety, and ministerial usefulness, for which they have been so long famous, is doubtless traceable. Let their admiring sons in the gospel be prompt in imbibing

their spirit, and resolute in copying their example; so shall they in their turn be hailed and loved as fathers in Christ, and as burning and shining lights in the household of God. This short-enduring life is the seed-time of eternity; every moment is a deposite of incalculable value, because each in the series may prove the last. We have already wasted, not moments only, but months and years; and seeing we shall have to give a strict account of the entire term, it is surely high time that we shake off dull sloth, and diligently improve the remnant.

It is with feelings of no ordinary satisfaction we record that these morning meetings are on the increase in our Israel; and that the students in our Theological Institution are, for punctuality of attendance at their early service, patterns to the whole Connection. From this and other primitive arrangements connected with the government of that seminary, we confidently calculate on a material improvement in the piety and general efficiency of our ministry, invaluable and powerful as it now is. The revival of devotional practices, and of the spirit of self-denial, among the ministers and members of a Christian church, is at all times an omen for good, and a ground of joy; but when it takes place at a conjuncture when extensive openings for usefulness present themselves; when the enemies of truth and righteousness are compassing sea and land to make proselytes to skepticism and licentiousness, and are concentrating their forces against the cause of religious liberty and genuine piety; it is then ground of greater joy, inasmuch as it becomes to the faithful what "the sound of a going in the tops of the mulberry-trees" was to the army of Israel; namely, the prelude of certain victory to them, and of final discomfiture to their foes.

There is, perhaps, no class of ministers in the land who preach so many sermons as ours, nor any community of Christians who hear so many sermons as we; our desire, therefore, is, not that these early meetings should be converted into regular preaching services; but rather that they be devoted to the READING OF THE SCRIPTURES, WITH DEVOTIONAL REFLECTIONS, AND TO PRAYER. General and religious knowledge has of late been widely diffused through the land, and our societies have shared its general increase; what we especially want, therefore, is a deeper piety, a greater spirit of prayer, and a more intimate acquaintance with the oracles of God. The reading of the Scriptures was once much more common in our prayer meetings than at present; and, were our ministers, or, in their absence, the senior leaders and local preachers, to recommence the practice where it has fallen into disuse, they would render good service to the best interests of the body. Some individuals will probably think that such a plan would diminish the "life" of our prayer meetings; but for our part, we are very jealous of that kind of life which is liable to be cooled down by the reading of that word which was spoken by the "Lord of life," and which has proved "spirit and life" to tens of thousands now before the throne. Were those whose devotional habits are matured, merely to consult their individual pleasure and profit, they would probably prefer spending the morning hour in the solitude of the closet; and were we satisfied they could find no other season for secret intercourse with God, we should hesitate to require the sacrifice at their hands. But, trusting that this is the case with only very

few, and convinced that the spiritual prosperity of multitudes in our Zion will be promoted by the services for which we plead, we earnestly entreat all, even the most established, whether ministers or members, to ponder the matter, to take up their cross; and, in this particular also, to become followers of those who, in answer to never ceasing prayer, are now inheriting the promises.

Just in proportion as other communities become animated with the spirit of religious revival, they institute special devotional meetings; and, could we imagine that there existed among us any thing like opposition to them, we should quail; regarding it as the evil omen of departing glory. But, from all we know of our beloved people, we feel assured that they are prepared, at the bidding, and in imitation of the example, of those who are over them in the Lord, to "abound in this grace also."

Mr. Wesley was remarkable for his punctuality in all things; and particularly in BEGINNING DIVINE WORSHIP PRECISELY AT THE APPOINTED TIME. Though his paternal relation to the united societies imposed on him the labors of an almost uninterrupted itinerancy; and though his journeys were often long, and many of the roads over which he travelled all but impassable; yet was he seldom later than the specified hour. Rather than keep a congregation waiting, he would stand up in the open air, or haste to the preaching house, after a fatiguing ride, perhaps through drenching rain, and, trusting in the living God, would seek refreshment in the exercises of prayer and praise, and in pointing perishing sinners to the Lamb of God. His preachers, and the mass of the people, admired and imitated his example. In all those places where the cause of Methodism had attained to any maturity, his congregations might have addressed him in the words of Cornelius to Peter, "We are all here present before God, to hear all things that are commanded thee of God."

Many of our people, we joyfully acknowledge, are still highly exemplary in keeping up this decorous and primitive peculiarity; but the irregularity of others gives us pain, covers us with shame, and constitutes just ground of complaint. Were the worship of God a merely human invention, or were there no necessary connection between the prayerful use of ordinances and the salvation of the soul, we might regard this departure from godly order with indifference: but knowing that Jehovah will be "sanctified in them that come nigh" to Him; and remembering the frequent breaches which he made on Israel, because he was not sought "after the due order;" we tremble, lest that which was ordained to life should become an occasion of death to many who worship in our sanctuaries. The gospel is designed to be the power of God to our salvation; but, to make it so, the agency of the Holy Spirit is absolutely necessary; and for this, God will be "inquired of by the house of Israel." The most negligent among us would be greatly shocked, were our ministers formally to discard from the sanctuary service the reading of the Scriptures; and still more so, were they to commence preaching without previously invoking the blessing of God on themselves and their hearers: yet our late attendance plainly indicates that, in our opinion, the reading of the Scriptures is an unimportant exercise, and that prayer is not essential to the success of the ministry. We specify but a few

of the melancholy effects of late and irregular attendance on the ordinances of God, when we say that it generates disorderly habits in families and individuals, weakens respect for the forms and decencies of divine worship, induces hurry and distraction of mind, grieves the Holy Spirit, neutralizes the efficacy of the gospel, causes the faithful to "weep in secret places," and confirms those who value neither the form nor the power of godliness in their unbelief and impiety. On the other hand, the advantages of an early and devout attendance are both numerous and invaluable. By this means family arrangements and personal habits are subordinated to the will and worship of God; solemnity of mind is promoted; children and servants are impressed with feelings of reverence for the Sabbath and its blessed services; ministers are encouraged and assisted in the performance of their onerous duties: the character of the church is exalted in the eyes of the world; the blessing of the Most High is secured; and the conversion of sinners follows as a natural consequence. Our obligations to punctuality and fidelity in this duty are found in the injunctions of Scripture, the examples of such as excel in virtue, the nature of true religion, and the majesty and glorious attributes of the Being we worship, and on whom we are dependant for life and breath and all things. The most regular and conscientious worshipper may be too late on some rare occasion; but to be so generally, and after instruction and reproof have been administered, is an inexcusable negligence, and argues much mental blindness, and great contempt for sacred things. We are not ignorant of the subterfuges under which such persons hide themselves; but, as these are known to be what their name imports, we think it unnecessary to expose their futility; and, in conclusion, we beseech all, and especially those parents who are faulty in this particular, to examine whether an irregularity so distracting to others, and so disreputable to themselves, is really necessary? whether perseverance in it will afford comfort on a bed of death, or cause joy in the day of judgment? and whether the wickedness which is in the world, the militant circumstances of Zion, the leanness of their own souls, and the low state of religion in their families, are not reasons which should rouse to instant reformation? The injury they have done to their ministers, their fellow-worshippers, and the interests of piety in the church, is great: and if they would not constrain God to "curse their blessings," and leave them to cry in death, "The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved," they must amend their ways and their doings.

To escape the odium, and, as it then seemed, the evil, of preaching in church hours, and at the same time to furnish the means of salvation to the thousands who were without, Mr. Wesley, at an early period of his itinerancy, commenced the practice of calling sinners to repentance on the evening of the Lord's day. As the places of worship in the land were then generally closed, multitudes of all classes and characters flocked to hear; many were saved; and the beneficial effects becoming every day more apparent, the new service was perpetuated in the Connection. Perhaps no branch of the Methodistic economy has tended more to increase the societies and benefit the nation, than these Sunday evening sermons; and the secret of their

great success, subject to the power of the Spirit, has been their awakening and strictly evangelical character. On these occasions especially, our founder and his fellow-labourers purposely made the simplicities of the gospel the theme of their discourses. Their chief aim was to find their way directly to the hearts of their hearers; and to bring the controversy between God and them, in all the magnitude of its cause and final results, to bear on their consciences; urging at one time the greatness of their guilt, and the imminence of their danger; and at another, or rather in the same breath, affectionately plying them with the invitations of mercy, the expostulations of slighted love, and the assurances of a gracious reception through faith in the Redeemer. Their ministry was eminently a "ministry of reconciliation." Instead of waiting for the excitement and unction of an after prayer meeting, as necessary to the sinner's closing with Christ, they believed that the Holy Ghost could effect the work by the word of faith as it fell from their lips. Knowing the infinite love and merit of the Saviour whom they preached, they aimed at the conversion of all who heard them, they exhorted the convinced to expect salvation now, and boldly trusted that the breath divine would descend on the dry bones while they were prophesying.

Such was—and, we are happy to add, such is still—the general character of our Sunday evening preaching. And as multitudes of the unregenerate continue to crowd to these services, in expectation of having their sins reproved, their wandering steps directed, and their galled guilty consciences eased, we hope that no motives of delicacy, no fear of giving offence, no favourite scheme of prophetic interpretation, no fastidious criticisms from those who stigmatize such preaching as "lean and legal," as "a ministry of terror," and as a "dealing in fire and brimstone," will ever induce our ministers to deviate from the model which Wesley, Walsh, Benson, Clarke, and others, have left them. Such a style of preaching is not only necessary to rouse the careless, the profligate, and the self-righteous, but it exerts a healthful influence on believers, by reminding them of the rock from whence they were hewn, and the hole of the pit from whence they were digged; as well as awakening their caution, and stimulating their zeal and compassion in behalf of the perishing multitudes around. It is a great mistake to suppose that an awakening ministry must be shallow and declamatory; and that, as ministers become mature in knowledge and experience, they will, as a matter of course, confine their ministrations to such themes and subjects as are fitted only for the building up of believers. Declamation is not necessarily connected with the elucidation of any class of divine truths; and mere common-place remark ought never to disfigure the discourses of the man whose business and privilege it is to dig for knowledge in the exhaustless mine of eternal truth. It is given in commission to each ambassador of the cross, that he preach Christ fully; that he declare the whole counsel of God; and not only comfort pious people, but warn the wicked of his evil way, that he turn from it on pain of dying the death. The curse and the blessing, the law and the gospel, are equally divine; and will be alternately employed by the pastor who longs for the recovery of the lost, the increase of the flock, and the approbation of the chief Shepherd.

We humbly suggest, whether the ends of the Christian ministry would not be secured to a greater extent, if the reading of the Scriptures were made a part of our Sunday evening service?

The provision which Methodism has made for the spiritual profit of its adherents is no less judicious and abundant, than its plans for benefiting the world are expansive and benevolent. The classes and bands, together with the love-feasts and society-meetings, are all admirably adapted to afford that varied counsel, friendly caution, and manifold encouragement, which the members in their diversified circumstances require, and which cannot always be furnished in language sufficiently simple, or in a manner sufficiently direct, by means of public discourses. They serve also to unite the people in the bonds of a divine friendship, to place them on their guard against lukewarmness and other occasions of apostasy, to augment the stock of their saving knowledge, to promote the cultivation of their talents, and excite their pity for the feeble and the fallen. In all those churches in which reviving visitations have not been improved by the adoption of select meetings, in which the agency employed has been exclusively public, and in which the subjects of divine influence have not been separated from the world, and taught to retire within the veil, to commune with God and with such as "abide under his shadow," the Spirit has been grieved, the glory has departed, and a wintry sterility has again prevailed. Whereas in our community, (all praise to God!) the revival which gave existence to our societies has advanced from age to age; and, to the present, the dews of divine influence fall richly on each little hill of our Zion; the Sun of Righteousness shines with increasing brightness; and, notwithstanding the desolation caused in some quarters by recent storms, scenes abounding in the beauty and fruitfulness of a divine prosperity spread before our delighted eyes.

In all this we rejoice; and, rejoicing, are justly jealous of every thing which appears to indicate indifference to a class of means so owned of God, so scriptural in their constitution, and so singularly felicitous in their results; a class which we believe to be no less necessary to the thorough leavening of the world with the renovating influence of the gospel, than they are to the purification and enlargement of the Christian church. Men of all ranks and professions, from the rulers of nations down to the lowest mechanics, find it necessary to unite for the purpose of taking counsel how to reach perfection in their several callings, secure success in their various enterprises, overcome the difficulties with which they have to contend, and counterwork the opponents who labour to thwart their designs. The necessity of these associations is felt by all, and their advantages are shared by all. If it be necessary for the children of this world to hold consultations, and to borrow mutual aid for the accomplishment of their terrene and ephemeral purposes, how much more for believers! The loftiest design which the mere man of the world ever frames is mean, and the most Herculean labour in which he engages is childish, when compared with the labours and designs of the true Christian. The one builds for time, the other for eternity; the one pants for the praise of men, the other endeavours to deserve the approbation of God; the one is busied about affairs which he may manage, understand, and secure, without supernatural aid or teaching, whereas the other is occupied about subjects of eternal moment, which no man can either

secure, relish, or understand, without the assistance and counsel of Almighty God. In worldly associations, there are of necessity many rival interests, selfish feelings, and envious desires; because the successes of one are frequently based on the disasters of another; and the accumulation of one man's property leads to the deepening of another's poverty. But in the religion of Jesus there are no rival interests, and there is no selfish monopoly. On the contrary, it is designed to destroy envy, jealousy, and wrath from the heart of universal man; it teaches us to regard every man as our brother, and annexes a reward to each tear we shed over his misery, to each gift we bestow for the relief of his poverty, and to every word we utter with an intent to promote his edification. It first gives existence to brotherly love, and then bestows a bounty on its continued exercise. Christians are one body, actuated by one spirit; having "one faith, one hope, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in them all." They, therefore, act in character when they meet together, to "confess their faults one to another;" to "pray for one another, that" they "may be healed;" to "weep with them that weep, and to rejoice with them that do rejoice;" to "declare what God hath done for" their souls; and to "exhort and provoke one another to love and to good works." Not only so, but those who forsake the assembling of themselves together for these benign purposes, on account of worldly engagements, pleasurable pursuits, family prejudices, or personal grievances, render their piety questionable, and prove that the influence which Christianity exerts on their minds is only partial.

Mr. Wesley's uniform testimony was, that, wherever these social services were slighted, the work of God declined. "If you would avoid the sin of schism," he says, "observe every rule of the society and of the bands, for conscience sake. Never omit meeting your class or band; never absent yourself from any public meeting. These are the very sinews of our societies; and whatever weakens or tends to weaken our regard for these, or our exactness in attending them, strikes at the very root of our community. As one saith, 'That part of our economy, the private weekly meetings for prayer, examination, and particular exhortation, has been the greatest means of deepening and confirming every blessing that was received by the word preached, and of diffusing it to others, who could not attend the public ministry; whereas, without this religious connection and intercourse, the most ardent attempts by mere preaching have proved of no lasting use.'" As far as our observations have reached, the more recent history of the Connection fully corroborates these statements: and the reason is obvious. When these scriptural usages are neglected, the authority of God is contemned, the example of Christ and of his holy apostles is disregarded, the promptings of the Spirit of unity and love are resisted, and on all these accounts he is grieved and eventually withdrawn. Were the members of a family never to taste domestic joys, or share domestic griefs, except in the presence of strangers, their home attachments would insensibly cool; the tender sensibilities of brothers and sisters would settle down into the inert virtues of a conventional courtesy; and the enthusiasm with which they once united to maintain the untarnished lustre of the family fame, and repel the open or the secret assaults on the family peace, would ere long evaporate into mere general regards, formal professions, and selfish expe-

diency. In like manner, were the members of our societies never to meet but under the gaze of the world, and never to commune but on themes so common that all might hear, brotherly love would soon be blighted, and its finer manifestations entirely prevented. We might, indeed, boastfully point to our temples, saying, "See, what manner of stones and what buildings are here;" but we should cease to rejoice in them as the dwellings of our God, and the birth-places of our souls. The embassage of the Lord might still be proclaimed in our ears; but, instead of greeting the faithful ambassador with the prophetic welcome, "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings!" we should either slight his entreaties, or count him our enemy because of the truth which he fearlessly proclaimed. Under such a relaxation of discipline, apostasies would doubtless take place, but they would cause no grief; conversions might happen, but they would kindle no joy; penitents would be left to sorrow, saying, "No man careth for my soul;" and the faithful, finding their numbers, their influence, and their opportunities of usefulness, diminishing, would weep and refuse to be comforted. The wreck which some churches have suffered, and the lukewarm state into which others have fallen, prove the possibility of this fearful consummation; and all who deprecate even a distant approximation to it on our part, ought to set an example of punctual and devout attendance on our social meetings. The great Head of the church obviously intended that the Methodists should stand as "lights in a benighted land;" but, to be such, we must trim our lamps with more than ordinary diligence, and wait upon the Lord for fresh oil, in the spirit of watchfulness and persevering prayer. Having received more than others in the form of privilege, we must do more in the way of duty; otherwise the grants of benevolence will be forfeited, and he, "in whom we live, and move, and have our" connectional "being," will raise up another people, who will be more exemplary in showing forth his praises, and in carrying out his designs.

The importance which Mr. Wesley attached to CLASS MEETINGS may be estimated from the fact, that he made attendance on them a term of membership with the society. This circumstance strongly evinced his moral courage, his dread of worldly alliances, his faith in the converting power of the gospel, and his unwavering conviction that Methodism was the work of God. It also furnishes a complete refutation to the thousand allegations made in proof of his pride and ambition. Had he been ambitious, in the common acceptation of the word, would he have made and maintained an arrangement which fixed a great gulf between him and all who did not openly and consistently profess a determined desire to flee from the wrath to come? and which, in its efficacious working, deprived him annually of hundreds of disciples, many of them rich and influential, whose greatest sin was indifference in the business of personal salvation? To reap the full benefit of those meetings, great care must be taken not to "cast our pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend" us. Those only who fear and love God can appreciate and improve statements relative to the soul's conflict with the powers of darkness, or to its intercourse with the God of love. We deprecate the admission of unawakened persons to the enjoyment of our church privileges, as an evil which, independently of the prostitution of sacred things that it implies, leads to unholy

partnerships and unscriptural marriages, furnishes the hypocrite with a cloak whereby to deceive, lays the truly pious under restraint, places a stumbling-block in the way of the blind, and prevents the Lord of hosts from going forth to battle with the army of our Israel. The guardians of our discipline, whether ministers or class leaders, cannot be too vigilant on this point. The church is God's temple; and no man can innocently and with impunity introduce, or take measures to retain, the unclean within its sacred precincts. While, therefore, we afford the utmost encouragement to such as mourn after God, to attend our classes, let us, on no account, bring in the scoffer, or him that is at ease in Zion.

Whether we consider religion as a system of truth, which is to be studied and believed; or as a divine directory, the precepts of which are to be obeyed; or as a gracious economy, the provisions of which are to be received and enjoyed; it exhibits a sublimity of design, and an amplitude of detail, in respect of motive, duty, and privilege, more than sufficient to engage the mind, excite the energies, inspire the songs, and satisfy the desires, of the highest archangel before the throne. While this is admitted, it cannot be denied that there is a proneness in religious persons to slide into a formal and superficial mode of speaking on religious subjects, and particularly in stating Christian experience; a mode which is injurious to themselves, unedifying to others, and embarrassing to their spiritual guides. To avoid this evil, we must watch unto prayer, search the Scriptures, practise self-examination, and carefully improve passing events by subordinating them to the advancement of our high calling. Before we meet our brethren in class, let us secure time for a solemn review of our walk with God, our intercourse with the world, and the workings of our affections in relation to friends and foes, to the present and the future world. If our joy abound, we should point to its source; if we have suffered loss, we should acknowledge the fact, and refer to the reason; and if our feet have been placed on the necks of our enemies, we should state the means, as well as the enriching effects, of our triumph. Let us never hide our religious enjoyments from a fear they should prove transient; neither shut up the floods of our grief, through a dread that others will be discouraged. If we be scrupulously honest in our statements, we shall sometimes have but little to say, and that little will be of an abasing character; but on other occasions we shall have to tell of manifestations beyond what language can express. Whether we speak of our temptations, labors, sufferings, or joys, let us never indulge in the language of exaggeration; never aim at display, or try to excite astonishment in the minds of our brethren; but recollecting that our good is all divine, let us reverently and joyfully give the undivided glory to the Triune Jehovah, to whom alone it appertains.

Though the class meetings are invaluable, the number of the members, and the necessary brevity of the time allotted for the relation of experience and the giving of advice, render a full development of the soul's case, in the aboundings of its joys and griefs,—its hopes, fears, and mingled perplexities,—impossible, if not improper. To obviate this disadvantage, and furnish such as were on stretch for full salvation with all the privileges of an enlightened, holy, and confiding

friendship, Mr. Wesley instituted minor meetings, called BANDS. These are more select than the classes, union with them not being essential to membership. The individuals who meet in each band are few, generally three, and seldom more than four, one of whom acts as leader or monitor; they meet weekly, and are always of the same sex, and ordinarily of the same station of life. The band rules and directions are peculiarly strict; and to all who are not determined to follow the Lord fully, they must prove irksome; but to such as live for God alone, and are content to practice a system of self-denial, involving total abstinence from worldly pleasures and expensive indulgences, they are not grievous. That man is little better than an outcast from society, who, though he has many acquaintances, has no friend to whom he can disclose the secrets of his soul, assured of disinterested gratulation in prosperity, and unfeigned sympathy in suffering; and though the true believer, especially if he be a member of our society, cannot be either solitary or unhappy, yet he wants an ingredient necessary to the completion of his joy, who has not found one or more of his Lord's disciples with whom he can take sweet counsel, and in whom he can repose a more than brotherly confidence. In band meetings we reap a double advantage over those men who merely keep a diary; for not only is our previous self-scrutiny rendered more complete by the relation of its results, but we hear the experience of our brethren, and receive such cautions and encouragements as our case requires, and as their love suggests. That meetings which require an unreserved disclosure of the sentiments and feelings of the heart, on all subjects cognizable by conscience, and affecting the interests of the soul in its intercourse with God, are liable to abuse, is manifest; and the knowledge of this liability sustained by some painful proofs that it is not ideal, and added to the fact, that one or two of the "directions" are, if not needlessly severe, wholly inapplicable to the present state of things, has prevented them from becoming either so popular or so numerous as it is desirable they should be. We regard them as a desideratum in Christian fellowship; and are free to testify, that the period during which we met in band was the holiest, the happiest, and the most useful portion of our Christian life: and the recollections of scenes and manifestations in the "upper room," impoverishing and enriching, instructive and exhilarating, abasing and emboldening, serves still to shed a cheering and healthful sunshine through our soul. Satisfied that the revival and increase of the meetings would be beneficial to our Sion, in these days of public excitement and antinomian delusion, we greatly desire that the committee appointed to review the minor branches of our discipline, would take their general constitution, together with the causes of their decline, into their serious consideration. If any of the rules and directions are really objectionable, let them be altered; if time and a change of circumstances have rendered others obsolete, let them be rescinded; and if additional guards be necessary to prevent abuse, let these be instituted: but let us on no account suffer to sink into decay meetings which our founder patronized, which the most devoted of our people have always esteemed, and which are so clearly sanctioned by Scripture examples and apostolic precept.

Our LOVE-FEASTS, it is well known, are held in imitation of the *agapæ* of the primitive Christians, though under a simpler form and a

more expressly religious character. They are, perhaps, the most popular and exciting of our social meetings; and while the work of conversion goes on in the Connection, they are sure to preserve their interest, and command our esteem. In them our veteran fathers were wont to speak at large of the debasing and torturing tyranny to which they were subjected while in the camp of the enemy, and of the liberty, peace, and joy they obtained by casting themselves on the Sacrifice, and by touching the golden sceptre of Immanuel. They dwelt with delight on the condescension and power of their conquering Captain, the impenetrable character of their shield, the ground they had won, the ambushes they had escaped, and the rebels they had subdued. And, to excite caution and circumspection in their less experienced fellow-soldiers, they were not backward to recount the wounds they had received, the devices by which they had been ensnared, and the shame with which, in some instances, they had been covered, through neglecting their Captain's commands, or by vainly presuming on their own strength. Having found the "living water, of which whosoever drinks shall never thirst," they deemed it their duty to make the fountain known, and the way to it plain. Having detected the world's vanity, after a laborious search, and a thousand expensive and painful experiments, they published the cheat; and having proved the power of Christ to forgive sins, and to make all things new, they magnified his love, commended his service, and encouraged the soul engulfed in grief to honour his name, by boldly venturing on the rock of his merit. None thought it vulgar to declare the lovingkindness of their Lord, or accounted it a grievous cross to confess Him who, in their cause, heroically went without the camp, bearing the sign of ignominy and the instrument of death.

If aught be wanting to make the love-feasts of the present day as interesting and edifying as those of primitive times, it is that our aged and influential members should take a more prominent part in the solemn service. Reason does not more clearly dictate that "age should speak," than that youth should listen and learn. Every incident connected with the formation of our societies, the persecutions of the preachers, and the conversion and experience of the worthies who are still permitted to rear their reverend heads in our assemblies, is of the utmost value to us "who are but of yesterday, and know nothing." We cannot hear too often, or too largely, of that experience which represents the love of God shed abroad in the heart, grace reigning over nature, the strength of God made perfect in human weakness, the knowledge of God illuminating our darkness, and the fulness of God filling our emptiness; which exhibits the truth of God tried, the glory of God seen, the goodness of God tasted, and the sufficiency of God experienced. These meetings have, from the beginning, been useful in drawing such of our hearers as were under conviction into acquaintance with our ministers, and ultimately into union with the society: and, to improve this happy tendency, it might be well if the names and residences of all who obtain notes of admission, and who have a work of grace on their hearts, were taken down, and apportioned among the preachers and leaders the ensuing week. By this arrangement, which has already been adopted in some circuits, the classes will be increased, the actual success of the ministry will be ascertained, impostors will be detected, and the wounded will

soon experience a cure. In our economy of church fellowship, love-feasts may be regarded as stimulants; and, to be permanently useful, they must not be made too common. The propriety of holding them quarterly, in our smaller chapels, may be fairly questioned; inasmuch as it adds to the Sunday engagements of the preachers, which are, in many circuits, already too numerous; interrupts the meeting of the classes, and the orderly discharge of Sunday school duties; nourishes a gadding, gossiping disposition, in such as prefer excitement to seclusion, and the opportunity of making a speech to the privilege of hearing a sermon; and above all, because it weakens the common sympathy and strong brotherly affection which have hitherto distinguished us as a people, and which are matured by a frequent union of the minor societies with the mother church. The practice of lending "society tickets" to persons whom our regulations exclude, was strongly reprobated by Mr. Wesley, who regarded it as a practical falsehood, and a gross deception on those appointed to guard the ordinances and privileges of the body. Viewed in the mildest form, it is "doing evil that good may come;" and, as the principle of such mistaken zeal has been denounced by the Holy Ghost, we trust the evil complained of, so far as it now exists, will be abandoned by all who desire their own or others' salvation.

The MEETINGS of the SOCIETY, which are devoted to exhortation and prayer, have been less frequently held of late years, than in primitive times; and we fear they are not so highly esteemed by the children as they were by the fathers. Formerly the announcement of a "society meeting" created feelings of gladness in every heart. It was regarded as a kind of family feast, to which all the members were invited, at which the father, rather than the preacher, presided; from which hatred, envy, and jealousy were banished, as by common consent, and in which love reigned, while holy cautions were administered, divine consolations imparted, godly instructions communicated, and various cases of conscience resolved, to the great joy of those who walked in darkness and had no light. For these services we know that several of the old preachers prepared themselves by much previous study; and none of the people who could remain thought of retiring till the whole was concluded. Serious members of the congregation were occasionally permitted to remain; and many of these, in succession, were not only led to exclaim, "Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity," but, resolving on an entire dedication of themselves to the Lord, they added, "This people shall be my people, and their God my God." Knowing to what an extent the Sunday engagements of our people have been increased since the establishment of Sunday schools and Tract Societies, we are at a loss what to recommend as a means of reviving these fruitful and truly Wesleyan meetings. It is well known that our ministers are in the habit of throwing the sum of their mental and physical energies into their Sunday evening discourses; and, after thus spending themselves, they generally hold a prayer meeting, often more exciting than the preceding service. Of their zeal for the salvation of the unconverted, we cannot but approve; yet, at the same time, we are of opinion that, in the result, it would be more profitable both to the church and the world, if, on every third or fourth Sunday night, they shortened the public service, and, in imitation of their

fathers, delivered to the society a short and well digested address on some relative duty, or on such of our rules as involve these minute points in Christian conduct and experience which do not ordinarily fall under pulpit discussion.

Mr. Wesley's views on all matters involving the salvation of man were generally far in advance of the prevailing opinions of his contemporaries. They were so particularly on the subject of TEMPERANCE. Though unaided by the influence and agency of any society having for its specific designs the extinction of intemperance, and the reformation of drunkards, he preached, wrote, and legislated on the subject with memorable decision and intelligence. He openly denounced ardent spirits as poison, dram-drinking as a practice which led to death and hell, and the trade of distillation as inflicting a flagrant outrage on the rights of God, the interests of the state, and the well-being of the bodies and souls of men. He required of all who were admitted into his societies, that they should "cease to do evil, and learn to do well;" and among other stipulations on which their continued membership was suspended, this was one.—that they should neither "buy nor sell spirituous liquors, nor drink them, except in cases of extreme necessity."

For many years after this rule was promulgated, it was scouted by multitudes as a monastic enactment, alike inimical to health and to social intercourse; and the few who pledged themselves to its observance were regarded as aliens to all the amenities of friendship and good neighborhood. But since the investigation which the subject has received from the advocates of temperance, it has been lauded as oracular by thousands who have no connection with our community, but who are the flower of their respective churches, the friends of the poor, and the patrons of literature and science. In adopting the temperance principle, they did not design to put honour on our founder; but what of that? They have honoured truth, promoted the interests of morality, and contributed to remove a mountain barrier to the salvation of the outcasts of society. And though some of their associates have injured the cause they professed to uphold, not only by an indiscreet zeal, but by a relapse into their old ways, it cannot be denied that much light has been diffused, and that the tide of intemperance, which threatened a general inundation, has been stemmed, if it be not turned.

Though the Wesleyans of the present day are a temperate people, we cannot affirm that the rule in question is either generally enforced, or generally kept, in its literal and obvious meaning. A liberal but unauthorized interpretation has been put upon it, which has had the effect of making it, with many, a dead letter. This is ground of regret; but it affords us pleasure to add, that the number of those who act according to its strictest, and, as we think, its true import, is rapidly on the increase; and we trust the day is not distant when we shall be of one mind, and shall have but one way, in this great matter. While it is our settled conviction, that more of our ministers and members have been degraded by this sin than by any other, we wish distinctly to avow our belief, that our brethren who take the liberal side of the controversy, abhor intemperance, and deprecate the idea of their ever falling under the power of the evil, as heartily as we. What we say on the subject is not said to make them temperate, but

to keep them so; not to arrest them in an evil course, but to guard them against ever entering on one, and to excite them to adopt decisive measures to save those who are heedlessly following "the multitude to do evil." Neither do we desire that they should formally enrol themselves as members of the Temperance Society; but simply that, by keeping our own rule, they should redeem the Connection from the charge of inconsistency, and set an example to the church in all her sections, of a great Christian community uniting to deny themselves of a popular indulgence, and to rescue the nation from the fangs of a monster vice, which has long been preying on its physical, moral, and religious energies. No class of transgressors are more firmly tied and bound by the chain of sin, or are so generally chargeable with the guilt of resisting the Holy Ghost, as spirit-drinkers. When the habit is fully formed, their case is all but desperate; and we despair of rendering them permanently sober, unless we can instrumentally succeed in awakening their conscience, and inducing them to cry mightily to God to save them from hell, as well as from temporal ruin. On this account we are anxious that the temperance cause should be advocated in connection with "repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ;" and that we, and the other churches, should make not only temperance in general, but abstinence from the sale and use of ardent spirit, a *bona fide* term of membership. In our case the task is easy, and the sacrifice would be inconsiderable.

Such a consummation as this is not only devoutly desired, but confidently anticipated; and, when it arrives, it will both deepen the tone of public morals, and augment the piety and usefulness of our community. If those professors who have hitherto used ardent spirits as a daily beverage, faithfully review their past life, they will find that the practice has, on some occasions, disqualified them from worshipping God in spirit, produced a sensible diminution of divine joy, led into unprofitable discourse, interrupted their plans of family and closet devotion, and in these and other ways grieved the Holy Spirit, whereby they were sealed. What has happened once may transpire again; and if, with the monitory experience of the past fresh in their recollection, they enter anew into temptation, God may deny them that aid to which their former escape was attributable: and should he do so, neither their sense of propriety, nor strength of principle, will save them; but their names will perish from the records of the church, and their memories be coupled with scenes of brutality and vice. "Wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging; and whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise." The stream of dissipation has carried down thousands who never intended to wade beyond its shallows. If confirmed drunkenness has in every instance been preceded by a habit of temperate drinking, who does not see that safety lies in abstinence? The man who trifles with strong drink may be overcome; whereas he who abstains cannot be overcome. If it is wise to guard our trading transactions with bills and bonds, and our dwellings with bolts and bars, it cannot be unwise to throw the guard of abstinence around our moral character and our spiritual interests.

"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," is a precept no less binding in its obligation, than it is reasonable in its nature. And if we can prove that spirit-drinking squanders the property, depraves the reason, destroys the health, and ruins the soul of our neighbor, it

will follow, that it is our duty to discourage the practice by every means in our power. In the city of Glasgow, about four hundred and fifty thousand pounds are annually expended in the purchase of intoxicating liquors; and in the United Kingdom upwards of twenty millions are sacrificed to the same purpose. Were this sum employed in procuring food and other necessaries, there would not be a shoeless woman, nor a starving man, nor an uneducated child, in all the land; but prostituted as it is, it renders the distress and the profligacy of the country tenfold more than they would have been, had the mighty sum been cast into the depth of the sea.

Dr. Johnson, for several years prior to his death, drank no wine; and the reason he assigned for his abstinence was, that "he loved to be always rational." At no period of his life did the doctor drink ardent spirits; and if his giant mind could not maintain its characteristic rationality under the fumes of wine, we need not wonder, though thousands, who, compared with him, are but children in understanding, are rendered maniacs through the use of strong drink. It appears, from the evidence given before the Committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the evils of intemperance, that one half of all the inmates in the largest lunatic asylums in the metropolis, and in provincial towns, have been deprived of reason by means of alcohol. This is an appalling fact; and yet it does not exhibit the whole truth. For all those acts of suicide which are committed during the early stages of the disease, as well as the cases of hereditary insanity brought on in the first instance by intemperance, are clearly ascribable to spirit drinking. Who that has ever heard the howling of the frantic maniac, or seen him while he tore his hair, beat upon his breast, or dashed himself against the grating of his cell, would hesitate to adopt the strictest abstinence, if, by so doing, he could restore him to his right mind? Our supposition is vain! The malady cannot be cured by our utmost efforts; yet we are not debarred from the bliss of doing good to others; for, by abstaining ourselves, by lifting up our voice against intemperance, and by exerting our influence to induce the drunkard to reform, and the respectable part of the community neither to buy nor sell, neither to taste nor touch, the accursed thing, we shall contribute to render madness and suicide calamities of rare occurrence.

That ardent spirits, taken in large quantities, are injurious to health, is admitted both by the temperate and intemperate. Fevers, dropsies, consumptions, gout, palsies, and apoplexy, are only a few of the diseases they generate. Medical men of the first respectability in Great Britain, Ireland, and America, have given it as their deliberate opinion, "that the human frame does not need to be stimulated by alcohol, or other means; that ardent spirits, taken as a daily beverage, however moderately, are injurious; and that a large proportion of the diseases which destroy life are attributable to spirit drinking." The testimony of these gentlemen ought to weigh with the public. Like others in their profession, they live by the diseases of their fellow-men; and yet they disinterestedly testify against a practice which gives birth to four-fifths of the complaints they are called to cure. That the practice is injurious to the soul, does not admit of a doubt. "Drunkards shall not inherit the kingdom of God." With only few exceptions, the slaves of this vice are chargeable with almost all the sins for

which men shall be damned in that day. They are unbelievers, Sabbath-breakers, swearers, and whoremongers; as husbands, they are cruel; as parents, negligent; as children, undutiful; as neighbors, quarrelsome; and as tradesmen, dishonorable. Every drunkard is a walking pestilence, and a public nuisance; an enemy to God, and a factor for the devil. "He casteth abroad firebrands, arrows, and death; he deceiveth his neighbor, and saith, Am not I in sport?" The wo of such will be the heaviest wo; and their hell will be the nethermost hell. If so, our path is plain, and our duty is obvious. We profess to love our neighbor as ourselves; and, doing so, we are bound personally to renounce, and by every means in our power to discountenance in him, an evil which tends to starve his family, dethrone his reason, brutalize his passions, enervate his constitution, abridge his life, and ruin his soul. We cannot escape from the duty which devolves on us in relation to this matter, except it be by asking, with the first murderer, "Am I my brother's keeper?"

We love our king and country, and they deserve our love; we pray for their prosperity, and they merit our prayers: we are prepared to defend them against every assailing foe, and they are entitled to the most valorous defence we can afford. Foreign enemies, blessed be God, we have none; but there is a home incendiary, a domestic assassin, who, in a time of profound peace, is murdering thousands of our population, is stealing millions of our money, is consuming our grain, increasing our taxes, corrupting our youth, filling our prisons, and endangering our national character and tranquillity. That incendiary is intemperance. To it we deliberately attribute nineteen-twentieths of the crimes which are punished by our judges, of the suits which enrich our lawyers, of the accidents and diseases which shorten life; and far more than this proportion of the pauperism, family feuds, and general wretchedness, which disgrace and afflict the land of our fathers, which, but for this enormous ill, would be the glory of all lands. A radical and universal reform here would advantage the nation in all its interests, and through all its borders. Methodism, in connection with other systems and societies, has already contributed to the commencement of this reform; but its capabilities for carrying the reformation to a successful termination are greater than its greatest friends imagine; and were its energies and various agencies fairly enlisted in the service, the cause of temperance would receive an impetus such as it has never received, and such as no other community could have imparted. National crimes bring down national judgments; and to avert these by removing their cause, is true philanthropy. The patriotism which occupies itself in effecting moral reforms, is a virtue of the highest order; and the Christian community which does most to accomplish these, answers best the design of God in continuing to men "the ministry of reconciliation."

In conclusion, we desire to see Methodism more fully identified with the cause of temperance, on account of the intimate connection which exists between that cause and the revival of "pure and undefiled religion." None but God can estimate the amount of talent which spirit drinking has neutralized, or the quantum of divine influence which it has forfeited, or the magnitude of those barriers which it presents to the progress of truth, or the number of souls it has sent to the bottomless pit. With a ministry, said to be the most able in the world, a

peasantry generally instructed, the Bible in almost every house, and places of worship in every town and hamlet, what is the state of morality and religion in the nation? Alas! iniquity abounds; sound conversions are few and far between; the forms of family religion are not found in the tenth house in the land; while Sabbath-breaking, uncleanness, and juvenile delinquency are fearfully on the increase. Many causes have, doubtless, contributed to bring about this lamentable state of things; but, far above all others, we place intemperance; verily believing that this single sin is destroying more souls than all the ministers in Britain are instrumental in saving.

Thus it is at home; and if we look abroad, we see the same cursed thing corrupting the heathen, and causing them to blaspheme our holy Christianity; seducing the native Christian, making him "twofold more the child of hell" than he was in his pagan state; and casting a general blight over the fair fruits of missionary toil. Could we only induce ministers and church officers, together with the mass of the professing community, to abstain from the pestiferous liquid, and in their respective spheres frown upon its use under any form, then might we hope for "times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord." Followers of Christ, and members of the Methodist Society, if you love yourselves, your fellow-men, your country, and your God; if you dread his wrath, revere his authority, and respect his laws; if you would see his name adored, his Sabbaths sanctified, his temples crowded, and his cause flourishing both at home and abroad; then renounce the use of spirits, refute the false pleas by which they are recommended, be temperate in all things, and unite in scriptural efforts to banish intemperance, with its attendant evils, from the face of the earth.

CEPHAS.

From the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine for Jan. 1837.

Review of the Rambler in North America: 1832—1833. *By* CHARLES JOSEPH LATROBE, *Author of the "Alpenstock," &c.* 12*mo.* 2 *vols. pp.* 321, 336. *Second Edition. Seely and Burnside.*

THE large number of books of travels which have of late years issued from the press, present, as might be expected, a great variety of authorship. Too many of them exhibit little more than the restless vanity of the writers, who appear to have been most careful to preserve, both in travelling and writing, that smiling air of self-complacency which calls on every body to treat them according to their own estimation of their merits and importance. Formerly, "returning from their finished tour," in the course of which they had only "grown ten times perter than before," they would have been satisfied with being "talking sparks;" but now, forsooth, the whole tribe of them must be writers. Time was, when they were only the insufferable coxcombs of private society; but nothing will content them now but telling the public that they have been "round the world," "to see whatever's to be seen." It is at once amusing and vexatious to meet with works of this character. They would be perfectly soporific were it not for the varying effects produced on the reader's mind by the proofs which are continually forced upon it of the vast difference between the writer as he really is,

and as he wishes to be thought to be; between the truth and the pretension. But this is by no means the worst of the case. That which is perfectly useless may yet be perfectly innoxious. Not thus is it with writers of this class. While they add little or nothing to the stock of general knowledge, they often administer very largely to the stock of public prejudices, and exasperate that bitter exclusiveness which is by so many mistaken for patriotism. There are some who appear to have gone abroad in the temper in which a Jew or a Samaritan might have travelled through each other's territories. If they are not always angry, they seem to be always under the influence of the opinion that the interests of different countries are essentially and irreconcilably at variance; and that that is the most prosperous and palmy state of a nation in which the spirit of a hostile rivalry with all others is fiercely predominant, at once pervading the public feeling, and guiding the administration of public affairs. Of this temper there are two very opposite developments. In the one, nothing appears to be aimed at but the discovery or invention of faults; while the other, renouncing all the feelings and attachments of home, seems never so happy as when instituting comparisons to its disadvantage and dishonor. The men of this class often endeavor to monopolize the name of patriots, while they make it evident that their patriotism consists in little more than a partially disguised hatred of their father-land and its institutions.

The evils of which we thus complain seem especially to be found among English travellers in America. It would be easy to find instances of an evident determination to condemn every thing American, as though the mother country could only be honored by the infamy of her descendants. Their public institutions and domestic manners are, by the writers of this class, held up to ridicule and scorn with a pleasure and flippancy which at once prove the viciousness of the heart, and the imbecility of the understanding; while every excellence is either explained away or concealed, as though no praise could be given to America but at the cost of England. And, on the other hand, instances are equally common in which the same vicious imbecility is shown in that monstrous antipathy to every thing English which has been gendered by a spurious liberality. Englishmen have gone to America for the purpose of slandering their own country, and paying to the one they have visited the equivocal compliment of exalting her at the expense of that to which they belong. Instead of expanding the local into the more general affection, and pledging their patriotism as the best security for their philanthropy, they endeavor to conceal their traitorous hatred to the land of their birth, by noisy professions of their attachment to another; professions which are significant only of their own egregious vanity and self-conceit.

We wish we could exempt from these censures such travellers in America as constrain us to acknowledge their talents, even while we thoroughly and most conscientiously dissent from their opinions. Some of the most respectable of the English tourists in the United States (respectable, we mean, both for talent and character) have been among the most guilty. Nor need we search long for the reason. In England they have been political partisans, and they have carried all their prejudices with them in their voyage over the Atlantic; thus strikingly illustrating the well-known verse of

Horace, which Mr. Latrobe has significantly placed on his title-page:—

Cœlum, non animum mutant qui transmare currunt.

"The sky they change but not the mind,
Across the seas who go."

So long as nature only is contemplated and described, their prejudices remain, for the most part, quiescent; but so soon as man appears on the scene, they start up in their full strength. And hence it is that those travels, especially in America, are the most interesting, in which we are chiefly led amidst natural scenery. The elementary components of a landscape are the same everywhere; and the tourist, as the painter, has only to describe what he sees, addressing himself, in so doing, to the common feelings of our nature; whereas, human actions and human institutions will always be seen in connection with the preconceived notions of the observer, and will be described, not as they are in themselves, but in the character which they receive from their comparison with long cherished ideas, whose accuracy we never dream of suspecting. The time may come—we believe it will come, but we fear that at present it is far distant—when the extensive diffusion and powerful influence of Christian truth shall have so augmented the knowledge of man, and enthroned in his conscience the great principles of justice and benevolence, that the tourist, whether American or English, may safely make man his study; and when, by publishing the results of a profoundly philosophical observation, he shall excite an interest as general and pleasing as that which the happiest descriptions of natural scenery would now produce, without any fear of flattering the base, or exasperating the malignant, passions of our fallen nature. Such books of travel may already be very common in Utopia or the New Atlantis, but they are very scarce both in England and America.

In the mean while, and till these better times come, we are thankful to find a work whose least praise it is to be free from the glaring defects to which we have adverted; and which, if it does not answer to our *beau ideal* of a book of travels, has far more to recommend it than many of much greater pretension. When Mr. Latrobe first published his "Alpenstock," we were scarcely able to lay it down till we had rambled with the author among those natural sublimities (with all their stirring associations) which the Old World presents; and we anticipated no ordinary pleasure when the publication of the volumes before us invited us to accompany him to the New World, and ramble with him north and south, and east and west, through the great republican Union there. Our expectations have not been disappointed. In Mr. Latrobe's volumes there is far more of performance than of pretension; and more performance than a hasty reader, or perhaps than any reader, on a first perusal, will perceive. The author always writes good humoredly, even to a degree of playfulness; and he always writes honestly. But though honesty and good humor are the obvious characteristics of the Rambler in North America and Mexico, yet, occasionally, there is observable a depth and power, a comprehensiveness and discrimination of thought, which prove that had he chosen to take the lance rather than the walking-stick, and invade the debatable ground on the borders

of which every traveller in America unavoidably moves, there are few better qualified to make and maintain conquests there.

A few extracts, while they serve to justify the favorable opinion we have expressed, will be, at the same time, interesting to such of our readers as may not have the opportunity of perusing the entire volumes.

Mr. Latrobe sailed from Havre in April, 1832, in company with Washington Irving, and the Count de Pourtales, whom he calls "a cheerful and accomplished travelling companion, who, I believe, was bent, like myself, on forming opinions from observation."

The views and feelings with which he entered on his "rambles" shall be given in his own words:—

"Preparatory to this visit, my efforts were more negative than positive; by which expression is meant, that I attempted to keep my imagination and my mind unbiased and uninfluenced by preconceived notions, from whatever source they might be drawn, rather than, by reading the works, or listening to the opinions, of preceding travellers, to run the risk of adding the prejudices of others to my own. As a foreigner, and above all, an Englishman, about to travel in a country where comparison would force itself on the mind at every turn, it was to be feared that there were obstacles already existing in my own bosom, in the way of forming a sound unbiased judgment of men and things. Education, habit, political bias and tastes might all be arrayed on the opposite side, even supposing there were an absence of violent and uncontrollable prejudice. For the rest, I flattered myself that I had some advantages to counterbalance the great disadvantage of being born within the sound of Bow bells. I laid some claim to the character of an old traveller, having seen divers countries beside my own. Difficulties and asperities which might disgust others from their novelty, might not work with equal effect on the temper of one whose European rambles had made him pretty fully acquainted with both the rough and smooth passages of a traveller's life. Providential circumstances had, as you are aware, prepared for me a home, and a place in society, as long as I should remain in America. I was, as you may recollect, no very violent politician; and was inclined, whether from natural indolence, or dull good nature, to allow a very considerable diversity of opinion in my neighbor, as long as he took care not to contradict me. I had seen enough of mankind in divers countries to believe that no system of government is of general application, and that the government must be made to suit the people, and not the people to suit the government. I loved my own country and its institutions better than any other on the face of the earth, and had no fear of giving a preference to any other, however its peculiar advantages might excite my admiration; and I need hardly add, that no change has been wrought in this feeling, in which I hope to live and die." (Vol. I., p. 8.)

"You will not look to me for elaborate sketches and dissertations on transatlantic politics; for I am quite ready to own my poverty of satisfactory information on that head. Virulence of party, with all its concomitants of misrepresentation, falsification, and personality, is found within the United States in as great a degree as within the bounds of Britain; and leaves little for a stranger like myself to do, after attempting to pry into the state of politics in America,

whether by means of the public prints, or of private inquiry, but to turn away with mingled disgust and despair.

"You must not expect pages of statistical information, relations of stage-coach, steam-boat, and tap-room colloquies with Captain *This*, or Judge *That;* anecdotes abounding in slang, and stories at second hand; much less, sly peeps into the interior of families, who may have exercised the rites of hospitality toward the stranger.

"As to the first, you may find them elsewhere; and moreover, however correct at the time I might have procured them, they would probably be erroneous by the time you wish to draw deductions from them. The second and third have now neither novelty nor good taste to recommend them; and as to the last, you may miss a great deal of egregious amusement, but I respect myself, even if I did not love my neighbor, too much, ever to repay the confiding hospitality of private families by such cold-blooded displays of disloyalty." (Vol. I., p. 10.)

We quote a specimen or two of Mr. Latrobe's descriptions of American scenery:

"We were set ashore at the little port of New-Haven, in Connecticut, and subsequently pursued our journey through the centre of that State to Hartford and Northampton. In landing among these, the early settlements of the New World, after glancing at the States more to the southward, you are struck with the air of comparative antiquity in many objects. The houses, the enclosures, and the trees planted among them, have a much more English appearance. The towns and villages are more thickly strewed over the face of the country, and their outskirts much less ragged and less encumbered with rubbish and building materials. The population seems to be at home on the soil, and children to have succeeded to the inheritance of their fathers for many generations. Old houses of imported brick, aged Lombardy poplars, grass-grown and discolored pavements and thresholds, and orchards full of gray distorted apple-trees, mark the vicinity of many of the earliest settlements. Here or there stands an ancient tree, the sole surviver of the original forest, and a boundary mark of the first colonists. The cemeteries are more spacious and more decently maintained than you will observe elsewhere; and within their precincts you see many a time-stained tomb-stone, of the exact pattern and fashion in ornament and inscription as those picturesque memorials of the dead which crowd the hallowed church-yards of the mother country. The signs of long and steady cultivation may be remarked on the face of the landscape; and all these things combined throw a degree of interest over the country, apart from the charms of natural scenery, which contrasts agreeably with that air of rawness and newness which is imprinted upon the works of man in other portions of the continent, and which is so opposed to any thing like poetry and sentiment. The valley of the Connecticut river struck us as one of the most lovely we had ever beheld. Many are the beauties with which nature has decked the verdant, fertile, and park-like shores of that pastoral stream in its lower course, as it winds among flourishing towns, and bears upon its broad bosom the fruits of the industry and commercial activity of a busy population. The numerous villages have a delightful appearance in the dis-

tance, with their clean-built, white houses, their gardens, and broad streets. The weeping elm is the glory of New-England; and trees of great beauty and size not unfrequently line both sides of the streets, and cluster about the older mansions." (Vol. I., p. 44.)

"The ascent of the highest summit of the cluster, (of a detached group of the White Mountains, in New-Hampshire,) Mount Washington, six thousand two hundred and thirty-four feet, was attempted by our party under disadvantageous circumstances. Upon gaining the summit, after some hours' toil and much expectation, we were enveloped in a heavy mist, which set our patience at defiance, and sent us cold and wet on our downward route. A solitary scramble to the summit of the third in rank, situated in the same chain, which I had contrived to accomplish the preceding day, under better auspices, allows me to give some faint picture of the scenery of the White Hills. As a mountain view, it was truly magnificent, though by far the most gloomy I had ever beheld. The entire group, save five or six of the most elevated mountains, which rear their scalps of micacious rock over a belt of dwarf fir, appears invariably clothed to the very summits with the dense northern forest; and, excepting here and there in the deepest valleys, or at such a distance that the gazer could but just detect the difference amidst the blue tints of the horizon, where the swelling surface sank imperceptibly down towards the lower country, the eye was scarcely relieved by the sight of cultivation. No rock could be descried except that which heaped up the highest summits; no bright green pastures were seen on the steep slopes; no white cottages shone like stars from afar; but here and there the precipitous declivities were deeply seamed by tremendous earth-slides, appearing like gashes in the dark face of the mountains. A number of misty lakes gleamed in the distance to the southward; and occasionally you saw the white smoke rising from some upland valley, where a hardy son of the soil had pitched his habitation, and begun his struggle with the wilderness and its inhabitants." (Vol. I., p. 57.)

If our readers should ask, "And who are the inhabitants?" they will find the melancholy answer almost unconsciously given in the very next paragraph:—

"From my description you will gather that the upper districts of this mountain region are still in the state of nature, as wild as when the red warriors, two centuries ago, gathered themselves together in their recesses, and leagued for the destruction of the intruders on their coasts; and, with the exception of the Indian tribes, the district is still tenanted by almost the same inhabitants. Here the bear, the catamount, the Siberian lynx, the wolf, and the lordly stag, still find harbor." (Ibid.)

Mr. Latrobe, having proceeded to the Falls of Niagara, (his description of which we should be glad to copy, had we room,) at first intended to visit the Canadian provinces; he was induced, however, to agree to accompany one of the members of a Commission appointed by the general government, to arrange various matters with the Indian tribes, newly congregated on the western frontiers. The Commission was to be stationed at the frontier post of Fort Gibson, about eight hundred miles up the Arkansas river, and thither they were to go by way of St. Louis and the State of Missouri. A considerable part of the first volume is occupied with

the account of this journey into "the far west," in which he was accompanied by his fellow-travellers from Havre to America, the Count de Pourtales and Mr. Washington Irving. This is one of the most interesting portions of Mr. Latrobe's wanderings. We are carried by it to the forests, and prairies, and rivers of Western America; to the receding and diminishing children of the desert, and to the pioneers of civilization, with their triumphant industry and flourishing settlements, their virtues and their vices. We had marked a number of passages for extract, but must be contented to give two or three.

We do not recollect to have met with a more glowing description of prairie scenery than is contained in the following paragraph:

"I should despair of being able to convey any idea to your mind of the glories of the autumnal Flora, covering these immense natural meadows like a rich carpet. God has here, with prodigal hand, scattered the seeds of thousands of beautiful plants, each suited to its season, where there are no hands to pluck, and but few eyes to admire. After the early grass of the spring begins to shoot up through the blackened surface of the scorched soil, it becomes spangled with a host of flowers, the prevailing colors of which are white and blue. These, as summer advances, give place to a race in which red predominates; and when the yellow suns of autumn incline over the west, their mild rays are greeted by the appearance of millions of yellow flower, which, far statelier, and of ranker growth than their predecessors, rise over their ruins, and seem to clothe the undulating surface of the prairie with a cloth of gold. The great predominance and variety of the *heliotrope* and *solidago* species, give this tint to the landscape; at the same time there are many showy and beautiful plants, products of the same season, of less glaring colors. Such are the *astres*, from the large and beautiful species which displays its rich clustres of blue and purple flowers in the brake, to the small delicately-leaved varieties, seen on the more open grounds. You observe whole districts covered with the tall and striking flowers of the red or white *eupatorium;* and everywhere among the long grass, the *liatris*, or rattle-snake's-master, shoots up, and displays its spike of red flowers. Then there are the exquisite varieties of the *gentiana*, with their deep blue; and a thousand other flowers, which I cannot undertake to describe. At this season the dwarf *sumach*, in hollows, and on such parts of the prairie as have remained untouched by the autumnal fires, becomes a striking feature of the open grounds from the blood-red hue of its leaves and fructification."

(Vol. I., p. 126.)

The junction of the Mississippi and Missouri:—

"The 'Father of Waters,' with his clear bright expanse, and gentle current, is, in fact, swallowed up in the turbid and boiling volume of the 'Mother of Floods,' as she comes rushing in at right angles upon the central valley, a few miles above St. Louis; and, though it must be allowed that the southerly course of the Mississippi is preserved even after the point of junction, and the breadth of the latter is three times that of its mighty tributary, yet the attributes of the Lower Mississippi are in fact those of the Missouri.

"No European can form an adequate idea of either of these great rivers, expanded like lakes, while their waters are seen rushing forward through the rich forested country like mountain torrents, tearing down the banks, changing their beds; and from their turbid color, and the quantity of mud and slime with which they are heavily charged, having all the appearance of rivers in a state of extraordinary flood; yet so they have boiled on from year to year, and from age to age." (Vol. I., p. 131.)

The amazing fertility of the fresh soil in the great valley of the Mississippi is very forcibly described by Mr. Latrobe:—

"The settler had, in the course of the preceding spring, bought three hundred acres of land of the State, at a dollar and a quarter per acre. He came to work upon it in the month of April, at which time the sound of the axe had never been heard in these forests. During the course of that month, he girdled the trees on ten acres, built himself a log hut, and brought his family out from Independence. At the close of May, after burning the brush-wood, and slightly breaking the surface, he sowed the ten acres, upon which the sun now shone freely, unobstructed by the dying spring foliage, with a bushel and a half of gourd-seed maize; and, at the time of my visit in September, he showed me a crop upon the ground ready to harvest, of fifty bushels to the acre, the whole return being consequently five hundred bushels for the one and a half sown. At the same time, the fodder yielded by stripping the tall stems of the maize of their broad and redundant leaves, amounted to a thousand bundles, sufficient to afford winter food for fifteen head of cattle, which during the summer had lived and fattened in the forest, with their compeers the swine, without being a charge upon the owner. Beside this produce, the field had yielded fifty wagon-loads of pumpkins, of which great use is made, both for the family, the negroes, and the stock. Such is the amazing fertility of this region, and the facility with which the necessaries of life may be procured! I have given you this single instance out of many, of which I took exact and particular note."

(Vol. I., p. 138.)

Mr. Latrobe's observations on the state of the Indian tribes are equally impressive and just. We quote them both for their intrinsic value, and for the sake of a remark or two which they have suggested:—

"There are certainly causes operating to produce this ultimate disappearance of the red tribes of America, which are not fully understood. It is pretty well ascertained that, at the time of the discovery of this continent, their numbers were diminishing; and the same is observed at the present day, of tribes as yet far removed from either direct or indirect influence of the white man. However, we need not seek for hidden causes why those in contact with European blood should wither and eventually pass away, leaving no vestige behind them. The gifts which the pale faces brought to the children of the forest have, indeed, been fatal ones, and by them the seeds of misery and death have been sown to a terrible extent. I do not believe that, at the time they first saw the vessels of their discoverers, and their followers, come over the great ocean, they were either a happy race, or one of simple habits. The life of

fierce extremes which they were even then found to lead; the close acquaintance with all the extremities of war, disease, and famine, which even then they endured; the uncontrolled sway of violent passions; the degradation of their women; all tend positively to contradict the supposition that this might be or was the case. Whatever may have been written, said, or sung, they were never the rivals of the Arcadians. Their system of religious faith was, it is true, perhaps in itself the purest that has anywhere been found among savages, and eminently distinguished them from their neighbors to the southward. Their faith did not, perhaps, like that of many heathen nations, aggravate and stimulate the force of their animal passions; but it does not seem to have had the power to check them."

By the way, this is very different from the mawkish nonsense which poor Lord Edward Fitzgerald wrote on the same subject half a century ago, and which Mr. Thomas Moore has lately published to the world, in proof of the amicable liberality of his temper and principles. It seems to be a favorite maxim of the school thus referred to, and the foundation of most of their political theories, that savageism is the natural state of man, and that his social condition is forced and artificial. And yet, the same persons insist upon it, that a savage people must first be civilized, and then Christianity may be introduced among them! The Indians of North America, as indeed savage tribes everywhere, furnish unanswerable demonstrations to the contrary. Nothing can civilize them but Christianity. The Indians, for instance, till they have felt the sacred restraints of Christian truth and love, have always refused to submit to the restraints of civilized life. To refer to an expression of Peter Jones, while in this country, they have first been made good Christians, and then they have been willing to learn to be good farmers. The tribes that have learned of the white men nothing but their vices, will, we fear, disappear ere long, from the country of which, less than three centuries ago, they were the undisputed lords; while those who have been brought thoroughly under the influence of the gospel of the common Saviour, learning the arts of civilized life, without becoming slaves to its vices, shall long continue to furnish an additional illustration of the great truth, that "godliness is profitable to all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come." Savageism is the state into which men have fallen from a far more elevated condition; and the downward movement will continue to operate till a new principle, strictly a restoring one, shall be implanted among them from without. Christian missionaries are the most effective promoters of civilization. England and America both owe a large debt to the red men of the transatlantic hemisphere; a debt which nothing but Christianity furnishes the means of repaying.

"What the influence of their contact and intercourse with the European has been, we all know. Where he found them poor, he left them poorer; where one scene of violence had been seen, there many have been enacted; where he had found one evil passion, he planted many; where one fell disease had thinned their ranks, he brought those of his blood and land to reap a more abundant harvest. His very gifts were poison; selfish and inconsiderate in his kindness, he was ever bitter in his revenge and anger: he excited

the passion of the savage for his own purposes; and when it raged against him, he commenced the work of extermination."

(Vol. I., p. 165.)

Mr. Latrobe says,

"It is my firm and settled conviction that the government of the United States, as well as the population of its settled districts, are very sincere in their desire to see justice done to the remnant of these tribes, and, as far as is consistent with the general welfare of the community, to favor and succor them. The main difficulty is, how and by what means these ends are to be attained."

(Vol. I., p. 168.)

True; and what is worse, we fear the means employed by the American government aggravate the evil. One, and that the only effectual plan, a national system for their Christianization, in order to their civilization, by which a debt truly national can alone be paid, the American constitution allows not. Agents to negotiate with them, to live among them, to do all that American principles allow to be done for their benefit, are sent; with what results, let Mr. Latrobe, evidently disposed as he is to write in the spirit of kindness, and to say nothing severe, unless as compelled by the truth and necessity of the case, inform us.

"And it is in this that the Indian system pursued by the government is yet defective. I would ask, Are the majority of the agents appointed by government to live among the Indians, to carry its benevolent designs into execution, just, honest, and good men, men of character and probity, above profiting by the defenceless state of the tribes, and superior to the temptations held out on every hand for self-aggrandizement? I think I might answer, without fear of contradiction, in the negative. The Indians are surrounded by bad men, as the hungry wolves of the desert surround a troop of horses. The government of the United States shows, by its conduct to these agents, that it does not put confidence in them; and the hard measure which it deals out to them, is but a bad apology for much of the iniquity practised by them. The position of both Indian agent and Indian trader is one of overwhelming temptation to a man of lax principles" (Vol. I., p. 170.)

Of the missionaries on the Indian frontier, he says,

"They are far too weak-handed and deficient in worldly wisdom, to cope effectually with the difficulties thrown in their way by the straggling, but powerful, community of traders, agents, and adventurers of every kind, with whom they must be associated in their intercourse with the Indians." (Vol. I., p. 171.)

Mr. Latrobe does not often conduct us to subjects of controversy; yet, in the following extract, much matter both for profound reflection and very serious discussion may be discovered without difficulty:—

"Your own reflections will have long ago suggested to you, that among the class of people usually adventuring themselves in any newly-opened part of the Union, as first settlers and pioneers, even in a place like this, which starts at once from the bosom of the forest, with the title and privileges of a city and seat of government, those clinging to the strictest rule in matters of religion, good order, and morals, must, for a while, be considered as forming a minority. It cannot be otherwise. Some time may pass before there is a

regular place of worship; and a still longer period before there is any general disposition manifested in the mass of the inhabitants to maintain among themselves any thing like strict moral discipline. The first step had been taken; and the Methodists, the pioneers in religious matters, had set apart a building for the worship of God, where I heard a good, simple, sound sermon, preached to a thin, but attentive auditory." (Vol. II., p. 58.)

On the great question of slavery, Mr. Latrobe says little more than what will be found in the following paragraph:—

"But the circumstances which have entailed the possession of slaves at the present day on the Americans of the south, are to be deplored and felt as an evil; and what the consequence will be of the steady increase of the colored population, both free and slave, no one can foresee. The philanthropic or politic attempts made to induce and facilitate emigration, and the colonization of portions of the African coast, are well meaning and well directed; but the good effected hitherto has been so trifling, when compared with the growth of the evil, that the subject must remain a most alarming and embarrassing one; and judging from appearances, only one of two alternatives would appear probable—either, that the colored population would, in course of time, eat the white out of house and home, and come into possession of that part of the country, which appears as congenial to the habits and physical construction of the black, as it is inimical to those of the white; or, that a mixed race should spring up, claiming an equality of rights and consideration; and the latter is far from being improbable, *in spite of the loathing with which the white now appears to regard the man of mingled blood, both morally and politically.*"

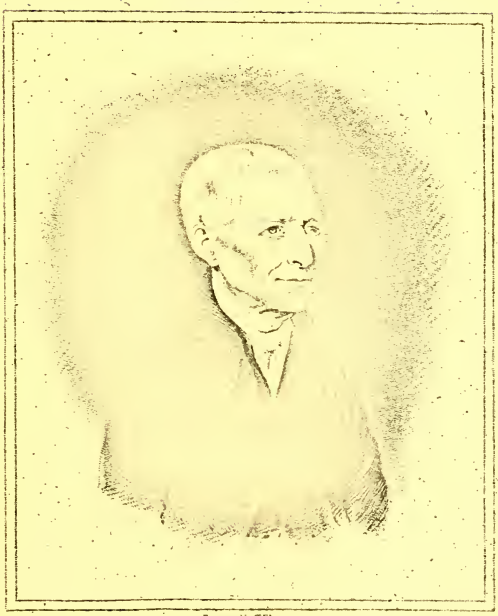
(Vol. II., p. 16.)

The subject of American slavery is far too momentous only to be considered incidentally. On the last lines of the extract (which we have put in italics, to direct the special attention of the reader to them) we cannot help, however, bestowing a sentence or two. The Americans plead the difficulties of their condition, and remind us on this side the Atlantic of the length of time occupied in the settlement of the slavery question by ourselves. They tell us, likewise, that they are as much opposed to slavery as we are; but that its extinction must be a very gradual work. All this rather evades the question than meets it. America avowedly founds her government on the perfect, the most absolute, equality of man; holding this, not as an inferred principle from the theory of their constitution, but as being so directly and avowedly. The celebrated "Declaration of Independence" begins with it. Now, having thus solemnly and unequivocally proclaimed to the world this absolute equality of men, and constructed a government essentially democratic, she holds in bondage hundreds of thousands of slaves, to whom she denies the rights which she proclaims to belong to all men, and for attempting to claim which their lives would be forfeited. She does more. Professing to abhor any thing like aristocratical principles, she yet establishes them more tyrannically than ever they were established even in Venice. An aristocracy of birth, wealth, or rank, she indignantly rejects, and straightway establishes an aristocracy of color, more exclusive, more grinding, more bitterly scornful as to its objects, than any ever known in the world.

Here is the real gist of the question; and on this it is that in every controversy on the subject the stress should be laid. The American republican, yes, the American Christian, mortally hates, loathes, the man of mingled blood. While this plague-spot continues, America talks in vain of her love of freedom. The recollection of her treatment of the colored population compels us to place her among the rest of the numberless examples furnished by history, that freedom in profession often means despotism in practice. So long as a difference in color, however slight, is allowed to deprive a man of those social, political, and religious advantages which he would otherwise possess, so long will the festivities of the fourth of July be as disgraceful as they are inconsistent. To the lovers of a rational freedom, those festivities have long appeared as mirthful as the fanciful decoration of skeletons in a catacomb.

There is one paragraph in Mr. Latrobe's book which, from our knowledge of American sensitiveness, makes us fear for the reception of his volumes. And yet it is not unkindly written. But of this our readers shall judge. He says,—

"There are certain signs, perhaps it might be said of the times, rather than of their peculiar political arrangements, which the most unprejudiced traveller must surely note, which should make men pause in their judgment of the social state of America. The people are emancipated from the thraldom of mind and body, which they consider consequent upon upholding the divine right of kings. They are all politically equal. All claim to place, patronage, or respect for the bearer of a great name is disowned. Every man must stand and fall by himself alone, and must make or mar his fortune. Each is gratified in believing that he has his share in the government of the Union. You speak against the insane anxiety of the people to govern, of authority being detrimental to the minds of men raised from insignificance, of the essential vulgarity of minds which can attend to nothing but matter of fact and pecuniary interest, of the possibility of the existence of civilization without cultivation, and you are not understood. I have said it may be the spirit of the times; for we see signs of it, alas! in old England! But there must be something in the political atmosphere of America, which is more than ordinarily congenial to that decline of just and necessary subordination which God has both permitted by the natural impulses of the human mind, and ordered in his word; and to me the looseness of the tie generally observable in many parts of the United States between the master and servant, the child and the parent, the scholar and the master, the governor and the governed; in brief, the decay of loyal feeling in all the relations of life, was the worst sign of the times. Who shall say, but that if these bonds are distorted and set aside, the first and the greatest which binds us in subjection to the laws of God will not also be weakened, if not broken. This, and this alone, short-sighted as I am, would cause me to pause in predicting the future grandeur of America under its present system of government and structure of society; and, if my observation was sufficiently general to be just, you will also grant, there is that which should make a man hesitate whether those glowing expectations for the future, in which we might all indulge, are compatible with growing looseness of religious, political, and social principle." (Vol. II., p. 137.)



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ART. I.—SUCCESSION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND EXAMINED.

BY REV. CHARLES ELLIOTT.

Continued from page 152.

AT the present time, when foreign bishops are to be ordained, a license must be obtained from the king before either of the archbishops can proceed to ordain; as was the case in 1787, when bishops were ordained for the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. In this case, too, both the parliament and the king have made the most sacrilegious infringement on the ministerial office that ever occurred in the annals of Christianity. I mean in limiting our Lord's commission so that no person thus ordained, or their successors for ever, shall be permitted to exercise their ministerial office in any part of the British dominions. Thus they sacrilegiously invaded our Lord's commission; and the American bishops and clergy servilely submitted to receive a null ordination, and act under the disability of this disfranchisement until this day. This alone is proof positive that the king is the principal ordainer; and it also shows how unsound at bottom the fabled succession is, when so many ecclesiastical irregularities are interwoven in its very nature, and in its consequence limits our Saviour's commission, and nullifies the ministerial office.

(6.) *The king has the power of suspending or depriving bishops.*

This power appears to have been exercised previous to the Reformation; for William the Conqueror displaced Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, upon some frivolous pretences. But since the Reformation, the Protestant monarchs have frequently degraded bishops. Queen Elizabeth actually deprived fifteen Popish bishops on her accession to the throne, because they would not take the oath of supremacy. Charles II. suspended Archbishop Abbot for refusing to license a sermon, and the bishop of Gloucester for refusing to swear he would never consent to an alteration in the church. James II. suspended seven bishops; he also suspended the bishop of London because he refused to suspend Dr. Sharp. And at the time of the revolution, William III. deprived several bishops who refused to take the oath of allegiance, and from that were called non-jurors, and became the founders of a new sect, through which Mr. Seabury, the first bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, received epis-

copal ordination. And hence the line of succession to the American church was through the non-jurors, who were excommunicates from the English church. Now it is generally acknowledged that it requires the same or equal power to deprive of office that it does to confer it. Therefore as the British kings deprive bishops, they are also principals in conferring that order. (See Dyer on Subscription, p. 174.)

(7.) *The king, when a vacancy occurs, has the right to the temporalities of the vacant see.*

This is another evidence of the part which the king has in ordaining bishops. At least it considers the king as the founder of the see. Our limits, however, do not allow us to enlarge. We refer those who desire to see the nature and extent of the ecclesiastical revenues of the king, and his right to them, lucidly discussed, to Blackstone. (Com., b. i, c. viii, p. 282–286.)

(8.) *The king has uncontrollable power over the convocation.*

No convocation or ecclesiastical synod can assemble but by a writ or precept from the king; when assembled they can do no business without the king's letters patent, appointing the particular subjects on which they are to debate, (Statute 25 Henry VIII., and Stat. Premunire;) and, after all, their canons are of no force without the royal sanction. Blackstone says, "In virtue of this authority, the king convenes, prorogues, restrains, regulates, and dissolves all ecclesiastical synods or convocations. This was an inherent right of the crown long before the time of Henry VIII." (Com., b. i, c. vii, p. 279.) How far this part of the prerogative is scriptural it is not necessary now to inquire. The English convocation has not been permitted by the king to do business for upwards of one hundred years.

(9.) *An appeal lies to the king as the dernier resort in all ecclesiastical causes.*

As head of the church, an appeal lies ultimately to him in chancery from the sentence of every ecclesiastical judge. And from the *court of arches*, belonging to the archbishop of Canterbury, which is itself a court of appeal, an appeal lies to the king in chancery (that is, to a *court of delegates* appointed under the king's great seal) by statute 25 Henry VIII. c. xix, as supreme head of the English Church, instead of the bishop of Rome, who formerly exercised this jurisdiction. The delegates are appointed by the king's commission, under his great seal, and issuing out of chancery, to represent his royal person, and to hear all appeals to him made by virtue of statutes enacted under Henry VIII. This commission is frequently filled with lords spiritual and temporal, and always with judges of the court of Westminster, and doctors of the civil law. (Blackstone, b. i, c. vii, p. 281, and b. iii. c. v, p. 65, 66.) In short, the power possessed by the pope in appeals was transferred to the king, who, according to Blackstone and others, was the original possessor. Thus all ecclesiastical jurisdiction is vested in the king and taken away from the bishops, except by *delegation* from him. Now in all bodies, civil and ecclesiastical, that power to which there is the final appeal, is acknowledged to be the highest in office. Consequently, the king, in ecclesiastical matters, is superior in office and power to all the clergy and people in England.

(10.) We are told, however, *That the coronation oath secures to the church her spiritual and appropriate privileges.*

That this is a considerable guard we are ready to acknowledge. But that it is an adequate or strictly scriptural one we cannot admit; nor can the wisdom of the wisest show that the oath itself, with all it secures, furnishes a proper, scriptural, or primitive restriction against corruption or irreligion. The following is the part of the oath which refers to the church. "Abp. or Bp. Will you, to your power, maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the gospel, and the Protestant reformed religion established by the law; and will you preserve to the bishops and the clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges as by law do or shall pertain unto them or any of them?—K. or Q. All this I promise to do." It is also required, both by the bill of rights and the act of settlement, that every king and queen of the age of twelve years, either at their coronation, or the first day of the first parliament, shall repeat and subscribe the declaration against popery. (Jacobs on the word *King*, Blackstone, b. i, c. vii.) The coronation oath certainly gives some security; but still the king, as supreme head of the church, may interfere with the concerns of the church, so as to form and control her almost at pleasure. The power of the crown in ecclesiastical affairs is enormous, and the character of the church, in her very constitution, is formed according to the principles above mentioned. In several things the Church of England has been changed since the days of Henry VIII. and his immediate successors; and, according to present prospects, more serious changes yet await her.

(11.) But it is usually answered, *That the kings of England, by their supremacy, neither exercise nor claim any more power than was exercised and claimed by the Jewish kings under the law, and by Christian emperors and kings in the early ages of Christianity.*

As it regards the Jews, their government was a *theocracy*. God himself was their king, and the laws of their nation were strictly and properly the laws of God, who was Lord over the conscience, and may annex what sanction he pleases. Their judges and kings were chosen by God himself, not to make a new code of laws, either for church or state, but to enforce the laws already made by the hand of Moses. Besides, the introduction of kings does not appear to have been contemplated in the original and more perfect state of the Jewish commonwealth. God gave them a king in his wrath. Because of their stubbornness, and of their rejection of him as their king, he gave them kings to scourge them. But there is no part of the Jewish constitution, I mean the Pentateuch, that recognises regal authority; and when kings were introduced, there does not appear to be any special authority given them respecting religion in their kingly character, whatever they might have as prophets or good men. Moreover, their kings were among the first to lead them to rebellion against God. Solomon's example was far from being salutary to the nation. The conduct of Jeroboam, who, in his ecclesiastical character, *caused Israel to sin*, became a proverb of reproach, and was held up afterward to the whole nation, during successive reigns, as most detestable in the sight of God. The royal powers seem to have been introduced as a degenerate and exotic plant into the Jewish constitution, and infested them ever after while they existed as a people.

In reference to Christian kings, we may ask, Who gave them authority to exercise lordly dominion over the church? They have invaded the kingly office of Christ, who is king and lawgiver in his own kingdom, and has not, as far as we can discern, delegated this power to any *vicar-general* upon earth. They have also obtruded themselves into the ministry of Christ, if not by formal ordination or by performing rites and ceremonies, yet they have done so in a more exceptionable way, by wresting ecclesiastical matters out of the hands of the clergy, except as their mere *delegates*, and have also interfered with the rights of Christian people. Constantine, and after him the monarchs of Europe, corrupted the simplicity of primitive Christianity, by the exercise of their unscriptural authority. They poured a flood of wealth and honor upon the clergy, and thus corrupted them, and so far interfered in ecclesiastical affairs, that the primitive discipline became obsolete.

That the kings of England have as good ground to build their authority upon as the Jewish kings had, we flatly deny, because we are sure they have no such authority either in the word of God, or in the reason of the thing. That they have the same right to their authority that Christian kings had, we readily allow; but then that is no authority at all. Who gave the British and other Christian kings this authority? Where is their warrant for making constitutions, creeds, and rituals for the church of Christ? Where is the commission, either from above, or the reason or necessity of the thing, for transferring the *same power* which the Jewish kings of God's own appointment had, to the first Christian emperors, who were neither chosen by the Lord, nor the people, nor the senate of Rome, but usurped the supreme authority by the assistance of the military arm, some of whom were the greatest scourges of mankind?

But it is capable of the amplest proof, that the first Christian emperors did not claim all that jurisdiction that the kings of England possess as head of the church. Henry VIII. was made absolute lord over the consciences of his subjects, it being ordained by parliament, "that whatsoever his majesty should enjoin in religion should be obeyed by all his subjects." The supremacy exercised by this monarch and his immediate successors was found by experience to be intolerably excessive; and was therefore somewhat abridged in the reigns of Charles I. and William III. But the regal power still exercised in the English church is excessive; and we are convinced that pure Christianity will one day expel or excommunicate it from its usurped seat in the church of Christ. (See Neal, vol. i, ch. iv, p. 121; and vol. ii, preface.)

It is remarkable that the maintainers of the regal form of church government claim ecclesiastical power in favor of *pious* or *godly* princes. Now if such alone are proper persons to exercise this power, its exercise by wicked kings must be a usurpation. And if wicked kings, as kings, are constituted ecclesiastical rulers, the church which they govern must be in a dreadful condition, seeing the wicked bear rule. So it has been in the English church; many of her kings were wicked men, and it must require a considerable stretch of charity to overlook their usurpations in the church of God. Many of the British monarchs, however, were good men; but it is not proper to give to good men a degree and kind of power which does not pertain to them.

(12.) Upon the whole, it appears from the express words of several acts, as well as from the powers actually exercised by the British kings, that all ecclesiastical jurisdiction was vested in the king, and taken away from the bishops, except by *delegation* from him. Indeed, the supremacy of the pope was transferred to the crown, so that the British monarchs have the supreme authority in matters of faith and doctrine: they can decree rites and ceremonies; the principal part of ordination or appointment to the ministry or episcopal dignity belongs to them, or is derived from them; they possess the power of suspending or depriving bishops; have a right to the revenues of vacant sees; the church in her synodical or conventional capacity can neither convene, act when convened, nor ordain any decree or canon, without authority from their head; an appeal lies to the king as the dernier resort in all ecclesiastical causes from all other spiritual courts, and even from the court of arches belonging to the archbishop of Canterbury, which is itself a court of appeal; the guards contained in the coronation oath are neither adequate nor scriptural barriers against error and abuses; and, finally, the plea for the king's supremacy and headship is not authorized by the example of the Jewish or Christian kings or emperors, nor by the word of God.

Now as these things are so, how unreasonable it is to charge the Wesleyan Methodists in Europe and in America with schism, because they reject the supremacy of the kings of England; and revert to the Scripture and the primitive church! It is really surprising that our adversaries are so unguarded as to pronounce us schismatics for rejecting the supremacy of the kings and queens of England as unscriptural, and for holding it in the same estimation, or nearly so, in which the supremacy of the pope is held. However, they change names in order to avoid the difficulties of their system. They call regal supremacy *apostolical succession;* and Roman Catholics call the supremacy of the pope *apostolical succession.* At first the true *succession* was in the devoted pastors of Christ's flock and the pious Christians: and there it remains to this day. The *prelates,* under the name of bishops, usurped the thing as far as they could: and when they could not get the *real thing,* they took the name. The kings next wrested the name from the prelates; and *bartered* it to the pope, who bought it at a good price. The English kings stripped from the triple crown this nominal apostolical succession, and added it to their own. Thus they have all along quarrelled about the name, sometimes called the supremacy of the pope, or of the king, or apostolical succession. It is not marvellous that Mr. Wesley calls this regal or popish assumption *a fable;* and it was what might be expected from his good sense and piety, that, when called by God to act in the capacity of a primitive pastor, he rejected the entire machinery of the boasted succession as unscriptural, and without primitive precedent. He therefore rejected the whole of prelatical, regal, and popish supremacy, or what has been miscalled apostolical succession; and placed the government of the church on its original foundation, that of the joint or mutual powers of pastors and people. He rejected the *third order* as such, and made bishops who were such by *jurisdiction,* and of the *same order* with presbyters, deriving their powers from, and accountable to, the presbytery.

IV. *The Clergy.*

Under this head we comprise the consideration not only of the clergy and their different grades, but also ecclesiastical courts, and the powers of the convocation.

1st. *The clergy.* The whole people are divided into two kinds, the clergy and laity; the clergy comprising persons in holy orders and in ecclesiastical offices.

This venerable body of men, being set apart from the rest of the people, in order to attend the more closely to the service of Almighty God, have some peculiar privileges allowed them by the municipal laws of England; and had formerly much greater, which were abridged at the time of the Reformation, on account of the ill use which the popish clergy had endeavored to make of them. For, the law having exempted them from almost every personal duty, they attempted an exemption from every peculiar tie; but, in extending their privileges beyond just bounds, they lost many that of right belonged properly to them. The personal exemptions enjoyed by the popish clergy for the most part continue in the possession of the English clergy, though they are deprived of many privileges which were enjoyed in the days of popery.

A clergyman cannot be compelled to serve on a jury, nor to appear at a court-leet or view of frank-pledge; which every other person is obliged to do. Neither can a clergyman be chosen to any temporal office; as bailiff, constable, or the like. During his attendance on divine service he is privileged from arrests in civil suits. In cases also of felony, they cannot be branded in the hand; and they may likewise have this privilege more than once. Sentence of death can never be passed on them for any number of manslaughters, bigamies, simple larcenies, &c. But, to the honor of the clergy, there are few instances in which they have had occasion to claim the benefit of this privilege.

Clergymen have also certain disabilities. They are incapable of sitting in the house of commons. They are not, in general, allowed to take any lands or tenements to farm, unless where they had not sufficient glebe, and the land is taken for the necessary expenses of their household. Nor are they to keep any tap-house or brew-house; nor may they engage in any trade, or sell merchandise, on forfeiture of treble value. These are certainly excellent regulations.

In the frame and constitution of the ecclesiastical polity of England there are divers ranks or degrees of the clergy, which we shall consider in their proper order. Under each division we shall consider, 1. The method of their appointment: 2. Their rights and duties: and, 3. The manner in which their character or office may cease. The word *clergy* comprehends *archbishops*, *bishops*, *deans* and *chapters*, *archdeacons*, *rural deans*, *parsons*, (who are either *rectors* or *vicars*,) and *curates*; to which may be added *parish clerks*, who formerly often were, and are sometimes now, in orders.

1. An *archbishop* is the chief of the clergy in a whole province, and is that spiritual secular person who hath supreme power, under the king, in all ecclesiastical causes. He is created by the king, through the form of a nominal election, and consecrated by an archbishop and two other bishops, or by four bishops, who are compelled to consecrate

under peril of a premunire. An archbishop is said to be *enthroned*, when a bishop is said to be *installed*. There are four things to complete a bishop or archbishop, as well as a parson. First, election, which resembles presentation; the next is confirmation, and this resembles admission; next consecration, which resembles institution; and the last is installation, which resembles induction.

England and Wales are divided into two provinces or archbishoprics, to wit: Canterbury and York. Both the archbishops have these as distinct provinces, wherein they have suffragan or assistant bishops of several dioceses under them. The archbishop hath also his own *diocess*, wherein he exercises episcopal jurisdiction, as in his *province* he exercises archiepiscopal; thus having two concurrent jurisdictions, one as ordinary, or the bishop himself within his diocess; the other as superintendent, throughout his whole province, of all ecclesiastical matters, to correct and supply the defects of other bishops. The archbishop of Canterbury is styled *metropolitan and primate of all England*; and the archbishop of York is styled *primate and metropolitan of England*. An archbishop, upon receipt of the king's writ, calls the bishops and clergy of his province to meet in convocation; but without the king's writ he cannot assemble them. To him appeals are made from inferior jurisdictions within his province. During the vacancy of any see in his province, he is guardian of the spiritualities thereof, as the king is of the temporalities; and he exercises all ecclesiastical jurisdiction therein. If an archiepiscopal see be vacant, the dean and chapter are its spiritual guardians. The archbishop can appoint to all the livings in his province, if not filled by the bishops within six months. He has also the right to name a clerk or chaplain of his own, to be provided for by every new bishop whom he consecrates. In lieu of this, it is now usual for the bishop to make over, by deed, to the archbishops, his executors, and assigns, the next presentation of such benefice in the bishop's disposal, within that see, as the archbishop himself shall choose. This is a popish usage, derived from the legatine power formerly annexed by the popes to the metropolitan of Canterbury; and the papal claim was derived from the regal example of the first Christian kings. The archbishop of Canterbury hath the privilege to crown all the kings of England, and to have prelates to be his officers. He may appoint a coadjutor to a bishop who is become infirm; he may confer degrees of all kinds, and censure and excommunicate, suspend or depose, for any just cause. He hath power to grant dispensations in any case formerly granted by the pope, not contrary to the laws of God; but if the case be new and extraordinary, the king and his council are to be consulted. He hath precedency of all the clergy, and is the first peer of the realm.

2. The *bishop* is elected by the king's *congé d'elire*, or license to elect the person named by the king, directed to the dean and chapter; and if they fail to make election in twelve days, they incur the penalty of a *premunire*, and the king may nominate whom he pleases by letters patent. This *appointment* or *creation*, (for it cannot be properly called either *nomination* or *election*,) if it be of a bishop, must be signified by the king's letters patent to the archbishop of the province; if it be of one archbishop, to the other archbishop and two bishops, or to four bishops, requiring them to *confirm*, *invest*, and *consecrate* the per-

son so appointed; which they are bound to do presently, under peril of premunire. After which the new bishop shall sue for his temporalities, and shall make oath to the king, and none other.

It is held by churchmen that a bishop hath three powers:—
1. The power of ordination, which is gained in his consecration.
2. His power of jurisdiction, which is limited and confined to his see.
3. His power of administration and government of the revenues.

A bishop hath his consistory court to hear ecclesiastical causes; and is to visit the clergy and consecrate churches; ordain, admit, and institute priests; confirm, suspend, excommunicate, grant licenses for marriage, make probates of wills, &c. He has his archdeacon, dean, and chapter, chancellor, and vicar-general, to assist him. His chancellor holds the courts for him, and assists him in ecclesiastical law; and he must be a doctor of civil law, so created by some university.

The bishop of London, or any bishop by him appointed, may admit to the order of deacon or priest (by stat. 24. George III., *sess.* ii, c. xxxv.) subjects of countries out of the king's dominions, without requiring the oath of obedience. But no person thus ordained shall exercise such offices within the British dominions. Also, (by statute 26. George III., c. 84,) foreign bishops may be consecrated, but neither they, nor their successors, nor persons ordained by them, shall exercise their functions within his majesty's dominions.

Bishops and archbishops may cease to be such by death, deprivation for any gross or notorious crime, and also by resignation. All resignations should be made to some superior. Therefore a bishop must resign to his metropolitan; but the archbishop can resign to none but the king himself.

Archbishops have the style and title, *Grace*, and *Most Reverend Father in God by Divine Providence.* The bishops those of *Lord, and Right Reverend Father in God by Divine Permission.*

Election to the episcopal charge, both by the clergy and laity, was the general mode of appointment employed in the early ages of Christianity. But the Christian kings took this out of the hands of the clergy and laity. In process of time, the bishops of Rome took it from the kings, and, under the *nominal* election of the clergy, became the sole possessors of the thing itself. Thus the kings of England wrested the real appointment to the episcopacy from the pope, left the name still with the dean and chapter, and to all intents became the creators of the bishops; and they might as well consecrate them as authoritatively fix on the person whom they intend to make a bishop, and then compel the dean and chapter to elect him, and next compel the archbishop or bishops to consecrate him; and that, too, whether he is a good or bad man, competent or incompetent. And we are told that this farce is apostolical. Did Paul, or Peter, or any apostle do so? Did their immediate successors do so? Was the like done for several centuries after Christ? No such thing; and this the successionists know right well. (See Blackstone, b. i, c. xi, pp. 378, 379, and the authorities quoted there.)

3. The *dean and chapter* are the council of the bishop to assist him with their advice in the temporal and spiritual concerns of his

see. They are persons reserved from the rest of the clergy for the celebration of divine service in the bishop's own cathedral. The chief of these, who presided over the rest, obtained the name of *decanus*, *tenth*, or *dean*, being probably at first appointed to superintend ten clergymen, who are called *canons* or *prebendaries*.

There are two foundations of cathedral churches in England, the *old* and the *new;* so there are two modes of creating *deans*. Those of the old foundation are exalted to their dignity much like bishops; the king first sending out his *congé d'elire* to the chapter to choose such dean, and the chapter then choosing, the king afterward yielding assent, and the bishop confirming him, and giving his mandate to instal him. Those of the new foundation are appointed and installed by the king's letters patent, without even the form of election, as in the other case. The chapter, consisting of canons or prebendaries, are sometimes appointed by the king, sometimes by the bishop, and sometimes elected by each other. The bishop is their ordinary or immediate superior; and has, generally speaking, the power of visiting them and correcting their abuses.

"Chapters," says Jacobs, (Dict. on the word,) "are said to have their beginning before deans; and formerly the bishops had the rule and ordering of things without a dean and chapter, which were constituted afterward; and all the ministers within his diocess were as his chapter, to assist him in spiritual matters." The dean and chapter are the shadow of the primitive presbytery, or body of elders, or all those who were ecclesiastical persons. The presbytery was considerably altered for the worse while the prelates, in the third and fourth centuries, ruled; under the kings its character was additionally altered. Popery cast it into a still newer mould; and the Church of England, with her boast of apostolicity, has only the mere shadow of a primitive presbytery in her dean and chapter. And how can those be guilty of schism who leave her innovations and revert to Scriptural and primitive usage, as the Wesleyans and others have done? Indeed, the nominal *elections* of the deans and chapters are among the most absurd relics of popish, regal, and prelatical usurpations which can well be imagined. It is really an insult to common sense and religion, to call the elections of deans and bishops by *congé d'elire* an election of any kind. The king determinately fixes on the person who *must* be elected; and the dean and chapter have no choice either in rejecting, for they must not reject, or in choosing between two or more who is the most fit, for only one person is named, and they must choose him or have their goods and chattels forfeited, and their persons placed under perpetual arrest. The pious Puritans, and the Methodists, who have rejected this farcical election and its concomitants, have acted wisely and scripturally in so doing.

4. *An archdeacon* hath ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the clergy and laity, next after the bishop, throughout the diocess, or in some part of it only. He is appointed by the bishop, and derives his authority entirely from him. In ancient times archdeacons were employed in distributing alms and offerings; but at length, by a personal attendance on the bishops, and a delegation to examine and report some causes, and commissions to visit the remoter parts of the diocess, they became as it were overseers of the

church. An archdeacon is now allowed to be an ordinary, as he hath a part of the episcopal power lodged in him. He visits his jurisdiction once a year; and he hath a court where he may inflict penance, suspend or excommunicate persons, prove wills, grant administrations, hear ecclesiastical causes, examine candidates for holy orders, and induct clerks within his jurisdiction, upon receipt of the bishop's mandate. Where the archdeacon hath a peculiar jurisdiction, he is totally exempt from the power of the bishop, and the bishop cannot enter there and hold court. The judge of the archdeacon's court is called the *official*.

Here we have a *trace* of the primitive order of deacons, which was to take care of the poor, distribute the alms, and otherwise aid the ministers of the word, so that they might wholly give themselves to prayer and preaching. The archdeacon, or *chief deacon*, was first a *server of tables;* some of the bishop's duties were assigned to him; and finally his original office is entirely abandoned, and he enters the ministry of the word, under the primitive name of a server of tables. Thus deacons became ministers or elders in office, elders and bishops became prelates, and these graduated to be popes. It is ever dangerous to give up authorized Scripture names. The archdeacons of the Anglican church are properly bishops: and perhaps the office which Timothy and Titus exercised comes nearer to theirs than any other in that church.

5. Parsons or Rectors, and Vicars. This is the most numerous order of men in the English church; in treating of whom we shall consider, 1. The distinction between a parson (or rector) and vicar. 2. The method by which one may become a parson or vicar. 3. Their rights and duties. 4. And how one may cease to be either.

(1.) *Distinction between a parson or rector, and vicar.* A parson is one who has full possession of all the rights of a parochial church. He is in himself a body corporate, in order to protect and defend the rights of the church, which he personates by a perpetual succession. He is sometimes called the rector, or governor of the church. He has, during his life, the freehold in himself of the parsonage-house, the glebe, the tithes, and other dues. The benefice, comprising these, is sometimes *appropriated;* that is, it is perpetually annexed to some spiritual corporation, which becomes a substitute for the parson, and is esteemed in law as equally capable of providing for the service of the church, as any single clergyman.

It will be worth while to trace up this contrivance. It originated in the policy of the monastic orders, who have never been deficient in subtle inventions for the increase of their own power and emoluments. When tithes originated in the Christian church, they were distributed in a fourfold division: one for the use of the bishop; another for maintaining the fabric of the church; a third for the poor; and a fourth to provide for the incumbent. When the bishops became otherwise endowed, they were prohibited from taking any share of the tithes, and the division was only into three parts. The monasteries inferred from hence that a small part was sufficient for the officiating priest, and the remainder might be applied to the use of their fraternities, subject to the burden of repairing the church, and providing clerical supply. They therefore begged and bought

for masses, obits, and money, all the advowsons within their reach, and then appropriated the benefices to their own use; they themselves furnishing the clerk or officiating minister from their own body. Hence they became, in their corporate capacity, perpetual parsons, and might sue and be sued under the name of patrons. Thus the monasteries provided a *curate*, *vicar*, or substitute, received the *whole* support for the officiating priest, and gave a *part* to him that did the work. Such was the origin of vicarages. About one third or more of all the parsonages or rectories in England, previous to the Reformation, were attached to bishoprics, prebends, religious houses, nay, even to nunneries and military orders, all of which were spiritual corporations. At the dissolution of monasteries, by Henry VIII., the appropriations of the several parsonages which were attached to the religious houses were transferred to the king, in as ample a manner as the abbots, &c. held the same at the time of their dissolution. The same thing was done by former kings when the alien priories were dissolved and given to the crown. From these two facts have sprung all the lay appropriations.

These appropriating corporations were wont to depute one of their body to perform divine service, and administer the sacraments, in those parishes of which the society was thus the parson. The officiating minister was no more than a curate, deputy, or vicegerent of the appropriator, and therefore called *vicarius*, *vicar* or *substitute*. His stipend was at the discretion of the appropriator, who was, however, bound, of common right, to find somebody *who would account to the appropriator concerning the temporals, and to the bishop concerning the spirituals, qui illi de temporalibus, episcopo de spiritualibus, debeat respondere.* The parishes suffered much, through the neglect of the corporations, by the want of divine service, and withholding those alms for which, among other purposes, the payment of tithes was originally imposed. It was therefore found necessary by act of parliament (15 Ric. II., c. vi.) to ordain that a pension should be distributed among the poor parishioners, as well as a sufficient stipend to the vicar. But the vicar, being liable to be moved at the pleasure of the appropriator, was not likely to insist too rigidly on the legal sufficiency of the stipend; and therefore by statute (4 Henry IV., c. xii.) it was ordained, that the vicar shall not be a member of a religious house; that he shall be permanently vicar; and shall be canonically instituted and inducted, and sufficiently endowed at the discretion of the ordinary for these three purposes, to do divine service, to inform the people, and to keep hospitality. The endowments, in consequence of these statutes, have usually been a portion of the glebe, a share of the tithes such as the appropriators found troublesome to collect, and are therefore called *small tithes*, the greater tithes being still reserved to their own use.

From the last act recited above we may date the origin of the present vicarages; for, before that time, the vicar was nothing more than a temporary curate. All the tithes or dues of the church belong to the rector or appropriator, who has the same rights of the rector; and the vicar is entitled only to that portion which is expressed in his endowment, or what his predecessors have immemo-

rially enjoyed by prescription, which is equivalent to a grant or endowment.

The distinction therefore between a parson and vicar is this. The parson has, for the more part, the whole right to all the ecclesiastical dues of his parish; but a vicar has generally an appropriator over him, entitled to the better parts of the profits, to whom he is in effect perpetual curate, with a standing salary. A vicar must necessarily have an appropriator over him, or a *sinecure rector.*

The livings of vicars, however, are abundantly sufficient in most cases; so that the surplus tithes not appropriated to them furnish an *extra* allowance wrested unjustly from the people, for which there is no authority in Scripture, nor argument in reason, nor example in the primitive church. On the other hand, it is the offspring of popery and corruption, and directly contrary to Scripture, and as unapostolical as it is unscriptural. It is injustice, as well as simony and sacrilege, for which no apology can be given except to say it is a *civil regulation;* and this is the only support which many antiscriptural things in the Church of England can receive.

(2.) *The method of becoming a parson or vicar* is much the same. To both there are four requisites necessary, viz., *orders, presentation, institution,* and *induction.*

Orders. By common law, a deacon of any age might be instituted and inducted to a parsonage or vicarage. By canon 34, no one shall be admitted a deacon till he be twenty-three years old; and he must be a year a deacon before he can be ordained elder or priest. By statutes (13 and 14 Car. II., c. iv.) no one can be admitted to any benefice unless he be first ordained priest; and then he is, in the language of the law, a clerk in orders.

Presentation. A patron may offer his clerk to the bishop of the diocess to be instituted. The bishop may refuse him on many accounts. As, 1. If the patron is excommunicated, and remains in contempt forty days. Or, 2. If the clerk be unfit; which unfitness is of several kinds. First, with regard to his person; as if he be a bastard, an outlaw, an excommunicate, an alien, under age, &c. Next with regard to his faith and morals: as for any particular heresy or vice that is *malum in se, bad in itself.* But if the bishop alleges only in generals, as that he is *schismaticus inveteratus,* an *inveterate schismatic;* or objects a fault that is *malum prohibitum, a forbidden evil* merely, as haunting taverns, playing at unlawful games, or the like; it is not good cause of refusal. Or, lastly, the clerk may be rejected for want of learning. If the bishop rejects the person, there is a law process that can be instituted, and an appeal to the archbishop.

Institution. If the bishop hath no objections, the clerk so admitted is next to be instituted by him, which is a kind of investiture of the spiritual part of the benefice: for by institution the care of the souls of the parish is committed to the clerk. When a vicar is instituted, he, beside the usual forms, takes, if required by the bishop, an oath of perpetual residence; though this is modified by statute 57 Geo. III., c. 99, respecting residence and non-residence, and the oath is no longer required. When the ordinary is also the patron, and *confers* the living, the presentation and institu-

tion are one and the same act, and are called a *collation* to a benefice.

Induction is performed by a mandate from the bishop to the archdeacon, who usually sends out a precept to other clergymen, to perform it for him. It is done by giving the clerk corporal possession of the church, as by holding the ring of the door, tolling the bell, or the like; and is a form required by law, with intent to give all the parishioners due notice, and sufficient certainty of their new minister, to whom their tithes are to be paid. This therefore is the investiture of the temporal part of the benefice, as institution is of the spiritual.

(3.) The *duties* of a parson or vicar are principally ecclesiastical; except those which are laid on him by statute. These are numerous, and must be gathered from such authors as expressly treat on this subject, though, as Blackstone observes, they are not much to be relied upon. The legal residence of the parson or vicar is not only in the parish, but in the parsonage house.

(4.) *How one may cease to be a parson or vicar.* There is only one way by which a person becomes a parson or vicar; but there are many ways by which he ceases to be such. 1. By death. 2. By cession, in taking another benefice. 3. By consecration, as when he is made a bishop. But a bishop by *commendam* may hold a parish for several years, or even during his incumbency. 4. By resignation; but this is of no avail, unless accepted by the ordinary. 5. By deprivation; either, 1st., by sentence declaratory in the ecclesiastical courts, for sufficient causes allowed by the common law; such as treason, felony, or such infamous crimes; for heresy, immorality and the like: or, 2dly, in pursuance of divers penal statutes, which declare the benefice void, as simony, denying the king's supremacy, any of the thirty-nine articles, or the Book of Common Prayer; neglecting to read the liturgy or articles in the church, make the declarations against popery, take the oath of abjugation; for using any form of prayer except the liturgy of the Church of England.

(5.) No minister shall preach or administer the sacrament in any private house, unless in times of necessity, as in case of sickness, &c., on pain of suspension for the first offence, and excommunication for the next.

(6.) A *curate* is the lowest degree in the church, and represents a parson or vicar, and takes *care* of the flock, in cases of pluralities, sinecures, or where a clergyman is old and infirm. That such a grade of clergy existed in the primitive church, or is authorized by Scripture, no one can affirm; as pluralities and sinecures were unknown among the apostles and apostolic men. An aged or infirm person may properly enough have an *assistant*, but the grade of curates has no authority to support it; but, on the other hand, the usage that makes curates necessary, that of pluralities and sinecures, is palpably condemned by the word of God.

(7.) The mode of appointing ministers to their charges will here require some notice, especially as it is connected with *advowsons* or *patronage*.

Advowson is the right of presentation to a church or ecclesis-

tical benefice, and is synonymous with patronage, and he who has the right of advowson is called the *patron* of the church. When the Christian religion was first established in England, kings began to build cathedral churches, and to make bishops. Afterward, in imitation of them, several lords of manors founded particular churches on some part of their land, and endowed them with glebe; reserving to themselves and their heirs a right to *present* or *nominate* a fit person to the bishop, when the same should become void. On this point we will notice,

(1.) *The several kinds of advowsons.* They are of two kinds, *appendant* and *in gross.*

An *appendant* advowson is annexed to the possession of a manor, and passes with the manor, whether by inheritance or sale, as an appendage to the manor, without adding any words. An advowson *in gross*, or at large, is when the right of patronage is separated from the manor by legal conveyance, and never can be appended any more; but it is, for the future, annexed to the person of its owner, and not to his manor or lands.

Advowsons are also either *presentative*, *collative*, or *donative.* A *presentative* advowson is, where the patron does present or offer his clerk to the bishop of the diocess, to be instituted in his church. A *collative* advowson is where the bishop and patron are one and the same person: in which case the bishop cannot present to himself; but he does by one act of collation or conferring the benefice the whole of what is done by both presentation and institution. A *donative* advowson is, when the king or other patron does, by a single donation in writing, put the clerk into possession without presentation, institution, or induction. Donatives are either of churches parochial, chapels, prebends, &c., and may be exempt from all episcopal jurisdiction, so that the bishop cannot visit them, and consequently cannot demand procurations. If the true patron of a donative church doth once present to the ordinary, and his clerk is admitted and instituted, it becomes a *presentative* church, and shall never afterward be donative. The right of donation descends to the heir or heiress; and not to the executor. And a patron of a donative can never be put out of possession by a usurpation. This is said to have been the ancient way of conferring benefices in England, but was changed by the pope and his bishops about the middle of the twelfth century.

2. A *lapse* is a title given to the ordinary, to collate to a church, when its patron neglects to present to it within six months after avoidance. Or a *lapse* is a devolution of a right of presenting from the patron to the bishop; from the bishop to the archbishop; and from the archbishop to the king. The term in which the title by lapse commences, from the one to the other successively, is six months or half a year.

3. *The right of presentation.* Formerly advowsons were for the more part the property of barons; but in later times not only barons, but common persons have by purchase the dignity of patrons of churches. By the common law the patronage of churches is a right fixed in the patrons or founders, and their heirs, wherein they have as absolute a property as any other man hath in his lands and tenements: for advowsons are a temporal inheritance,

and lay free; they may be granted by deed or will, and are assets in the hands of heirs or executors. The possession of it cannot yield any benefit to the owner, as the law provides that the exercise of this right must be gratuitous. The advowson itself is valuable and saleable, but not the presentation when the living is void. The right, however, is considered of great value, as a provision for relatives, a pledge of friendship, or the reward of learning or virtue.

4. Now may we not soberly ask, Is this practice of presentation authorized by any principle of Scripture, or any usage of the primitive church, or any argument from its usefulness as a good and salutary custom? The only argument which can in our opinion be brought in its favor is, that those who build and endow churches ought to have the privilege of nominating the person who should officiate. That a person may lawfully enough invest his property thus, and receive the privilege of presentation, is scarcely worth contending for in this matter. The great question is, Can such a congregation as worships in this house, or the ecclesiastical body of ministers, allow the discipline of Christ's church, in the appointment and reception of ministers, to be transferred from them as its lawful depositaries, and be invested in any person, whether male or female, righteous or wicked, wise or unwise, and be sold and bartered as almost any other article of commerce? It is not our wish to overlook the disadvantages arising from old established laws, and the difficulty of applying a remedy; but as this is so, those who still adhere of choice, or through interest, to this unscriptural usage, ought to be very sparing in pronouncing sentences of exclusion, or want of apostolic character, on those who follow the Scripture and the primitive church. (See Blackstone, b. ii, c. iii, pp. 21–23. Also Jacobs, on Advowsons, and the authorities quoted; to whom we are indebted principally for our information respecting the particulars on the several grades of clergy, under the heads, *bishops*, *clergy*, &c.

(3.) The tithe system of the English Church will require notice, in order to have correct views of the polity of this church. The following particulars are worthy of notice on this subject:—

1. *Definition* and *division of tithes.* Blackstone defines tithes to be (b. ii, c. iii, p. 24) "the tenth part of the increase yearly arising and renewing from the profits of lands, the stock upon lands, and the personal industry of the inhabitants." The first species is called *predial*, as of corn, grass, hops, wood. The second *mixed*, as of wool, milk, pigs, &c.; consisting of natural products, but nurtured and preserved, in part, by the care of man; and of these the tenth must be paid in gross. The third *personal*, as of manual occupations, trades, fisheries, and the like; and of these only the tenth part of the clear gains and profits is due.

Tithes, with regard to *value*, are divided into *great* and *small*. Great tithes are chiefly corn, hay, and wood. Small tithes are the predial tithes of other kinds, together with mixed and personal tithes. Great tithes generally belong to the rector, and small tithes to the vicar. Great tithes are commonly called *parsonage tithes*—small tithes, *vicarage tithes*; as being in general payable, the one to the parson, the other to the vicar.

2. *To whom tithes are payable.* Upon their first introduction,

though every man was obliged to pay tithes in general, yet he might give them to what priests he pleased; or he might pay them into the hands of the bishop, who distributed among his diocesan clergy the revenues of his church, which were then in common. But when dioceses were divided into parishes, the tithes of each parish were allotted to its own particular minister; first by common consent, or the appointment of lords of manors, and afterward by the written law of the land. Tithes are now due, of common right, to the parson of the parish, unless there may be a special exemption. This parson of the parish may be either the actual incumbent, or else the appropriator of the benefice, who may be a near resident and a sinecure. In extra parochial places, the king, by his royal prerogative, has a right to all the tithes.

3. *Who are to pay tithes.* It is well known, and needs not to be dwelt on here, that all persons of every creed must pay tithes to the ministers of the established church. This is so notorious on several accounts, that it is unnecessary to dwell and give details.

4. *Who may be exempted from paying tithes.* Lands, or their occupiers, may be exempted from the payment of tithes, either in part or totally, first, by a real *composition*, or secondly, by *custom* or *prescription*.

A real composition is when an agreement is made between the owner of the lands and the parson or vicar, with the consent of the ordinary and patron, that such lands shall, for the future, be discharged from the payment of tithes; by reason of some land, or other real recompense, given to the parson in lieu thereof.

A discharge by custom or prescription, is where, time out of mind, such persons or such lands have been partially or totally exempted from the payment of tithes.

5. *The origin of tithes, and the authority on which they are paid.* The following, from the pen of Judge Blackstone, (b. ii, c. iii, p. 25,) will present a very solid view of this subject. "As to their original, I will not put the title of the clergy to tithes upon any divine right; though such a right certainly commenced, and, I believe, as certainly ceased, with the Jewish theocracy. Yet an honourable and competent maintenance for the ministers of the gospel is, undoubtedly, *jure divino;* whatever the particular mode of that maintenance may be. For, besides the positive precepts of the New Testament, natural reason will tell us that an order of men who are separated from the world, and excluded from other lucrative professions for the sake of the rest of mankind, have a right to be furnished with the necessaries, conveniences, and moderate enjoyments of life at their expense for whose benefit they forego the usual means of providing them. Accordingly, all municipal laws have provided a liberal and decent maintenance for their national priests or clergy."

Bishop Barlow, Selden, Father Paul, and others, have observed that neither tithes nor ecclesiastical benefices were ever heard of in the Christian church for many ages, or pretended to be due to the Christian ministry; and, as that bishop affirms, no mention is made of tithes in the grand codex of canons, ending in the year 451, which, next to the Bible, is the most authentic book in the world; and that thereby it appears, during all that time, both churches and churchmen were maintained by free gifts and oblations. According, therefore, to the doctrine and practice of the primitive church, the tithe system is no part

of the Christian economy, though a proper ministerial support is enjoined by the New Testament.

The *time* when tithes were first introduced into England, is said, by Blackstone, to be probably at the period when Christianity was planted among the Saxons by Augustine the monk, about the end of the sixth century. But the first mention of them is in the 17th article of Synod of Northumberland, held in 787, wherein the payment of tithes is enjoined. This canon, which at first did not bind the laity, was effectually confirmed by two kingdoms of the heptarchy, (Mercia and Northumberland,) in their parliamentary conventions, consisting of their kings, bishops, dukes, senators, and people. This was only a few years later than their establishment, by Charlemagne, in France, (A. D. 778,) who made the famous division of them into four parts: one to maintain the edifice of the church, the second to support the poor, the third the bishop, and the fourth the parochial clergy. Selden contends that others were introduced into England about the year 786, when parishes and ecclesiastical benefices came to be settled. He argues, that tithes and ecclesiastical benefices being correlative, the one could not exist without the other; for, whenever any ecclesiastical person had any portion of tithes granted to him out of certain lands, this naturally constituted the benefice; the granting of the tithes of such a manor or parish being, in fact, a grant of the benefice, as a grant of the benefice did imply a grant of the tithes; thus, the relation between patrons and incumbents was analogous to that of lord and tenant by the feudal law.

About the year 791, Offa, king of Mercia, gave to the church the tithes of all his kingdom, in order to expiate for the death of Ethelbert, king of the East Angles, whom he had basely caused to be murdered the preceding year. Tithes, however, were paid in England as early as 750, by way of *offerings*, according to ancient usage. But the law of Offa first gave the church a civil right to them, by way of property and inheritance, and enabled the clergy to recover them as their legal dues, by coercion of the civil powers. Sixty years after, Ethelwolf extended the law to the whole realm of England. About the year 900, by compact between King Guthrun the Dane, and Alfred and his son Edward, the payment of tithes is not only *enjoined*, but a *penalty* added for nonpayment. This law was confirmed by the laws of Athelstan, about the year 930. The fourth council of Lateran, held in 1215, made tithes *obligatory* on all Christians; though, in the primitive church, they were a part of the *voluntary* oblations of Christians.

When tithes first commenced in the Christian church, they were purely *voluntary:* since that time they are collected by *coercion* and severe *penalty*, the nature and extent of which are too well known and too atrocious to need any additional sentence of reprobation. At first, they were divided between the bishop, the clergy, the poor, and repairing the church; but now they are wholly, or principally, devoted to the ministers, and the sinecures and nonresidents. Those of the primitive and early church who gave tithes, were, at least, professed Christians; but the present tithes are exacted from those who make no profession of religion, as well as from Christians who conscientiously reject the pastoral care of those to whom they are compelled to pay tithes, and pay their own pastors besides. The policy gives rise to

jealousy, distrust, quarrels, and exactions of the most grievous kind. And yet we are almost compelled, on pain of being guilty of schism, to pronounce this nefarious tithe-system to be *apostolic*. It is true, our neighbours, who claim to be the *apostolic men*, say they have, in America, given up this part of the system of the English and Popish Churches. Of this, however, we must entertain serious *doubts*. The American revolution *compelled* them to renounce, practically, the system. In Europe, the Churchmen and Romanists hold it with a death grasp. In America, the doctrine of apostolic succession, of which the tithe system is part and parcel, is still held, taught, and pressed. If we may judge from analogy, tithes would be claimed whenever there would be a probability of success. Yet it would be a difficult, as well as a curious question to settle, whether the Roman Catholic or Protestant successionists were the rightful possessors of the tithes. (See Blackstone, b. ii, c. iii, pp. 25–32; Jacobs on the article *Tithes*, Du-Pin, vol. ii, p. 45; and the authorities quoted by these authors.)

2dly. Some notice of the *ecclesiastical courts* of the English Church will be necessary, in order to have a correct view of her polity; and how far other churches may be justifiable or censurable in refusing to unite with, or separate from, her communion.

"In the time of the Saxons," says Blackstone, (b. iii, c. v, p. 61,) "there was no distinction between the lay and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The county court was as much a spiritual as a temporal tribunal; and the rights of the church were ascertained and asserted at the same time, and by the same judges, as the rights of the laity. For this purpose, the bishop of the diocese and the alderman, or, in his absence, the sheriff of the county, used to sit together in the county court; and had there the cognizance of all causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil. On the introduction of Popery into England, the civil and ecclesiastical courts were separated; and they never afterward became thoroughly united."

The *spiritual courts* are those held by the king's authority, as supreme head of the church, for matters which chiefly concern religion. The *laws* and *constitutions* by which the Church of England is governed, are, 1. Divers immemorial *customs*. 2. *Provincial constitutions*, and the *canons* made in convocation; especially those in the year 1603. 3. Statutes, or *acts of parliament*, concerning religion; particularly the *rubrics* in the Common Prayer Book, founded on the statutes of uniformity. 4. The articles of religion. 5. And it is said, by the general *canon law*, where all others fail.

The suits in these courts are for reformation of manners, for punishing heresy, defamation, laying violent hands on a clergyman; for recovery of tithes, a legacy, contracts for marriage, &c. In causes of this nature the courts may give casts, but not damages: things that properly belong to those courts are matrimonial and testamentary, and such defamatory words for which no action lies at law; as for calling one adulterer, fornicator, usurer, or the like.

In briefly recounting the various ecclesiastical courts, we will begin with the lowest, and so ascend, gradually, to the supreme court of appeal.

1. The *archdeacon's court* is the lowest. It is held, in the archdeacon's absence, before a judge appointed by him, and called his *official*.

Its jurisdiction is sometimes in concurrence with, sometimes in exclusion of, the bishop's court of the diocess. An appeal lies to the bishop's court.

2. The *consistory court* of every diocesan bishop is held in their several cathedrals, for the trial of all ecclesiastical causes in the diocess. The bishop's chancellor, or his commissary, is the judge; and from his sentence an appeal lies to the archbishop.

3. The *court of arches* is a court of appeal, belonging to the archbishop of Canterbury; and the judge thereof is called the *dean of the arches*. His proper jurisdiction is over only the thirteen peculiar parishes belonging to the archbishop in London. But the dean of the arches doth also (as doth the official principal of the archbishop of York) receive and determine appeals from the sentences of all inferior ecclesiastical courts within the province. From him an appeal lies to the king in chancery, as supreme head of the English Church, in the place of the bishop of Rome, who formerly exercised that jurisdiction.

4. The *court of peculiars* is a branch of, and annexed to, the court of arches. It has jurisdiction over all those parishes dispersed through the province of Canterbury in the midst of other dioceses, which are exempt from ordinary jurisdiction, and subject to the metropolitan only. All ecclesiastical causes arising in these exempt jurisdictions are originally cognizable by this court; from which an appeal lay formerly to the pope, but now to the king, in chancery.

5. The *prerogative court* is established for the trial of all testamentary causes, where the deceased hath left property within two different dioceses; in which case the probate of wills belongs to the bishop of the diocess, by way of special prerogative. And all causes relating to the wills, &c., are cognizable before a judge, appointed by the archbishop, called the judge of the prerogative court; from whom an appeal lies to the king, instead of the pope, as formerly.

6. The *court of delegates*, or the *great court of appeal* in all ecclesiastical causes, is appointed by the king's commission under his great seal, and issuing out of chancery to represent his royal person, and hear all appeals made to him. This commission is frequently filled with lords spiritual and temporal, and always with judges of the courts at Westminster and doctors of the civil law. But, in case the king himself is a party, the appeal does not lie to him in chancery, but to the bishops of the realm, assembled in the upper house of convocation.

7. A *commission of review* is sometimes granted, in extraordinary cases, to revise the sentence of the court of delegates, where it is apprehended they have been led into material error. This commission the king may grant, because the pope, as supreme head by the canon law, used to grant such commission of review; and such authority as the pope formerly exercised is now annexed to the crown.

3dly. The *convocation* of the English Church will also call for some notice, in order that we may see how far it is invested, as an ecclesiastical body, with power to decide in matters of religion.

1. The convocation is the assembly of the representatives of the clergy, to consult about ecclesiastical matters in time of parliament. As there are two houses of parliament, so there are two houses of convocation; the one called the *higher*, or *upper house*, where the bishops and archbishops sit by themselves; and the other the *lower house of*

convocation, where all the rest of the clergy sit; i. e., all deans and archdeacons, one proctor from every chapter, and two proctors from all the clergy of each diocess; making, in the whole, one hundred and sixty-four. Each house hath a prolocutor, chosen from among themselves.

The following, which we take from Jacobs' Law Dictionary on the word proctor, is the mode of assembling the convocation: "On every new parliament, the king directeth his writ to the archbishop of each province, for the summoning of all bishops, deans, archdeacons, &c., to the convocation, and, generally, of all the clergy of his province, assigning them the time and place in the writ. Then the archbishop of Canterbury, on his writ received, according to custom, directs his letters to the bishop of London, as his provincial dean, first citing him peremptorily, and then willing him to cite, in like manner, all the bishops, &c., and, generally, all the clergy of his province, to the place, and against the day, prefixed in the writ; but directeth, withal, that one proctor be sent for every cathedral or collegiate church, and two proctors for the body of the inferior clergy of each diocess; and by virtue of these letters, authentically sealed, the bishop of London directs his like letters, severally, to the bishop of every diocess of the province, citing them in like sort, and willing them not only to appear, but also to admonish the deans and archdeacons personally to appear, and the cathedral and collegiate churches and the common clergy of the diocess to send their proctors to the place at the day appointed; and also willeth them to certify to the archbishop the name of every person, so warned by them, in a schedule annexed to their letter, certificatory. Then the bishops proceed accordingly, and the cathedral and collegiate churches and the body of the clergy make choice of their proctors; which being done, and certified to the bishop, he returneth all at the day."

All bishops, deans, and archdeacons are, ex officio, members of the convocation. Each chapter sends one proctor or representative, and the parochial clergy in each diocess in Canterbury two proctors; but each archdeaconry in York sends two, on account of the small number of diocesses. In York the convocation consists only of one house; but in Canterbury there are two houses, of which the twenty-two bishops form the upper house.

The archbishop of Canterbury is the president of the convocation, and prorogues and dissolves it by mandate from the king.

The convocation exercises its powers in making canons, with the king's consent; and examines and censures heretical books and persons. But an appeal lies to the king in chancery, or to his delegates.

The lower house of convocation, in the province of Canterbury, consists of twenty-two deans, fifty-three archdeacons, twenty-four proctors for the chapters, and forty-four proctors for the parochial clergy: total one hundred and forty-four.

2. The English convocation differs, in its constitution, from most other ecclesiastical bodies. It is thus described by Blackstone, (b. i, c. vii, p. 279.) "The convocation, or ecclesiastical synod in England, differs considerably in its constitution from the synods of other Christian kingdoms, those consisting wholly of bishops; whereas, with us, the convocation is the miniature of parliament, wherein the archbishop presides with regal state. The upper house, of bishops, represents the

house of lords; and the lower house, composed of the representatives of the several dioceses at large, and of each particular chapter therein, resembles the house of commons, with its knights of the shires and burgesses."

3. The Church of England, as a church, exercises very little power in ecclesiastical affairs, being almost entirely dependant on the parliament and king. The clergy, by their *act of submission* in the reign of Henry VIII., promised that they would make no more canons without the royal assent, nor assemble without his writ; and that all appeals to Rome should be stopped, and made to the king. (Burnet, vol. i, b. ii, p. 195.) Burnet affirms, respecting the act of submission, as follows: "Now, before the submission which the clergy made to King Henry, as the convocation gave the king great subsidies, so the whole business of religion lay within their sphere; but, after the submission, they were cut off from meddling with it, except as they were authorized by the king." (*Idem*, vol. ii, b. i, p. 65.) Previously to the Reformation, the convocation transacted ecclesiastical business, under the management of the bishops; but by the act of submission, synodical business cannot be transacted without the royal sanction. Besides, the king and parliament, that is, the state, can make laws to bind the clergy, without their consent; but the king and clergy cannot, constitutionally, form a canon to bind the state.

In King Edward's time, the sole right and authority of reforming the church was vested in the crown; and by the act of succession, in the king's council, if he were under age. The reformation of the Church of England, begun by Henry, was carried on by Edward, assisted by Archbishop Cranmer and a few select divines. The clergy, in convocation, did not move in it but as they were directed and overawed by their superiors; nor did they consent till they were modelled to the designs of the court. In decreeing rites and ceremonies, the convocation did little or nothing; all was done by the reigning monarch and council, or select divines. Indeed, the bishop and clergy, in general, opposed the first exercise of ecclesiastical supremacy, and the present form of the established church. (See Dyer on Subscription, p. 167. Neal, vol. i, ch. ii, p. 38. Burnet, part i.)

From the powers vested in the king, as well as those exercised by the convocation, we gather the following limits of power:—1. The convocation cannot convene for the purpose of doing business, unless by license from the king. 2. When assembled, the king has the power of *proroguing*, *restraining*, and *regulating* them; and of dissolving them as he sees fit. 3. The convocation cannot make, or put into execution, any canons repugnant to the king's prerogative, as the laws, customs, and statutes of the realm. 4. The king's assent is necessary to the validity of every canon.

The following is Bishop Burnet's view of the convocation, on which there is no necessity for comment. After remarking that Cranmer intended to put the government of the church in a very different form from the common way of convocation, by setting up provincial synods of bishops, to be called as the archbishop saw cause, he having first obtained the king's license for that purpose, Mr. Burnet proceeds: "The convocations now in use by a long proscription, in which deans, archdeacons, and cathedrals have an interest far superior in number

to those elected to represent the clergy, can in no sort pretend to be more than a part of our civil constitution; and have no foundation, either in any warrant from Scripture, or from the first ages of the church, set out by Charles the Great, and formed according to the feudal law, by which a right of giving subsidies was vested in all who were possessed of such tenures as qualified them to contribute toward the supporting of the state." (Vol. iii, p. 258.) According to the views of this candid bishop, the convocation is a *part of the civil constitution;* that it was *without warrant from Scripture,* or *the first ages of the church;* that it was modelled *after the feudal system,* in imitation of Charles the Great. The inference, then, is clear, that the Church of England is not under the control of an ecclesiastical body, but under the entire management of the parliament and the king; and that her form of government is not Scriptural, apostolical, or primitive, but, on the contrary, it is political and regal, formed on the feudal and popish systems.

4. We have now before us a petition of the clergy residing near Bury St. Edmund's, in which they petition the king to *permit the convocation to do business,* after its operations had been suspended for *one hundred years.* The petition was published in the British Magazine for 1836, and appeared in the New-York Churchman in the spring of 1837, and is as follows:—

"*Convocation—Petition of the Clergy residing near Bury St. Edmund's.*

"*To the King's Most Excellent Majesty:*—We, the undersigned, clergy in the neighbourhood of Bury St. Edmund's, beg leave to approach your majesty with every feeling of attachment to your majesty's person, and of reverence for your majesty's high office, as king, defender of the faith, and temporal head of the church in England and Ireland, and humbly to present unto your majesty—

"That the church of Christ, in all ages and countries, has possessed and exercised the right of consulting upon ecclesiastical affairs, by means of diocesan, provincial, and national synods or councils; that this right was given to his church by the Lord himself has never been denied by godly princes, and cannot justly be taken away.

"That the Church of England, in common with every other branch of Christ's universal church, enjoyed and exercised this right for many generations, from the first introduction of Christianity into this kingdom; and that much benefit resulted therefrom.

"That your majesty's predecessor, King Edward the First, having assembled the representatives of the burghers in what is now called the house of commons, for the purposes of state, especially to enable them to tax themselves, assembled the clergy by their representatives in what is now called the house of convocation, for the same purposes.

"That the house of convocation, though originally instituted for the purpose of enabling the clergy to tax themselves, in the course of time acted as an ecclesiastical synod; and, in point of fact, has ever since been regarded as the national council of the Church of England, being composed of the bishops and dignitaries, and of the representatives of the different chapters and the inferior clergy.

"That at the time of the Reformation under King Henry the Eighth, when important alterations were made in ecclesiastical affairs, his ma-

jesty consulted convocation upon them; and as important measures are now recommended to your majesty by your present church commissioners, especially the suppression of a vast many cathedral appointments, we humbly pray that your majesty will not sanction this change of ecclesiastical property without consulting the clergy in convocation assembled.

"That from the time of King Henry the Eighth to the beginning of the reign of King George the First, convocation was consulted upon ecclesiastical affairs, and that no important alterations were made in the church without its consent.

"That it is to convocation we owe, under God, all that is most valuable in our church—our Scriptural liturgy, articles, and homilies.

"That in the reign of King George the First, his majesty was persuaded to put a stop to the proceedings of convocation against the unorthodox opinions of Bishop Hoadley, by a prorogation; since which time convocation, though regularly summoned and assembled every new parliament, has not been permitted to do business.

"That so long as no alteration in ecclesiastical affairs were contemplated, this silencing of convocation was only a negative evil—the not permitting them to do good, and make such judicious alterations as are rendered necessary by the lapse of time, and the change in every thing human; but that to keep convocation silent any longer, while important alterations in the church are not only contemplated, but are actually in progress, would, in the opinion of your majesty's petitioners, be a positive evil of great magnitude.

"That by the constitution of our country in church and state, convocation is clearly recognised as one of the four estates of the realm, without whose joint consent no alterations in ecclesiastical affairs can justly or constitutionally be made.

"That this is no private opinion of your majesty's dutiful petitioners, but the deliberate judgment of the most celebrated divines.

"That convocation not having been permitted to do business for one hundred years, when no ecclesiastical alterations were contemplated, can be no sufficient reason why it should not be allowed to act now, when alterations in ecclesiastical property, discipline, and rights are proposed, greater than any that took place at the Reformation.

"That by the act of submission, passed in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Henry the Eighth, convocation cannot lawfully proceed to business without the permission of the sovereign.

"We therefore humbly, but earnestly, pray that your majesty may be pleased to consult the archbishops and bishops of the church about the expediency and propriety of allowing the convocation now in existence to proceed to business; and that your majesty may be pleased to consult your legal advisers as to whether alterations in ecclesiastical property and discipline can constitutionally be made without the consent of convocation; and that your majesty will not sanction any farther alterations in ecclesiastical affairs till the proposed measures have received the assent of the house of convocation, as well as passed the two houses of parliament.

"And your petitioners will ever pray, &c."

The petitioners represent the king as *temporal* head of the church; whereas he is *spiritual* and *supreme* head. They confess, however, that

the convocation is not an ecclesiastical body, but that it ought to be such. They affirm that the articles, liturgy, and homilies owed their existence to the convocation, which is incorrect; as these were composed by some select divines, and published authoritatively by the king; and the convocation and clergy had nothing to do but receive them as presented, without any right to reject or amend. But the reading of the foregoing petition will satisfy the reader that the English Church possesses no proper ecclesiastical authority by virtue of her convocation, which is nothing else than the creature of the state, and under the entire control of the crown.

5. We have seen that the articles of religion were not promulged at first by the convocation; and, though the 20th article says, "The church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies," it appears this power was exercised by the civil magistrate at the Reformation. When did the church, as a convocation, or in any other capacity, decree one rite or exercise of religion? When did the bench of bishops, or the clergy in convocation, act in church affairs? Or when did the metropolitan do the like, unless when commissioned by the supreme head? By going back to the time when rites and ceremonies and articles were decreed, we will find that they were formed, and authoritatively published, by the supreme head of the church; and it was only afterward that they were recognized by the clergy. Indeed, they received as much opposition from the clergy themselves as they durst exercise in those times. And though these things were done at first, either by authority or under the covert of acts of parliament, yet it was at a time when the parliament itself was subject to an unconstitutional control from the crown; when it could degrade itself so far as to pass an act, giving the king's proclamation the force of law. (See Dyer, p. 168.)

(*To be continued.*)

Art. II.—A LECTURE ON EDUCATION.

BY REV. PROF. N. ROUNDS, A. M., OF CAZENOVIA.

Delivered at Utica, April 2, 1837.

"That our sons may be as plants, grown up in their youth; that our daughters may be as corner-stones, polished after the similitude of a palace," Ps. cxliv, 12.

The inspired writer is, in this psalm, enumerating the circumstances which go to make up the character of a "happy people." The first is, that their children be properly educated. A proper education implies that series of means by which the human understanding is gradually enlightened, and the best dispositions of the human heart formed and unfolded, between the periods of infancy and manhood. It contemplates two principal ends: first, to impart a practical knowledge of those sciences which pertain to the ordinary business of life and to the fine arts; and secondly, what is of no less importance, to develope and improve the native endowments of the mind and of the heart. This last idea is beautifully expressed in the figurative language of the text—"That our sons may be as plants, grown up in their youth." The mind of an uneducated young man might be represented by a plant, which, being stinted in its

growth, remains in a shrivelled and unfruitful state; while the thrifty, flourishing plant, clad in luxuriant foliage and blushing with the flowers of promise, is the pleasing emblem of a mind that has received that early cultivation by which its original energies have been heightened and matured.

But the royal psalmist would not confine the benefits of learning to his own sex. Heathen writers may pass over the subject of female education in silence; modern libertines may speak of it with contempt; but the pious and enlightened king of Israel introduces it with profound respect. He particularly alludes to the *kind* of education females should receive—"That our daughters may be as corner-stones, polished after the similitude of a palace." The stones here referred to are probably like those denominated "costly stones" in the First Book of Kings, which are supposed to have been of different kinds of marble, so polished as to bring to view every latent cloud and vein in all its beauty; and so fitted in the corners of their public edifices as to impart to them additional strength and elegance. Thus female education, while it aims primarily at practical utility, does not neglect those graceful accomplishments which improve the taste, the manners, and the sentiments. Observe the appropriateness of the figure—"Like corner-stones polished." They were polished; they had received all the nice touchings and finishings of the artist; yet the external embellishment did not belie the internal substance. They were not polished wood, so ornamented as to counterfeit a richer material: they were polished marble. Not a mere painted surface, while all within was vacant and hollow: they were sound, solid, and substantial; admired not more for their beauty than for the important purposes they were adapted to subserve.

I. In considering the benefits of education more at large, let us notice them, in the first instance, as they are realized by the student himself; and here, of course, I shall address myself primarily to the young. Whether honour, happiness, or usefulness be your aim, learning presents itself as a necessary requisite.

The love of praise is implanted by our Creator in every human breast: to be dead to its dictates were a defect; to be governed by it is depravity. The path of science is the path to honour. Wealth may secure to you the admiration of the ignorant multitude, but it would still be a matter of question whether that admiration were not directed more to your riches than to yourselves. Had these young men lived in the dark ages, when knight-errantry was in fashion, they might have sought for honour in deeds of desperate daring; such as storming an enemy's castle, pillaging his territory, or slaying a rival in single combat. Extraordinary physical attributes, whether height of stature, strength of muscle, or even fierceness of look, might have been a satisfactory passport to the high places of power. But in these days, *mind* is the standard of the man. The world now think that intellectual endowments are a necessary requisite, without which no man is eligible to any office of honour and responsibility, either civil, military, or ecclesiastical.

And need we say that the man who has enjoyed the advantages of education is possessed of sources of enjoyment of which the illiterate are totally ignorant? That the man, for instance, whose hours of leisure can be spent in perusing the writings of the great and good,

is more happy than he who has no resort at such times but the idle chit-chat of the fire-side or of the bar-room? That he whose mind is richly stored with the varied incidents that have distinguished the history of the different nations of the earth, enjoys his hours of reflection and conversation more pleasantly than the person who knows nothing of the world, save what has transpired during his own life, and within his own town or neighbourhood? Will the pleasure of contemplating the evening sky be no greater to the scholar, who beholds in every planet a world, and in every fixed star the centre of a system of worlds, than to him who looks at them with the same vacant stare as he would behold the sparks that glitter for a moment above the chimney of a forge? But that we may not consume your time upon so plain a matter, let me ask finally, on this point, what is the circumstance which renders the state of man more desirable than that of the inferior animals? It cannot be our superior capacity for sensual gratifications, for some of them command the enjoyments that arise from two elements; we are confined to one. Others of them are so constituted as to enjoy the pleasures of the palate almost without interruption; but that this would be utterly incompatible with the human constitution, is every day developed in the disastrous consequences of drunkenness and gluttony. No, my young friends, it is the pleasures of mind in the exercise of thought, in the play of fancy, in the reveries of reflection, and in the excursions of hope, that separate human from irrational beings by so broad a line of demarcation, and open a new world to the soul of the enlightened man. These are pleasures which elevate him to a community of enjoyment with the angels of God; and we have the strongest grounds to believe that no inconsiderable portion of the future happiness of the redeemed will consist in exploring those delightful fields of knowledge which shall open, in endless succession, for the improvement and gratification of the immortal mind.

But we have said that learning would increase your usefulness, as well as your happiness. A desire to be useful is one of the most noble motives that can actuate the human breast. Christ went about doing good. In this view, the text compares well-educated young men to plants grown up in their youth. They are like "plants," not like wild and noxious weeds; but the word in the English, and still more plainly in the original, implies some useful vegetable, which the hand of the husbandman had carefully planted and reared; and the marginal references render it more than probable that the plants alluded to were the olive. The olive tree was one of the most valuable productions of the East. Minerva, the tutelar goddess of Athens, is said to have planted it originally in that city, as a sign that she had taken the Athenians under her peculiar protection. Its fruit enters largely into the diet of many nations, while its use in medicine and pharmacy is scarcely to be estimated. Yet such is the beautiful and striking figure which the inspired penman has selected to illustrate the public benefit of well-informed young men; those whose minds have been early and judiciously cultivated, so as fully to develop their natural talents, and prepare them to act a useful and distinguished part in the affairs of men. To confine our view for the present to temporal interests, who can tell how much

the world owes to the inventor of the mariner's compass, and of the printer's press? to a Newton, who, in the midst of the darkness that shrouded the philosophic world, said, Let there be light, and there was light? to an Arkwright, by the invention of whose admirable machinery the article of cotton may be spun to any assignable fineness, and, as a consequence, multitudes of the poorer classes, who were otherwise destitute of a livelihood, are now furnished with a productive and honest employment? When shall America forget her obligations to her artisan, who, by the application of steam power to the purposes of navigation, has given man the ascendency over the strongest of elements? To her chieftain, who so deservedly receives the title of "father of his country?" To her philosopher, at whose command the subjugated thunderbolt lay harmless at his feet? Yet it was education which made these illustrious men the honour and blessing of our race. Without the cultivation of their intellectual powers, Fulton and Franklin had never been known in any other character than that of obscure mechanics; and Washington had never been distinguished either in the cabinet or in the field.

But shall we give no word of encouragement to the youthful female whose bosom heaves with the pious desire to benefit her species? We have not so studied the spirit of our text. The figure by which the sweet singer of Israel illustrates the usefulness of well-instructed females, is not less beautiful or appropriate than that which he applies to the other sex. They are like the corner-stones of a kingly palace. They are not only interesting to look upon, but are of great utility. What part of an edifice is more important than the corner-stones? Upon what part does its strength, beauty, and durability more obviously depend? If the corner-stones be well selected and well fitted, the building will stand almost as a matter of course. But let them be imperfect, and what then? Let them be unshapely, and no matter how much labour you bestow upon the other parts; no matter how finely you bind its Gothic arches; no matter how gracefully you twine its lofty columns with the Ionic or the Corinthian wreath; still the symmetry of the structure is disturbed, and its beauty is essentially marred. Let the corner-stones be of an unsubstantial character, and however much you may strengthen the walls, the fabric is defective and weak; and the heavier its battlements and the loftier its dome, the speedier will be its dilapidation and fall. But what the chief corner-stones are to the palace of a king, female education is to the welfare of this nation. Let woman be neglected in her mental and moral culture, and you sap the foundations of our prosperity; let her sink into ignorance and insignificance, and the nation sinks with her. But let the native energies of her mind, and the characteristic virtues of her heart, be called forth and moulded by a judicious course of scientific and moral training, and she becomes the centre of domestic felicity, the key-stone in the arch of social enjoyments; and if not the most prominent and the boldest, yet the most graceful and the strongest pillar in the temple of American glory.

II. And here it is in our way to consider for a moment how the general diffusion of knowledge is connected with our political interests. What tends more directly than this to elevate the character of a country among the nations of the earth? What enables Eng-

land to sit the queen of the ocean? How can that little island maintain her superiority over many other nations, compared with whose territorial limits she is but an evanescent point? Some might refer it to the strength of her naval armaments; some to the perfection of her manufactures, and others to the extent of her commerce; but he who studies well her character, will perceive that these are only second causes, while the ultimate reason lies in the extent, variety, and general diffusion of her literature and science. Again, what constitutes that striking disparity of national character between the northern and southern portions of our own hemisphere? Why is South America so far inferior to these United States? It cannot arise from any defect in her natural scenery—her Andes rise above the clouds, and her Amazon is the prince of rivers. Nor from her climate; "for here," says one, "spring, summer, and winter are seated on three distinct, but contiguous thrones, which they never resign; each being surrounded by the attributes of its power." Nor yet from the barrenness of her soil. Her broad savannahs, clad with perpetual green, and diversified with fruitful groves of the palm, the cocoa, and the banana, vie in luxuriance with the banks of the Nile; while the kings of the earth are indebted to her exhaustless mineral treasures for the richness of their plate and the splendour of their jewelry. Why, then, we ask again, is that country, which was settled long before our own, a hundred and fifty years behind us in national improvements? Why are almost all parts of the United States intersected with turnpikes, canals, and railroads, while from the city of Rio Janeiro, with a population of 200,000, there is but one road sufficiently worked to run a carriage, and that only to the distance of forty miles? That in the city of New-York the weekly emission of periodicals from a single office is more than sufficient to load down a coach and four, while in the capital of Brazil the great national mail from the interior has, until recently, been carried upon a man's back, and is still transported by a mule? Why are our hills and valleys cheered by the passing and repassing of the locomotive engine, "that most brilliant gift of philosophy to man," which rushes along with its noble train, shaking the earth with the majesty of its tread and vying with the eagle in the ease and swiftness of its motion, while it constitutes a vehicle for hundreds of delighted passengers; whereas in Rio Janeiro the ordinary vehicles that meet the eye are ox-carts, with wheel and axle both of a piece, and both revolving together? The answer to these interrogatories is very plain. We cultivate education; they neglect it. We are endeavouring to establish and sustain seminaries and colleges in all parts of our country; they have but two colleges in an empire comprising 5,000,000 of inhabitants. We are an enlightened people; they are besotted in ignorance. We have a ministry whose minds have been enlarged and improved by knowledge; they are shackled and oppressed by a multitude of ignorant and vicious Catholic priests, who will not enter the domains of knowledge themselves, and them that would enter they prohibit.

III. This leads us to consider, finally, the favourable bearing of education upon the interests of morality and religion; and this is by far the most important light in which the subject can be viewed. For, however much it may benefit our temporal or political affairs,

yet if it have no connection with our spiritual and eternal interests, it would still be a matter of but secondary importance, and one that concerned the philosopher and the statesman rather than the Christian and the minister. But such is not the case. The truth is, education, as we have defined it, is vitally and inseparably connected with the progress of virtue, and with the prosperity of Christ's kingdom in the world. "Ignorance," says an able writer, "is one principal cause of the want of virtue and of the immoralities that abound in the world." Were we to take a survey of the moral world as delineated in the history of nations, or as depicted by modern voyagers and travellers, we should find abundant illustration of the truth of this remark. We should find, in almost every instance, that ignorance of the character of the true God, and false conceptions of the worship and service which he requires, have led not only to the most obscene practices and immoral abominations, but to the perpetration of the most horrid cruelties. We have only to turn our eyes to Hindostan, to Tartary, the petty states of Africa, and to the various groups of islands in the broad Pacific, in order to be convinced of this melancholy truth. The destruction of new-born infants, the burning of living women upon the dead bodies of their husbands, the drowning of aged parents, the offering of human victims in sacrifice, and the torturing to death of prisoners taken in war, are only a few specimens of the consequences of ignorance combined with human depravity. It is likewise to ignorance, chiefly, that the vices of the ancient pagan world are to be attributed. "The Gentiles," says Paul, "having the understanding darkened through the ignorance that is in them, have given themselves over to lasciviousness, to work all manner of uncleanness with greediness." And in another part of his writings he declares, "Because they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, they were given over to a reprobate mind," or a mind void of judgment; and the consequence was, "they were filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness, envy, murder, deceit, malignity."

And if we turn our eyes to the state of society around us, we shall find that the same causes have produced the same effects. Among what class do we find sobriety, temperance, rectitude of conduct, and active beneficence, most frequently to prevail? Is it among ignorant and grovelling minds? Is it not among the wise and intelligent; those who have been properly instructed in their duty, and in the principles of moral action? And who are those that are found most frequently engaged in fighting, brawling, and debauchery, in the commission of theft and other petty crimes, and in rioting in low houses of dissipation? Are they not, for the most part, the rude, the ignorant, and the untutored? those whose instruction has been neglected by their parents or guardians, or whose wayward tempers have led them to turn a deaf ear to the reproofs of wisdom? From all the investigations which of late have been made into the state of immorality and crime, it is found that gross ignorance, and its necessary concomitant grovelling affections, are the general characteristics of those who are engaged in criminal pursuits, and most deeply sunk in vicious indulgence. Now, if it be a fact that ignorance is one principal source of immorality and crime, then it appears a

natural inference, that the general diffusion of knowledge would tend to counteract its influence and operations; for when we remove the cause of any evil we of course prevent its effects.

To illustrate the propriety of this inference, look for a moment at the history of the period which preceded the Reformation. The church was at that time in a most deplorable state: it exhibited all that is debasing in degradation, and all that is revolting in corruption and crime. And do we wonder at the superstition of those times? To see the people transferring the worship of the true God to images and paintings? To see them reposing greater confidence in a pretended chip from the original cross, in a supposed bone of St. Stephen, or the counterfeit filings of St. Paul's chain, than in the vicarious sacrifice of the Lord Jesus Christ? Do the absurdities of the ecclesiastical orders appear revolting when, in numerous instances, we behold them assuming the habit and the practice of mendicants, and spending their time like common beggars in asking for bread from door to door? And in other instances retiring from society which it was their duty to reform, and going by thousands into voluntary exile in some remote desert or mountain; or, like Simeon the Stylite, climbing to the top of some solitary post or pillar, and remaining upon its summit day and night, summer and winter, for years in succession, without once changing their situation; while the deluded multitude flock around them from every direction, and admire and applaud them as the especial ambassadors of Christ? Do we turn pale at the recital of the enormities of the successive Roman pontiffs, now blasphemously assuming the power, not only to forgive sins, but granting license to commit sin of every species, the most horrid not excepted; and again, when the people, unable longer to endure impositions and abuses so gross and Heaven-daring, rise in opposition to the papal power, do we tremble at the inhuman cruelty, the demoniac rage, with which they are persecuted and put to death, by thousands and millions? The whole is explained by the single fact, that "darkness rested upon the earth, and gross darkness upon the people." Even the Bible was withheld from the world. The clergy were shamefully ignorant of its contents, and the laity were scarcely aware of its existence. To read it was a crime, and to teach it to their children was counted worthy of imprisonment. But the revival of letters broke the spell of this cruel enchantment. The light of science, mingling its beams with those of revelation, poured in upon the darkness of ages, and rolled back the dismal clouds of ignorance from a wandering and bewildered world. The self-banished ecclesiastics returned from their wild retreats to the abodes of civilization, and exchanged the idle seclusion of the monk for the active duties of the pastor. The fearful power of the pretended successor of St. Peter was broken; nation after nation escaped from his grasp; the dungeons of the Inquisition were thrown open, and its hellish fagots ceased at length to burn.

But let us consider, in the last place, the advantages which religion, at the present day, derives from the diffusion of knowledge. Who are those that constitute the bone and muscle of the membership in our different churches; who are alike firm in their principles and in their practice; not tossed to and fro and carried about by every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men and cunning craftiness,

whereby they lie in wait to deceive; but who are steadfast, unmoveable, and always abounding in the work of the Lord; whose enlightened views, consistent walk, and devoted spirit, render them the glory of religion and the terror of infidelity? Who are they? We mean no disparagement to ignorance which arises from necessity, neither do we forget that there is sometimes much grace where there is little light, when we confidently affirm that they are such as have enjoyed and improved early opportunities for the cultivation of their minds and morals. And again, who are they that superintend the benevolent enterprises of the day? Who direct the operations of the Temperance, the Bible, and the Sabbath School associations? Who fill the ranks of the Christian ministry, both at home and in foreign missions? We need not tell you that they are educated men. Such stations may not be occupied by any others. To fill them with ignorant and illiterate men would be to abandon these enterprises. And is this the *time* to abandon them? Shall we give up the temperance cause while it is yet problematical whether the American people shall finally become the worshippers of the true God, or the votaries of Bacchus? Shall we stay the march of the missionary cause when Providence is smiling upon it and crowning it with unusual success, and when the heathen world appears on the point of yielding to the omnipotency of the gospel of Christ? Shall Protestantism decline and die, at the very moment when popery is summoning all its energies to make a final, fearful, and desperate onset upon our civil and religious institutions? Shall the beacon blaze of knowledge and of revelation cease to emanate from the Christian pulpit and from the Christian press at the critical juncture when infidelity, in high places and in low, in the dram shop and in the senate chamber, is on the alert to darken and misguide the minds of men, to sear the conscience, and to pour contempt and calumny upon the religion of Jesus Christ? But if we would not have these things so; if we would avoid results so greatly to be deprecated; and if we would bring these mighty moral engines to bear with increased power and effect upon the bulwarks of Satan's kingdom, we must see to it that the rising generation be properly educated. We must labour most faithfully and most religiously, to enlighten their minds in such a manner that they shall discern the difference between truth and error; and so to imbue their hearts with the principles of virtue that they shall never be persuaded to overlook the broad distinction between right and wrong, between patriotism and treason, between the excellences of our holy religion and the untold horrors and blasphemies of atheism.

But I cannot sit down without addressing a word, more especially, to the Methodist Church. Brethren, we owe much to education. Methodism was cradled in a college; and the lamp of science has guided her youthful footsteps to her present eminence among the churches of Christendom. For while we acknowledge and honour the usefulness of many of her ministers who make no pretensions to literature, yet all must see that if there be any thing of wisdom in her discipline, any thing sound and Scriptural in her doctrines; if she have stemmed the tide of opposition and weathered the storms of persecution, through which she has been destined to pass, we can

only ascribe it, under God, to the cultivated talents of her venerated founder, and of her other distinguished men.

It is a frequent remark, that the Methodist people are doing well for the interests of education. As a general remark, we believe this is true. As a denomination, we are undoubtedly much more engaged in this cause than we formerly were. But there are many portions of our people to whom, we fear, the observation would not be applicable; many who are not aware of the vast importance of educating the rising generation. They do not see that this cause is identified with the best hopes of the church and of the world. They have yet to learn that education, instead of being a matter of secondary moment, lies, in fact, at the foundation of those other noble enterprises which engross their attention; and that the sure way to be successful in them is to be faithful in this. And, indeed, when we consider that half a million of youth, whom God has committed to our charge, are looking to us for instruction; that our sister churches, who have far surpassed us in zeal and success in this cause, are turning their eyes toward us as though they would say, Come up with us to the help of the Lord against the mighty; and that our common country, in this hour of peril, appeals to us, in the name of all that is sacred and endearing, to do our part toward the diffusion of that virtuous intelligence, that sanctified learning, which is to be her only safeguard; in view of all this, must we not confess that there is by far too much indifference and remissness among us as a denomination? Brethren, let us awake to our duty, and double our diligence. Let us strive to cultivate education in all our borders, that both grace and light may mingle in our character; and that, while we retain all our characteristic zeal, it may be a zeal according to knowledge. In particular, let us cherish and support our literary institutions by our prayers, our influence, and our contributions. If we do so, I see not why we may not expect that the Lord will make them fountains of knowledge and nurseries of piety to our entire connection; and that, from some of them, he will raise up men who shall vie in usefulness with those distinguished divines that have graced the Methodist Church on the other side of the Atlantic—some Wesley, who shall superintend the interests of the church with the prudence of a sage and with the piety of an apostle—some Fletcher, blending eminently in his character the wisdom of the serpent and the harmlessness of the dove—some Clarke, who, outstripping all competition in the extent of his acquirements, shall nevertheless bring all his scientific stores, and all his literary laurels, and lay them, a willing sacrifice, at the Redeemer's feet—some Watson, who, rising in the majesty of his intellectual strength, shall, with one hand, mightily sustain and push forward the missionary cause, while with the other he shall present to the world, in rapid succession, those important works that will reflect immortal honor upon their author, while they constitute the praise and safeguard of Methodism, to the latest generations. Amen.

For the Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review.

The following article was originally intended for another work. It is not now necessary to state the circumstances which led to a change in its destination. Had it been written with a view to this Magazine, it would have been somewhat modified; but as it is, the author deemed it scarcely needful to make any alteration, since the principles inculcated in it may easily be generalized and applied to all situations.

The design of the author is to show the effect of evangelical piety upon the more cultivated and refined portions of the community, and to answer the objections which are frequently urged against religion, especially among that class of persons. The dialogue form was chosen merely for the facility it affords of giving interest to didactic subjects. It is scarcely needful to inform the reader that the personages and incident are purely imaginary.

Art. III.—HAPPINESS IN A COTTAGE;

OR,

RELIGION SUPERIOR TO THE WORLD.

A Dialogue between the Rev. Henry Villiers, Mrs. Randall, and Mrs. Villiers.

Mr. Villiers. Mrs. Randall, I am happy to see you in our lowly dwelling. You see that your sister and I have adopted a very humble style of living; a fact for which, I presume, you were not unprepared.

Mrs. Randall. It is true, sir, I am not disappointed in my expectations; but I cannot say that the reality affords me any great pleasure. To see my sister in such a situation, certainly is not very congenial to the wishes of her friends. And then, to think what she might have been! You well know, sir, that she might have shone in the first circles, and have enjoyed all the elegances and refinements that wealth can procure.

Mr. V. You profess, Mrs. Randall, to be a follower of the Saviour. As such you must not only admit the supreme authority of Christianity, but that the teachers of this religion are under peculiar obligations to enforce its doctrines by exemplifying its precepts.

Mrs. R. Certainly, sir; but I do not precisely see to what your preamble leads.

Mr. V. Will you then allow me, my dear madam, to inquire whether you think the sentiments you have uttered can be reconciled with this profession? You remember that there are such precepts as these: "Be not conformed to the world." "Mind not high things, but condescend to men of low estate." "Love not the world, nor the things that are in the world." Do you not think it probable that the very objects on which you place so great a value may be included in St. John's classification of sinful pleasures, "the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life?"

Mrs. R. But surely, Mr. Villiers, you do not mean that the possession of a competent income is sinful, nor that it is a crime to enjoy the elegances of life, provided it be done with moderation and pious gratitude. I always understood that the sin consisted only in the abuse.

Mr. V. I cheerfully admit, madam, that in the mere possession of wealth or its accompaniments there is not absolutely any sin. And yet, when the possession so often leads to the abuse; when riches have so strong a tendency to attach us to the world, to nurture our pride, to

unfit us for spiritual duties, and to undermine our sacred principles; when they so fearfully increase our responsibility, and render our salvation so difficult that our Saviour said, "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God!"—ought we to consider the possession of them so very desirable, or their absence so great an evil?

Mrs. R. But you know, sir, that many of our clergy have handsome salaries, live in good houses, and enjoy all the comforts and even elegances of life. You must admit that, in general, they are excellent men. Why then must you set up for yourself a different standard?

Mr. V. Your ingenuity places me in rather an unpleasant dilemma. And yet I believe I can extricate myself without much difficulty. If the clergymen you speak of honestly and conscientiously believe themselves to be in the way of their duty, they may possess their salaries without detriment to their piety. Still, for the use they make of their wealth they must be accountable to Heaven, as well as other men. And that many are strictly faithful in the appropriation of their income I well know, though, in such a body of men, there will naturally be a diversity of conduct. But though, in this view, I look with charity on those who differ from me, yet I would venture to assert, that if the clergy must live like men of fortune, they give very small evidence of the Christian virtue of disinterestedness. They may find some difficulty in proving "that they are honest in the sacred cause;" and if they be found hunting after large salaries and handsome establishments, do they not give some room for the charge that their calling is only a

"Sad sacrilege,—no function, but a trade?"

Now, as such are my principles, of course I must regulate my conduct according to them: but I do not presume to judge all by my rules; though I have no doubt, if they were universally acted on, it would be greatly to the edification of the world.

Mrs. R. Well, sir, I do not know after all but you are nearly right, though I confess it is to me rather a novel view of the matter. But there is another point worthy of some attention. A larger income enables a person to be more liberal in his charities, and thereby he may do more good.

Mr. V. True, madam, this seems reasonable; and yet you are aware, I think, that it is more specious than solid. Almost every one regulates his mode of living by the extent of his means; so that men of large fortune often keep themselves in splendid poverty, and actually have less to give away than many who are comparatively poor. But the truth is, that the desire of a larger income for the purposes of beneficence is too delusive to be trusted. It generally, if not invariably, originates in selfishness, which evades detection by assuming the garb of benevolence. But God looks at the heart; and if the disposition be there, he will accept it for the deed when the deed is beyond our power.

Mrs. R. But if it is in your power to provide the means of extending your usefulness in this way, are you not chargeable with a culpable omission?

Mr. V. No doubt, madam, provided the means to be used are lawful or consistent with other duties. But it would not be proper to violate positive duty in one form for the sake of some uncertain good in another

form. And as I do not see at present how I can enlarge my means without violating some plain obligations, it is a virtue to submit to the inconveniences of a limited income.

Mrs. R. Well, sir, I must say that I admire your principles and consistency. No doubt you feel a high satisfaction in maintaining such a character; a satisfaction sufficient, perhaps, to compensate for your privations. But how is it with my sister? She has no ministerial character to sustain; and she might have fulfilled all the obligations of a private Christian in a different sphere. I do not see that your remarks at all relieve her case.

Mr. V. I am sorry to see, madam, that you estimate your sister's piety by so low a standard. The truth is, that our sentiments perfectly coincide. She has the same views of ministerial requirements; she has a strong conviction that she is in the path of duty; she believes that she is more useful in this situation than she would be in any other. As to those elegances to which you seem to refer, she regards them no more than myself; and as we value them so lightly, their absence does not interfere with our happiness.

Mrs. R. But admitting, sir, that these are not absolutely necessary to your personal comfort, yet they are important in another point of view. The world does, and will, look much to outward circumstances, so that one's influence in society depends very much on the appearance we make. Besides, they have an imperceptible effect upon our own character. Our manners and sentiments become involuntarily conformed to our mode of life, and take their complexion from the objects around us. Place a person of polished manners where he will be conversant only with low life, and he becomes gradually tinctured with vulgarity. His habits become coarse, his manners rude, and he is at last entirely unfitted for genteel company. And as you are sensible of the importance of polite behaviour, dignified deportment, and refined and liberal ideas, I hardly know how you can bear to think of the influence likely to be exerted on your family. You will inevitably be deposed from the station you are entitled to occupy, and will lose all influence with the higher classes of society.

Mr. V. In some points, madam, we are agreed; in others we still differ. I admit that a certain part of the world attaches great importance to what you mean by appearances. But I do not suppose that it is a part that a clergyman ought to have any violent solicitude to please, nor do I know that his influence will depend much on their opinion. But if he possess piety, zeal, consistency, and intelligence, he will always enjoy the respect and confidence of the wise and good, and indeed of all reflecting persons; and an influence resting on such a basis is, of all others, most valuable. Take my word for it, madam, a clergyman makes a sad mistake, who, to conciliate the gay and irreligious, adopts their sentiments and modes of life. They know too well what religion requires not to despise him for his inconsistency; while his conduct will be a stumbling-block and an offence to the serious and humble inquirer after the "narrow way." As to our liability to deteriorate in manners by mingling less in the more polished circles, we are aware of this, and desire to avoid it; but, in our view, the best security against such a result is, always to maintain a proper behaviour at home. Domestic good breeding, Mrs. Randall, is the best kind of

good breeding. Those who are always accustomed to behave properly at home, will never appear contemptible abroad; whereas a great deal of the manner you meet with in the gay world is put on like a holiday dress, to go out in, while at home all is rudeness and indecorum. As to dignity of deportment, that is the truest dignity which is independent of outward circumstances, and which is equally evident in a cottage or a palace. It is a good sentiment of a favorite authoress, that many persons require to be stripped of all outward appendages of greatness, before you can tell whether their dignity is real or only fictitious. The real elements of dignity are a sound understanding, cultivation of mind, and correct moral feelings. He who possesses these can never be despised by thinking people; and he who possesses them not, only renders himself more ridiculous by seeking to conceal his poverty in borrowing the cloak of fashion.

Mrs. R. There is a good deal of truth, Mr. Villiers, in your observations. We see every day people who have risen from obscurity by success in trade, striving to hide their inferior origin and give themselves consequence by an ostentatious display of wealth, and by an excess of splendor and decoration. But admitting that the half-genteel overdo it, is that any reason why others should go to the other extreme? Besides, ought we not to cultivate and indulge our taste? Why, otherwise, was that faculty given to us?

Mr. V. As to taste, Mrs. Randall, I presume we do not differ very essentially. I agree with you that it is an endowment of our nature, intended for benevolent and useful purposes, and therefore ought to be indulged. Indeed, this is inseparable from cultivation of mind. The only question between us is, as to the best mode of exhibiting it. Now I do not hold that there is any great display of taste in employing the cabinet-maker and upholsterer to furnish our houses according to the prevailing fashion. Wealth alone is necessary for this; and you have just observed that costly decorations are no true indications of gentility. On the contrary, genuine taste disdains a profusion of ornament and useless splendor. It delights in an elegant simplicity, in delicacy, harmony, and congruity. It is decidedly opposed to glaring colors, tawdry ornaments, and frivolous parade. Besides, is not the increase of profusion alarming? Already, as you observe, a man begins to be estimated by the dash he makes; and every valuable quality of the mind and heart is lost sight of in the glitter of money. The identification of refinement with indiscriminating parade is doing immense mischief among us.

Mrs. R. Well, but how is it to be cured? Who can arrest the natural course of things?

Mr. V. The only way to cure it, madam, is to break the connection which has been formed between taste and finery, and to prove that something more than mere money is necessary to secure elevation in society. The true graces of life must be shown to consist in something that money cannot buy, and mere fashion cannot imitate. In a word, it must be done by raising a different standard of taste,—by setting an example of simple elegance, and creating a love for it. Now, madam, this obligation rests upon the wealthy and intelligent; and by them it may be done, for wealth and intelligence will be imitated. Let this class lead the way, and others will follow; and thus our country may

be rescued from an evil which is pressing upon it like an incubus. And above all, madam, Christians are bound to take the lead in this object.

Mrs. R. What you say, sir, is correct enough in its general principles; but still, in protesting against all decoration, are you not doing an injury to mankind? Many industrious and deserving persons gain a livelihood by the manufacture of such articles, and by refusing to encourage them, you help to take away their means of subsistence.

Mr. V. This point, madam, involves too many principles in political economy to be discussed in a single conversation. I will, therefore, only observe, that in a country like ours, at any rate, there are sufficient means of subsistence without resorting to employments that do nobody any good. And if all the labour, time, and materials now wasted in the fabrication of useless finery, were employed in adding to the comforts, conveniences, and real improvement of mankind, the poor would be equally well provided for, and society, in general, incalculably benefited. Such is the conclusion which, after some reflection on the subject, I have arrived at; and I think I could make it sufficiently clear, did time permit. But if this doctrine be true, then he who encourages luxury and pomp, so far from being a benefactor, is in reality an enemy to his country. He does not thereby contribute to the support of the poor, while he actually militates against the progress of society in mind, morals, and resources.

Mrs. R. Well, Mr. Villiers, I do not feel capable of following out this subject; for the ladies seldom trouble themselves about the abstruse points in political economy. Miss Martineau, I believe, has not many followers in our country at present. But as you seem to have adopted your sentiments on reflection, I dare say you are correct. At any rate, I give you credit for consistency in acting on your own principles. I feel that my views have undergone some change during this conversation, since I find your mode of life to be so entirely founded on principle, and, I may add, with no small show of reason; and if I could be fully persuaded that my sister enters cordially into the same views, I should have no more to say.

Mr. V. I presume, madam, you will rely on your sister's veracity.

Mrs. R. Certainly, sir.

Mr. V. Then I hope to satisfy you, if you will excuse me for one moment. (*He steps out of the room, and returns with Mrs. Villiers.*) My dearest Susan, I have had some trouble to convince your sister that you are happy in your present situation, and I should be glad if you would give her your own views of the matter.

Mrs. V. Why, my dear sister, should you question my happiness? Have I not every thing a reasonable mind could desire?

Mrs. R. Well, but your situation is so altered! Do you not pine for your former enjoyments? Do you not look back with a sigh to other days? I should think, shut out from every body, and tied down to such a meager way of living, you would mope to death.

Mrs. V. My dear sister, when will you learn that "a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth?" And yet you are sensible that happiness does not depend on outward circumstances. How many families do we know who have every thing that money can obtain, and yet are miserable! and miserable, too,

without any serious cause! But a continued succession of petty disappointments, mortifications, and jealousies, a thousand imaginary wants, with the satiety and disgust which follow inordinate indulgence, and the tedium of a dissipated life, all conspire to make their lives a scene of splendid wretchedness.

Mrs. R. O, you are now speaking of these things in the excess. But there is a happy medium in every thing.

Mrs. V. Not in every thing, sister. There is no medium in sinful pleasure. The heart that craves it, can never be satisfied but in the excess; and satisfaction once obtained, immediately disgust follows. Moderate pleasures, and such as are consistent with piety, can alone prove durable.

Mrs. R. Well, sister, will you be so good as to tell me what your pleasures are; for, to me, it is all mystery. I do not understand it.

Mrs. V. Very willingly. In possessing a simple taste and a contented mind, we have already a foundation for the most perfect felicity. With this disposition, we are prepared to enjoy, as others cannot, the endearments of the domestic circle, the society of a few select friends with whom we are on the most familiar terms, the pleasures of literature and mental improvement; we have all the varied beauties and loveliness of nature, in a most picturesque and charming country, to delight us; scenery which, in all our walks or rides, presents some additional impulse of joy and incentive to grateful praise. In the winter evenings, when Mr. Villiers is not engaged in his duties, a well-chosen book makes the time delightfully short; and in the summer we find charming occupation in our garden and shrubbery, arranging our flowers, training the vines over our cottage, and devising various little plans to embellish and improve the spot. Such occupations are beneficial alike to mind and body, and tend not less to improve the affections of the heart. They blend delightfully with the exercises of devotion, and stimulate our gratitude and religious joy. From a contemplation of the Divine Being in his works, it is an easy transition to the more stated and serious engagements of piety. The one, indeed, prepares the mind for the other, and each imparts to the other a higher zest. In addition to these, administering to the wants of those who are in affliction, and promoting religious and benevolent objects, often give us to taste "the luxury of doing good." Now, sister, when you add the internal peace arising from the influence of religion upon the heart, and the satisfaction one feels from being in the path of duty, you will confess ours is not such a dull and moping life as you seemed to imagine.

Mrs. R. Why no, sister Susan, I confess that your exhibition does certainly put the subject in rather a new aspect. Such a life as you have described does really seem both rational and dignified, and withal not inelegant; and if it is a mode of life in which you are really happy, as you say, you are rather to be envied than pitied. But, it seems to me, such feelings cannot last. I should be afraid that, before long, you would tire of these things; there is so little of novelty, that the charm must soon wear away. It seems to me a romantic dream of youthful fervour, which, when old age shall come, with cool reflection and blunted sensibilities, will betray its airiness, and leave you under a painful conviction that something more substantial is necessary to the comfort of human life.

Mr. V. Allow me, my dear madam, to say, that if these views be romantic, then Christianity is the quintessence of romance; for they are substantially based upon the principles of enlightened piety. Besides, I believe your objection is unphilosophical. It is generally admitted, that the only pleasures which can become habitual and permanent, are such as gently excite the mind without disgusting or exhausting it. Intense pleasures must soon pall, because they so soon exhaust the spirits and produce fatigue; hence the violent relapses of feeling which invariably follow high excitement. The person accustomed to such pleasures is like the inebriate, ever thirsting for stimulants, at the very time that the power of enjoyment is rapidly wearing out. For this reason, the votaries of worldly pleasure are, of all others, most certain of sinking into a state of peevish dissatisfaction; but the followers of moderate and virtuous enjoyment find their pleasures increased by what they feed on. Kept in a calm and sedate frame, and accustomed only to the gentler impulses, they are prepared to relish those simple pleasures which never cloy the mind. It is true, however, that in old age there may not be the same fervour of feeling and quickness of sensibility that mark the period of youth; but, then, it is only a change of more vivid feeling for more confirmed and vigorous principles; or of transient raptures for a more calm and equable flow of peace. You never saw an instance where religion, acting on a cultivated and well-balanced mind, left its possessor in old age as the world leaves him, in sullen, hopeless despondency.

Mrs. V. My dear sister, you have yourself seen instances of the delightful influence of piety in advanced life, and cannot but admit its excellence. You well know, that if the brightness and ardour of religion are not so intense in old age, it does not settle into the cold and gloom of night, but rather softens into the calmness of the summer's evening, or mellows into the mild and silvery radiance of the moonlight. This justifies Ossian's description:—"Old age is not dark and unlovely. It appears like the setting sun upon the western wave, and we bless the brightness of its departure."

Mrs. R. Well, my dear sister, I hope you may find this picture realized in your own case. I am sure my only wish is to see you happy; and whatever I have said, I hope you will attribute to the solicitude I feel in your behalf. I hope you will pardon me if I have appeared obstinate or unreasonable. And now, brother, I shall say no more; for, after all, you may be nearer right than the world, in general, would be willing to allow. I confess, the views you have advanced present the subject in a light that demands from me more serious attention. I can hardly restrain the feeling that I have acted a somewhat ridiculous part. I hope, however, that you will excuse me, and that we may ever hereafter maintain the friendship and intercourse becoming such near relations.

Mr. V. My dear sister, I reciprocate your proffered friendship most cordially; and, as I know something of the prejudices of early habit and association, I can easily understand your feelings, and can take no offence at your expression of them. I shall, however, be very happy if our conversation shall have served at all to convince you, that true, and even refined enjoyment, may exist in a cottage; and that religion is infinitely superior to the world.

ART. IV.—*The Great Efficacy of Simple Faith in the Atonement of Christ, exemplified in a Memoir of* MR. WILLIAM CARVOSSO, *Sixty Years a Class Leader in the Wesleyan Methodist Connection.* Written by Himself, and edited by his Son. New-York: Mason & Lane: 1837. 18mo., pp. 348.

THE above-named little volume is published, as we perceive by the imprint, for the Sunday School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church. We should be sorry, however, if it were thence inferred that it is a juvenile affair; or that its perusal should be confined to the circle of teachers or scholars in Sabbath schools. Indeed, there is nothing in the subject or the style that would have a tendency thus to limit its circulation; and there is no reason, so far as we can perceive, (unless it be the *size* of the volume,) why it should not take rank among the standard works issued by our Book Concern. An individual unacquainted with the work, on first taking it up and perceiving that it is published especially for youth, might be tempted to lay it down without examination or perusal. The loss would be his; but we entreat that this stumbling-block may be taken out of the way, and that our enterprising publishers will get out an edition for the benefit of the church at large. It was well observed by Dr. Johnson—"Books that you may carry to the fire, and hold readily in your hand, are the most useful after all. A man will often look at them, and be tempted to go on, when he would have been frightened at books of a larger size, and of a more erudite appearance."

The volume before us makes no pretensions to elegance of style. It is the journal of an "unlearned and ignorant" man: unlearned and ignorant in the same sense in which Peter and John were, when the people marvelled. But, like them, too, he was a man "who had been with Jesus." He drank deeply into the spirit of Christ, and, tried by the Bible standard, though unacquainted with the literature of Greece, or Rome, or Britain, was eminently a *wise* man. "The fear of the Lord, that is *wisdom*." "He that winneth souls *is* wise."

The work is preceded by a modest preface, written by the author's son, now a minister of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection. "In the perusal of the following personal narrative," he observes, "it should be borne in mind, that as an author my father laboured under peculiar disadvantages; such, indeed, I apprehend, as cannot be easily paralleled in the history of literature. Here is the singular instance of a man writing a volume for the instruction of the world, who, at the advanced age of sixty-five, had never written a single sentence!"

The whole amount of his literary education, until he reached this period of his life, consisted in being able to read, and to mark, with a single letter, the attendance of the members on his class-roll. The fac-simile of his penmanship, which is given in the volume before us, bears evidence of what can be effected by industrious perseverance, even when the meridian of life is long past; and the style in which his journal and epistolary correspondence are couched, indicates a vigorous mind and a deeply meditative heart.

He was born in the year 1750, in the county of Cornwall. By the advice of his sister, who had been recently converted, he was induced, in his twenty-first year, to hear a Methodist sermon; under which, he tells us, "The word quickly reached my heart, and I saw and felt I

was in the gall of bitterness and bond of iniquity." "I suffered much," he continues, "for many days; but, about the space of eight hours before I received the pardon of sin, I might say with David, 'The pains of hell gat hold upon me.'" Soon after receiving the evidence of his adoption into the family of Christ, which was "about nine o'clock at night, May 7, 1771," he united with the Methodists; joining a class of which Richard Wright, afterward a successful pioneer of Methodism in this country, was then a member.

We cannot describe his rapidly progressing advancement in the knowledge of God at this time better than by quoting his own language:—

"In the same happy frame of mind, which God brought me into at my conversion, I went on for the space of three months, not expecting any more conflicts; but, O, how greatly was I mistaken!. I was a young recruit, and knew not of the warfare I had to engage in. But I was soon taught that I had only enlisted as a soldier to fight for King Jesus; and that I had not only to contend with Satan and the world from without, but with inward enemies also; which now began to make no small stir. Having never conversed with any one who enjoyed purity of heart, nor read any of Mr. Wesley's works, I was at a loss both with respect to the nature, and the way to obtain the blessing, of full salvation. From my first setting out in the way to heaven, I determined to be a Bible Christian; and though I had not much time for reading many books, yet I blessed God, I had his own word, the Bible, and could look into it. This gave me a very clear map of the way to heaven, and told me that 'without holiness no man could see the Lord.' It is impossible for me to describe what I suffered from 'an evil heart of unbelief.' My heart appeared to me as a small garden with a large stump of a tree in it, which had been recently cut down level with the ground, and a little loose earth strewed over it. Seeing something shooting up I did not like, on attempting to pluck it up, I discovered the deadly remains of the carnal mind, and what a work must be done before I could be 'meet for the inheritance of the saints in light.' My inward nature appeared so black and sinful, that I felt it impossible to rest in that state. Some, perhaps, will imagine that this may have arisen from the want of the knowledge of forgiveness. That could not be the case, for I never had one doubt of my acceptance; the witness was so clear, that Satan himself knew it was in vain to attack me from that quarter. I had ever kept in remembrance,—

> 'The blessed hour, when from above,
> I first received the pledge of love.'

What I now wanted was 'inward holiness;' and for this I prayed and searched the Scriptures. Among the number of promises which I found in the Bible, that gave me to see it was my privilege to be saved from all sin, my mind was particularly directed to Ezek. xxxvi, 25–27: 'Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean: from all your filthiness, and from all your idols, will I cleanse you. A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you: and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you a heart of flesh. And I will put my Spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments, and do

them.' This is the great and precious promise of the eternal Jehovah, and I laid hold of it, determined not to stop short of my privilege; for I saw clearly the will of God was my sanctification. The more I examined the Scriptures, the more I was convinced that without holiness there could be no heaven. Many were the hard struggles which I had with unbelief, and Satan told me that if I ever should get it, I should never be able to retain it; but keeping close to the word of God, with earnest prayer and supplication, the Lord gave me to see that nothing short of it would do in a dying hour and the judgment-day. Seeing this, it was my constant cry to God that he would cleanse my heart from all sin, and make me holy, for the sake of Jesus Christ. I well remember returning one night from a meeting, with my mind greatly distressed from a want of the blessing: I turned into a lonely barn to wrestle with God in secret prayer. While kneeling on the threshing-floor, agonizing for the great salvation, this promise was applied to my mind, 'Thou art all fair, my love; there is no spot in thee.' But, like poor Thomas, I was afraid to believe, lest I should deceive myself. O what a dreadful enemy is unbelief! Thomas was under its wretched influence only eight days before Jesus appeared to him; but I was a fortnight after this groaning for deliverance, and saying, 'O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?' I yielded to unbelief, instead of looking to Jesus, and believing on him for the blessing; not having then clearly discovered that the witness of the Spirit of God's gift, not my act, but given to all who exercise faith in Jesus and the promise made through him. At length, one evening, while engaged in a prayer-meeting, the great deliverance came. I began to exercise faith, by believing 'I shall have the blessing now.' Just at that moment a heavenly influence filled the room; and no sooner had I uttered or spoken the words from my heart, 'I shall have the blessing now,' than refining fire went 'through my heart,—illuminated my soul,—scattered its life through every part, and sanctified the whole.' I then received the full witness of the Spirit that the blood of Jesus had cleansed me from all sin. I cried out, 'This is what I wanted! I have now got a new heart.' I was emptied of self and sin, and filled with God. I felt I was nothing, and Christ was all in all. Him I now cheerfully received in all his offices; my Prophet to teach me, my Priest to atone for me, my King to reign over me.

> 'Amazing love! how can it be
> That thou, my Lord, shouldst die for me!'

O what boundless, boundless happiness there is in Christ, and all for such a poor sinner as I am! This happy change took place in my soul March 13, 1772."

How simply, and yet forcibly, does this extract indicate the dealings of the Holy Spirit with his soul. Unacquainted with books, and the speculative theories of men, he determined to be a "Bible Christian." He sought *there* for his duty. There he looked for, and found, and relied on the promises of God. How many hearts have echoed the sentiment—"What a dreadful enemy is unbelief!" And how many living witnesses are there, at the present day, that the blood of Jesus has cleansed them from all sin—that Carvosso's is a common experience! Would to God it were more common!

It will be seen, in the progress of these remarks, that having thus early in his Christian course been made perfect in love, (we use the expression because it is Scriptural,) he lost no time, and neglected no opportunity, of making it known. This he did, not merely by talking of it, but, inasmuch as "actions speak louder than words," far more effectually. He lived the life of the righteous; and his daily walk was such as constrained others to say—"Mark the perfect man." Whence the idea originated, that unless those who enjoy this blessing tell of it on every occasion they will lose it, we know not. It is, however, a very common opinion, but has, to say the least, no warrant from Scripture. True, on every suitable occasion they should, and will, declare the wonderful works of God. True, if they deny what God has done for them, they thereby give evidence that they have already lost the blessing. But is it not also true, that the works of the Christian are the only criterion by which others can judge of the reality and the depth of the work of grace? A candle that is lighted and uncovered will necessarily give light to all that are within the compass of its rays. "I will show you my faith by my works."

It cannot fail to have been observed, by those who pay any attention to the signs of the times, that the doctrine of Christian perfection is now looked upon with a more unjaundiced, and, therefore, a more favourable eye, by different branches of the Christian Church than formerly. It is, indeed, gaining converts. Sneers will not now answer the purpose of argument in opposing it; and the time is not far distant, if, indeed, it be not already come, when clerical witticisms shall no longer make void the word of God. It has recently been discovered, and promulged from the pulpit and from the press,—and that, too, in a quarter where we should have least expected it,—that an *argumentative* treatise on this subject was published so long ago as the middle of the last century; and that those arguments, though they have been ridiculed, have not yet been answered: that the plain account, written (*mirabile dictu!*) by one John Wesley, is worthy of a perusal by all the followers of the Lord Jesus.

The belief and the practice of many branches of the Christian Church on this momentous subject, have always appeared to us as affording a most striking instance of the force of prejudice and the power of early education. Will any body believe that, had it not been for the fetters of human creeds, and the fostered antipathy to the *name* of Methodism, multitudes of every sect, warm in their first love, with the Bible for their guide and the glory of God for their aim, would, like the subject of the memoir before us, have seen, and believed, and embraced the fulness of the promises of the Gospel of Christ? Had it not been for the lessons of the theological school, which, like the bed of Procrustes, would bring all to the same standard by stretching or retrenching, as the case may be, we should not now have heard, for the first time, from a Calvinistic pulpit, that it is possible to love God with the whole heart. In other words, that God requires nothing from his creatures but what he gives them grace to perform; and that Paul meant *something* when he said, "I can do all things, through Christ which strengtheneth me."

We write, as we always think on this subject, with painful feelings. We profess to belong to the Church of Christ. As such, we are not

conscious of any other emotion than that of love toward the members of His mystical body, under whatever banner they may be enrolled. Our object is one with theirs. Our efforts are directed to the same end—the advancement of the cause of Christ—the hastening of that day when the earth shall be filled with the glory of God. Do they believe that day will ever dawn? And what will then be the sentiment of the world on this subject? Will man *then* love his neighbour as himself, and his Maker with all his powers? These questions admit of but one answer. And is there more than *one* reply when we ask—*Can* the millennial glory dawn, so long as the church doubts the possibility of its entire sanctification, and lives, and moves, and has its being under the influence of that doubt?

On the other points in which we dissent from our evangelical brethren of various names, we may agree to differ; and our diversity of opinion may be productive of little injury. But with regard to this—"the grand depositum, which God has given to the people called Methodists," we cannot yield. For more than a hundred years, ourselves and our fathers have been content to bear the reproach of our brethren on this subject. We have rejoiced in belonging to the "sect everywhere spoken against." The accession of even one teacher in Israel to what we believe to be a part of the "faith once delivered to the saints," and his boldness in declaring the "*whole* counsel of God," is, to us, matter of equal surprise and gladness. We rejoice at it, because it evinces an independent mind, and betokens good to the Israel of God. To a full and implicit belief in this doctrine the church of Christ *must* come, before the millennial glory *can* dawn upon our world. As it is unbelief on the part of the sinner that is at once his guilt and the cause of his condemnation, so, in our view, doubt of the ability or the willingness of Christ to perform *all* his promises, is the damning sin of the church.

That we, as a people, believe in the doctrine of Christian perfection, is our peculiar glory. Our reproach is, that so few of us are hungering and thirsting after it: so very few, comparatively, are living in the enjoyment of it, and, like Carvosso, exemplifying, by a steady course of usefulness, its reality and its power.

Soon after the period indicated in the preceding extract, our author was appointed leader of a class.

In this sphere, in which he moved for threescore years, we wish more particularly to view him; and it is because we have here an abstract of the long life of a Methodist class-leader, that we wish for the volume before us an extensive circulation among our people. We are apprehensive that the importance, the prospective usefulness, and the dignity of this official station in our church, are not generally appreciated. We know of no work written professedly for their instruction; and consider the volume before us as well fitted, at least for the present, to fill this gap in Methodist literature.

It is generally known that the office of class-leader, like Methodism itself, was originally the child of providence. "It is the very thing we want," said the clear-sighted Wesley. The very thing, we may add, without which Methodism, in its peculiarities, cannot exist.

We know not how the case may be with our brethren on the other side of the Atlantic, but, in this country, it is lamentably too true, that

in many cases (they are the exceptions, and not the general rule, we admit; but still we say, in many cases) the office of class-leader, with the exception of attending to financial matters, is little more than a name. The *religious* duties of the office are too frequently imposed upon the circuit preacher. He is expected to preach, and, after preaching, to speak to the members of the class individually. It is right that he should speak to them: that he should meet the men and women apart at least once a quarter. But it is not right, it is not Methodism (which professes to have a place for every body, and would have every body in his place) to blend the two offices in one. Their duties are totally distinct: requiring different talents and different attainments. It is the preacher's province to itinerate from place to place; to invite sinners to Christ; to expound the sacred oracles; to build up the church. The class-leader, on the contrary, lives among the members, and knows what the itinerant, in many cases, cannot know: their individual walk, wants, feelings. It is his duty to cherish the lambs of the flock; to encourage the timid; to admonish the disorderly; to reprove the wayward; to say to those committed to his charge, "Follow me as I follow Christ:" in a word, to *lead*.

If, without too much offence to our uninterrupted-succession brethren, we may be permitted to style our preachers, what we conscientiously believe them to be, in the Scriptural sense of that word, Ἐπισκοποι; no fault will be found with us, we opine, if we rank our class-leaders among the ποιμενας και διδασκαλοι of the apostle.

It was doubtless expedient, in the early period of Methodism in this country, that many, who had given evidence of talent and usefulness as leaders, should be induced, by the advice of their brethren, to take upon them the ministerial office. Indisputably, many were called by God, from being leaders, to become preachers. Many such are called now. But is not the opinion too prevalent among us, that a good class-leader, especially if young, zealous, and unembarrassed, must necessarily be called to preach? There have been many instances in our church,—the reader may, perhaps, have one in his eye at this moment,—where men, useful as class-leaders, have given evidence that the church gained nothing when they resigned their class-books and sought ministerial parchments. "Know thyself," is a lesson of difficult attainment; specially so when the well-meant, but injudicious advice of personal friendship is proffered and reiterated. We surely need not add a truth so obvious, that a man may be an excellent class-leader, with scarcely any of the talents indispensably requisite for a tolerable preacher.

In this respect, the writer of the journal before us was an admirable exemplar. He sought the place for which he was best fitted, and in which he was most likely to be useful to his fellow-men. Having found it, his ambition was to remain in it. Like the forerunner of the Messiah, he "*fulfilled his course*;" convinced that his happiness, his honour, his usefulness, consisted entirely, as does that of all men, in filling up the sphere which God had assigned him. There is a post in which every follower of Jesus can be most useful; and that, whatever it may be, is his post of honour.

Humility, meekness, and contentment, were distinguishing traits in his character. He sought not "high things, but condescended to men

of low estate." In a letter to his son, the second letter he ever wrote, he says,—"Suppose we are not vessels of gold or silver, you know the earthenware ought not to be despised. Remember the precious Jesus with his towel and basin, and learn of him to be meek and lowly of heart, and you shall find rest to your soul: and let me tell you, *I* can find no other way. Beside, more has been done by the ram's horn than by the silver trumpet. A good man observes, 'Every one cannot be excellent, yet may be useful. An iron key may unlock the door of golden treasures. Yea, iron can do some things that gold cannot.' O what a wretched enemy self is to the poor pilgrim! How close it sticks! and, may I not say, it is a dreadful murderer? The great lesson is to learn obedience to the will of God. We are the clay, and he is the potter. It will take some time to learn this lesson as we ought. I am not yet half perfect in it. How reasonable that we should be tried! I never saw this so clear as I have of late; while waves and storms have gone over my head; and my strength, and health, and friends, are departed from me. But while I am left alone, God is with me, and I can say,—

> 'On this my steadfast soul relies,
> Father, thy mercy never dies.'"

"In his views and habits," continues the son who edits the volume, and to whom the preceding letter was addressed, "he was unambitious and anti-speculative. 'Mind not high things,' was a precept to which he strictly adhered; and hence, no one could ever draw him aside to embark either in vain politics, or in airy schemes to advance his worldly interests. With great simplicity he aimed at duty and heaven. He sought nothing more than a moderate competency of this world's good; for this he quietly, honestly, and manfully struggled; with this God blessed him; and, in the possession of it, he had the wisdom to live as contentedly and happily as most men. After the Lord had prospered the labour of his hands, he was not wanting in opportunity to enlarge his borders; but all his needs were supplied, and he had little inclination to burden himself with the unnecessary throes of the world. He neither desired the benefits, nor would he partake in the miseries, of speculation. No one could ever induce him to take a share in a mine. Some of his friends pressed him vehemently; but, feeling that such undertakings were not to him the path of duty, his uniform answer was, 'I am not called to engage in such matters.' For his faithful adherence to this principle, he felt himself amply rewarded at last. Not long before he quitted his farm, one of his most intimate friends came to see him, bringing with him a mining agent, and they used every argument in their power to induce him to venture; but he declined having any thing to do with their flattering schemes, 'because it was not his business to venture beyond "a plough deep."' Like many other affairs of the kind, the mine in question soon turned out badly; and in his last sickness, while gratefully enumerating the mercies of Him who had watched over him all his life long to do him good, my father observed to me, with some emotion, that had he suffered himself to be prevailed on in that instance, he should have been stripped of all the little fruits of his industry at a stroke, and reduced to indigence all the remainder of his days. What a number of Christian

families would have been saved from the ruinous snares of riches, and how many more from the overwhelming trials of disappointments and failures, had there been the same stern adherence to the path of duty, as that which is here exemplified in the subject of these memoirs!"

We have long esteemed the faculty of properly instructing the convicted sinner in the simple plan of salvation by faith, as one of the "best gifts;" and, therefore, in the language of the apostle, to be "earnestly coveted." It is easy to talk of justifying faith. There are many who can eloquently describe the nature of the atonement. But it is an exceedingly difficult task so to point the burdened soul to the Lamb of God, as to induce him to lay down his burden and take upon him the easy yoke of Christ. There are few who have the faculty of properly *talking with those* who mourn in Zion. Why it should be so we know not. Why it is the case, if it be a part of that wisdom which any man lacks, the apostle tells us, "Ye have not because ye ask not." In this particular, our author was eminently useful.

"To some who had no personal knowledge of his character," we quote from the preface by his son, "having never heard the wisdom and the spirit with which he spake of faith in the blood of Christ,—it may appear strange, and perhaps scarcely credible, that so many persons, variously instructed and informed, and often long groaning under spiritual bondage, should find the joy of salvation, on their being introduced into his presence but a few minutes only: the sorrowful soul being brought out of darkness into marvellous light, simply by the use of two or three right words. In some degree to account for this, it should be borne in mind, 1. That, on these occasions, his words came from a heart which felt the power of the Lord was present to heal. His falling tears, his lifted hands, his affecting emphasis, and every lineament of his countenance, declared THAT to the sorrowful spirit whom he addressed, and powerfully enforced the truth contained in his burning words. 2. His faith, no doubt, brought a degree of gracious aid to the helpless soul. To what extent our faith may be regarded while we seek the salvation of others, we have no means of ascertaining; but that it sometimes has an important bearing on the subject, is evident from the case of the man who was brought to Christ, sick of the palsy. Of the man's own faith, we hear nothing; but of his four benevolent friends, who used such extraordinary exertions to bring him to Jesus Christ, it is written, 'When Jesus saw their faith, he said to the sick of the palsy, Son, thy sins are forgiven thee.' Now, when a broken-hearted penitent was introduced to my father, and he heard him inquire, amidst the flowing of humble, contrite tears, 'What must I do to be saved?' he unhesitatingly pointed him to the Lamb of God; confidently believing that he could and would save the soul that lay thirsting for salvation at the footstool of the mercy-seat: And is not 'Jesus Christ the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever?' 3. On the first exercise or act of faith by which the sinner comes to Christ, it is well known that the subject of this memoir was apt to teach. He was most fruitful in expedients and illustrations, to help the understanding and the confidence of the seeking soul. A young man, a member of our society, one of much intelligence, and more than ordinary strength of mind, who has since died in faith, observed to me one day in his affliction, 'Until I saw your excellent father, it seemed to me I never

met with any one whose exposition of faith came within the reach of my understanding; but his remarks on the nature of that important grace were clear and forcible in an extraordinary degree, commending themselves to my reason, as well as to my heart and conscience: and,' he added, 'suffer me to say, if his papers shall fall into your hands, you will be guilty of an act of injustice to the world, if you do not give them to the public.'

"His illustrations, which told so remarkably, were commonly of the most simple kind. Entering into the house of a poor man, known to him to be deeply and sorrowfully concerned for the salvation of his soul, he found him blowing the fire, to assist in preparing the ordinary meal. My father said to him, 'John, if you had half as much faith in Jesus Christ as you have in those bellows, you would be set at liberty in a moment.' This at once brought the subject of faith in Christ within the man's reach; in an instant he saw—he felt—he believed—and was saved from all his sins and sorrows. It was in this way he would seize on any thing open to the senses, and in one way or other render it subservient to his great object, the bringing of the soul to Jesus: and his deeply spiritual mind, clear conceptions of the subject, and great simplicity of soul, rendered this mode of instruction highly interesting and profitable.

"He would often put the person who was eagerly inquiring after Christ, to read an appropriate Scripture, or verse of a hymn; telling him that he must try to read for himself. If, at the first reading, his heart did not take hold of the truth, he would be required to read over the portion more carefully, again and again. In this way he has helped many a poor mourner over the bar of unbelief. Closely connected with this method of instruction, he had another, which was equally successful: at some apposite turn of expression, he would stop short the sorrowful and heavy-laden reader, look him in the face, with the feelings of a devoutly melting heart visible in his eyes, show him what was contained in, and his right to, what his lips had uttered; and then, in the most persuasive and affectionate manner, inquire if he did not perceive the meaning, and believe the gracious truth, contained in the words which had now dropped from his own lips. Thus many, ere they were aware, felt themselves gently borne from the fearful precipice of unbelief, and set down amidst the ocean of redeeming love. Of this I have an instance before me, detailed in a letter from one of my father's correspondents. The writer says of him, 'He went with me to see an old couple, whom I was in the habit of visiting once a week. While we were there, a woman, who was a near neighbour, came in; your dear father, who was always ready for such work, asked her, I think, if she loved God. She said, "Yes; but there is something I still want." He said, "Come, and sit down by me, and I will tell you all about it." She sat down accordingly, and he soon discovered she did not know her sins were pardoned. He told her, "You may receive this blessing now." He then took our hymn-book, opened to the thirty-sixth hymn, and put her to read the fourth verse. When she had read, "Thy debt is paid," he put his thumb on the words which followed, looked her in the face, and inquired if she thought it *was paid?* She burst into a flood of tears, and was made happy from that moment. This is many years ago, but his dear name is as precious

to her as ever; and, I may add, she is still a consistent member of the society.'"

He was unwearied, in his personal efforts, for the conversion of sinners; and the work before us relates a multitude of instances in which he was remarkably successful. We had thought of quoting a few illustrative passages, but they are so numerous the selection is difficult; and we hope all our readers, if not already in possession of the volume, will lose no time in obtaining it. We suppose the like success would crown similar efforts by any Christian; and if all the professing followers of Jesus, in their several spheres, were equally persevering, the world would soon, we blush to think how soon, be converted to God.

His children were, in early life, in answer to his prayer to a covenant-keeping God, made partakers of the grace of life. The following passage from his journal we quote, as at once evidence of the willingness with which he was enabled to make sacrifices for the cause of Christ, and as a specimen of his style; simple, like that of "the disciple whom Jesus loved." Those parents who have been, or may be called upon, to offer an affectionate and dutiful son as a living sacrifice to God, will be enabled to appreciate the father's feelings when the cup was first presented to his lips; and to sympathize in his joy, when, through grace, he was enabled to say, in the language of his Master, "The cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?"

"While possessing the delightful enjoyments which are noticed above, and speaking of the excellency of faith, I had little thought of the trial that was at hand, and the call I should speedily have to exercise strong faith. I received a letter from my dear son Benjamin, dated Camelford, February 13th, stating that he had just received a letter from the Missionary Committee in London, in which they expressed a wish for him to enter on the work of a Foreign Mission; he also expressed the sense of duty which he felt in his own mind in reference to the great undertaking, and desired to know what I thought of it, and stating that he could not feel himself at liberty to become a missionary without my consent. At reading this, I was greatly affected; indeed, I was for some time overwhelmed, and incapable of giving him any answer. I knew his mind had been exercised on the subject long before; but when he mentioned it to me, I could not bear to entertain the thought, and therefore begged him not to think of any thing of the kind till I should be removed hence. My love for him was great; perhaps Jonathan's love for David was not greater. I was not only his father after the flesh, but likewise in the gospel also. Of this he often made public acknowledgment. But now I saw he was apparently called of God to leave me, and I knew not how I could give him up to such an undertaking. The object was a burden to my mind indescribable. But on one occasion soon after, while I was in secret, pondering over the painful subject, thinking of the separation, and of the various privations and dangers attending such a work, just at the moment when nature shrunk back, and I felt as if I could not consent to make the sacrifice, I seemed suddenly surrounded by the Divine presence, and a voice said to me, 'I gave my Son to die for thee; and canst thou not give thy son to go an errand for me? I will bring him to thee again.' I cried out, 'Take him, Lord, take him!' The Lord conquered me by his dying love; and never did I offer any thing to God more willingly.

Indeed, it appeared to me at that time, that if I had a thousand sons, I would cheerfully have given them all up to God for such a work. Nor have I since changed my views, or had one uneasy thought about him. At the time when I felt the wonderful deliverance, and the Father of mercies himself condescended to reason with me, it seemed, for the moment, I could not tell whether I was in the body or out of the body. Time appeared only a moment compared with that eternity which was opened to my mind; and it was in the full assurance of faith I offered him up, believing that, if I should see him no more in time, we should quickly meet in heaven; seeing the Lord told me he would bring him to me again. When the time came for his departure to New South Wales, and I accompanied him and his dear wife to the coach, and took my final leave of him, I was so supported above myself that I was perfectly calm and recollected. It seemed to me, if I ever found the all-sufficiency of grace, it was on that trying occasion. How does a life of faith triumph over every thing that would distress the soul! I know that we shall meet again, and that the separation will be but for a short season. And even during that little season,—

> 'Mountains rise and oceans roll
> To sever us in vain.'

God has united us; in him we subsist as one soul, and 'no power can make us twain.'

> 'Present we still in spirit are,
> And intimately nigh;
> While on the wings of faith and prayer,
> We each to other fly.'

Here I rest the matter with tranquillity and joy, while I continue an inhabitant of this vale of tears."

There is one peculiarity in the religious character of Carvosso, frequently alluded to in his journal and the prefatory remarks of the editor, with which we are much pleased. We allude to his love for the poetry of Wesley. "The spirit and language of our best hymns," says the son, "were peculiarly his own; and in his hand they pierced like a two-edged sword. In streaming tears, and with an emphasis not to be described, he would sometimes exclaim, 'Glory be to God that ever these hymns were written!'"

We do not conceive this fact as indicative of his possessing a poetic genius. Lovers of poetry are not necessarily poets. We look upon it as evidence of something far more estimable and important. It is, to our minds, convincing proof, had we no other, that his religious feelings were not of that ebbing and flowing character which to-day exults upon the mountain-top, and to-morrow is nearly lost in the shades of the valley. It satisfies us that his piety was deep; that he had drawn from the fountain-head; from the same source whence the foremost of Christian lyrists had inhaled his inspiration and imbibed his melody. Though the converse of the proposition may not be so readily susceptible of demonstration, we consider it axiomatic, that he who loves the poetry of Wesley is a lover of the Bible. Highly as these hymns are esteemed by many in our Israel, we trust the day is drawing near when they shall attain a still higher rank; when they shall be "familiar as

household words;" when the pitiful doggerel and senseless balderdash of numberless song books, miscalled "spiritual," shall, in the social circle, be superseded and forgotten.

To the poetry of Charles Wesley, the subject of the memoir before us was scarcely less indebted for his clear views of the atoning sacrifice and the omnipotent power of saving faith, than to the cogent reasoning and forcible appeals of the founder of Methodism.

It needs not that we add, that after such a life, death found him prepared; armed, ready for the final conflict. His sufferings in his last illness were severe; through grace he triumphed over them. His life, like the path of the just, was as a shining light, that, when summoned to pass the dark valley, dispelled its gloom and irradiated it with glory.

"Servant of God, well done."

Art. V.—FEMALE BIOGRAPHY.

Mrs. Fletcher.—Lady Maxwell.—Mrs. Mortimer.—Mrs. Mary Cooper.—Miss Eliza Higgins.—Miss Hannah Syng Bunting.

Among those who have fully exemplified the pure and practical principles of that work of God, which, under the name of Methodism, has, within the last century, taken root in almost every part of the earth, the names of those women which have been prefixed to this article, like those of the "holy women of old," will always be remembered. Their holy and useful lives will continue to incite others to "follow them, even as they followed Christ." The excellent women of whom we speak belong both to the earlier and later stages of Wesleyan Methodism; but they are all cast in the same spiritual mould, and bear one impress. They all "walked by the same rule:" they all had, in an eminent degree, their conversation "in heaven:" they all truly placed their "affections on things above, not on things on the earth:" they all exhibited their "faith by their works."

The practical effects of the faith of these "holy women," while they clearly show to the unbeliever that this divine principle of action is not an abstract speculation,—a fanciful theory,—at the same time incontestably prove to all those who "love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity," that the system of means by which their Christian graces were developed and matured, is a system which God most evidently approves. He who can read their lives and not say, at least, as much as the blinded and idolatrous Egyptians, that "this is the finger of God," we either pity his prejudices, or deplore the darkness which overspreads his mind. In whatever sphere these "holy women" moved, whether the more retired scenes of domestic life, or the larger field of active, public benevolence, we behold, in their daily lives and public labors, all the "fruits of the Spirit." Some of them were never called to step out of the humble, retired, ordinary routine of domestic life; but at home, in the family circle, we discover gentleness, patience, love, shining with mild lustre in their tempers and daily deportment. Their seasons of secret devotion and communion with God did not interfere with the discharge of their various household duties. Others were evidently called

by the Spirit and providence of God to move in a more public sphere. Their labors were of an extraordinary character, but they were not unscriptural. Prophecy had predicted, that in the last days God would "pour out on his handmaidens of his Spirit, and they should prophesy," or, perhaps, more strictly speaking, "teach;"* and an inspired apostle had definitely fixed the application of this prediction to that revelation of "grace and truth which came by Jesus Christ." But, indeed, in the Jewish Church, God had inspired a Deborah and a Judith to deliver Israel; thus, by an extraordinary impulse, leading them to act an extraordinary part, and prophesy, as we have seen foretold, that, under the new covenant, instances of women personally laboring to disseminate the gospel would be greatly increased. Though we cannot determine the precise manner in which the daughters of Philip the Evangelist were employed, yet there can be no reasonable doubt that they were called to public and active exertions in the church. This was the case with some of the women whom we shall notice. They were raised up at a remarkable time; they were called to a remarkable work. The deep, unaffected holiness for which they were distinguished; the blamelessness of their lives; the sound judgment they evinced; the happy effects of their prayers, their conversation, their public exhortations; their care of the sick; their sympathy for the distressed; their ministering visits to the poor, and those that had none to help them; all combine to exhibit such a happy union of grace and providence, of wise measures and practical benefits, of sympathy and active exertion in performing, and extensive blessings following their labors of love, that it appears to us almost impossible that any intelligent and candid person could read their lives without concluding that God is not confined to age, or sex, or gifts, in carrying on the work of Scriptural holiness throughout the earth.

The lives of these "holy women" are eminently calculated to promote vital and practical piety throughout every branch of the Church of Christ. Especially do they clearly illustrate the nature of faith; and exhibit a depth, a sweetness, a joy, in communion with God, which are well adapted to incite all true believers to ask for the same unspeakable blessings, that their "joy, also, may be full." Of how many believers may it be said, "Hitherto have ye asked nothing in my name." Too many, through a mistaken humility, are contented to be servants in their Father's house when it is their privilege to be sons and daughters. They habituate themselves to live in fear—to be troubled with doubts respecting their spiritual condition, when, at the same time, they might enjoy that perfect love which casteth out fear. They dwell in the valley of Baca, when their Saviour invites them to go with him to the mount of transfiguration. They tremble at the base of Sinai, when they might rejoice under the full light of God's reconciled countenance. These lives are eminently adapted to remove this unbelief and dispel these clouds; to bring forth the fearful and the doubting into the glorious liberty of the children of God, and to enable them, with holy confidence, to

"draw nigh,
And Father, Abba, Father, cry."

* Dr. A. Clarke:—"Teach or proclaim the great truths of the gospel."

Here they will find "joy unspeakable and full of glory," deep and genuine humility, "prayer without ceasing, rejoicing evermore, and thanksgiving in every thing," all united with the diligent discharge of the duties of life, and in lively exercise amidst all its trials, temptations, conflicts, and changing scenes. They glorified God in bearing "much fruit." "The fruits of the Spirit," in them, did indeed consist of "love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance."

But while these lives "make manifest the savor"—the pure and happy effects—"of the knowledge of Christ," wherever they may be circulated, they cannot fail to exert a beneficial influence, by their tendency to increase the faith of believers, and induce a desire for the blessing of a clean heart, with all the accompanying evidences, in that connection to which these excellent women were especially attached. Though dead, they speak to those who, a century ago, were no people, but are now the people of God. They say, "Follow us, as we followed Christ; live a life of faith; be not conformed to this world—to its customs, fashions, maxims; mortify your members which are upon the earth; glorify God in your bodies and spirits, which are his; put on the ornament of a meek and a quiet spirit; watch and pray, lest you enter into temptation; do all the good in your power to the bodies and souls of men while you remain on earth, and hasten to join the redeemed in heaven. Tarry not in all the plain," they say; "look not behind you; 'press'—like men running a race, with unabated speed to the last limit of the goal—'toward the mark, for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.'"

With these prefatory remarks, naturally suggested by the various biographies which form the groundwork of this article, we will now proceed to make some general observations on each of the several works, in the order in which they are placed; merely premising that it is our intention rather to analyze character, than to discuss the literary claims of the different publications.

The first individual in the order of time in this bright galaxy of holy women, to whom we shall refer, is Mrs. Fletcher. Mrs. Fletcher was the daughter of wealthy and fashionable parents. She was born at Laytonstone, in Essex, in the year 1739, shortly after the Wesleys commenced their itinerant labors. In very early life she was the subject of religious impressions; and as she grew up, they were deepened by an acquaintance with Mrs. Lefevre, a Methodist, moving in a respectable circle of life, possessing an enlightened understanding, with sound and fervent piety. At the age of sixteen, so clear were the convictions she entertained of duty, so tender her conscience, so solicitous did she feel to please God, that she found it necessary to pursue a course of conduct diametrically different from that of the gay, thoughtless, and fashionable circle in which her parents moved. This led to painful collisions with her parents, whom she loved with the most tender affection; and whom she "obeyed in the Lord in all things." She first renounced theatrical amusements. The good sense she displayed in this affair, at an age when the judgment is generally so immature, and we act rather from feeling than enlightened conviction, shows the soundness of her understanding, as well as the scrupulous regard she cherished for the will of God. Miss Bosanquet next relinquished all "public

diversions." Prayer, the word and the house of God, the society and conversation of holy persons of her own sex, constituted the chief source of her happiness. The conscientious firmness she evinced in relinquishing the ordinary amusements of the gay circle in which she had moved, excited considerable observation. Attempts were made to insnare her feet in the pleasures of sin; and when these failed, her "overmuch religion" was attacked with the keen weapon of ridicule. But neither the love of pleasure, nor the fear of ridicule, "moved her." "What things were gain" to her, so far as they may have procured the favorable notice of the fashionable world, "she counted loss for Christ."

The next step Miss Bosanquet deemed it her duty to take related to dress. She was at this time about nineteen years of age. Previously to this, her appearance in her father's house did not vary from that of the gay society with which she associated; but she was now fully convinced that she "conformed too much in her appearance to the spirit and fashions of the world." Being entirely satisfied "that plainness of dress and behavior best became a Christian," she, with her usual frankness, "opened her mind to her father concerning dress," at the same time "showing him her reasons" for the views she entertained. Her father heard her "with great patience; and as she loved him tenderly, it came very near to her to oppose him."

Did our space admit, we should be glad to give Miss Bosanquet's seven reasons for plainness of dress in this place. We, however, recommend them to the reader. They deserve attentive consideration. There exists a prejudice, even in the religious world, against dress, as intended to designate the religious views and feelings of an individual. But we are inclined to think that a candid, humble, prayerful consideration of Miss Bosanquet's third reason, will produce the conclusion that even dress, formed after a particular fashion, may exert a salutary influence; serving, as Miss Bosanquet remarked, as "a fence, to keep us from sinking into the spirit of the world." At all events, it should be observed that Mr. Wesley's most ripened experience agrees with this observation.*

Miss Bosanquet's trials increased daily. She was perplexed "to know how far to conform, and how far to resist. She feared, on the one hand, disobedience to her parents, and on the other, disobedience to God." In addition to the mortification her parents experienced in consequence of what, no doubt, appeared to them unnecessary religious strictness, her mother, afraid lest her sentiments and example should infect her younger brothers, suggested that "it would be better for the

* "I am distressed," said that great and holy man, "I know not what to do. I see what I might have done once. I might have said, peremptorily and expressly, 'Here I am: I and my Bible. I will not, I dare not, vary from this book, either in great things or small. I have no power to dispense with one jot or tittle of what is contained therein. I am determined to be a Bible Christian, not almost, but altogether. Who will meet me on this ground? Join me on this, or not at all.' With regard to dress, in particular, I might have been as firm (and I now see it would have been far better) as either the people called Quakers, or the Moravian brethren;—I might have said, 'This is our manner of dress, which, we know, is both Scriptural and rational. If you join with us, you are to dress as we do; but you need not join us unless you please.' But, alas! the time is now past; and what I can do now, I cannot tell."—*Sermon on "Causes of the Inefficacy of Christianity."*

family if she were removed from it." The furnace now became hotter and hotter; until at length, by the request and with the approbation of her parents, she left the home of her childhood, and went to a lodging she hired at Mrs. Gold's, in Hoxton Square.

Throughout this trying scene, Miss Bosanquet acted with the utmost discretion, filial love, and dutifulness. Her father expressly said that she had never wilfully disobeyed him, only, as he termed it, "in these fancies." A frequent and kind intercourse was continued between Miss Bosanquet and her parents after her removal from home; and, in her parents' last illnesses, she ministered to their dying wants with the most tender assiduity. It was a remarkable instance of a young person leaving the paternal roof from religious motives, in so meek a spirit, so judiciously, and at the same time with the entire approbation of her parents, that the attachment between the parents and the child was rather strengthened than diminished by *apparently* so unnatural a separation.

At this eventful crisis of her life, Miss Bosanquet was twenty-one years of age. She had a small fortune of her own. Her account of her lonely situation, the first night after leaving her father's house, exhibits to us this devoted young woman in an affecting light. "Cast out of her father's house, exposed to the world, ignorant of what snares might be gathering around her," she sat down in her unfurnished lodging, in the window-seat, "to muse on her present situation." She cried unto the Lord, and a "sweet calm overspread her spirit." She immediately framed a few admirable rules for the direction of her conduct, under existing circumstances, to which she carefully adhered. After this, her maid, having arrived, made a fire, as the night was very cold. "And now," she observed, "my captivity seemed turning every moment. That thought, I am brought out of the world, I have nothing to do but *to be holy, both in body and spirit*, filled me with consolation. Thankfulness overflowed my heart; and such a spirit of peace and content poured into my soul, that all about me seemed a little heaven. Some bread, with rank, salt butter, and water to drink, made me so comfortable a meal, that I could truly say, *I ate my meat with gladness and singleness of heart*. As the bed was not put up, I lay that night almost on the ground; and the windows having no shutters, and it being a bright, moonlight night, the sweet solemnity thereof well agreed with the tranquillity of my spirit."

Painfully trying, on some accounts, as was Miss Bosanquet's present situation, we fully believe that He who guided Israel like a flock, marked, at this period, the bounds of her habitation. This separation from the paternal roof led to the family she afterward formed and superintended at Laytonstone in Essex, and Cross Hall in Yorkshire. This family consisted of orphans, and aged, infirm, destitute women. For five years at Laytonstone, and fourteen at Yorkshire, she devoted a large portion of her time and property to the nurture and education of these orphan children, and to the care of these aged and helpless women. In addition to this, she conceived it to be her duty occasionally to speak in public, to meet classes, and to take an active part in prayer meetings. Her labors of this description were greatly blessed, both at home and abroad. God set the seal of his approbation to her "work of faith and labor of love." The number of orphans received and

educated by this single-minded, patient, cross-bearing, laborious woman, cannot, we should judge, be correctly ascertained from her memoirs. She had, however, at one time, twenty children under her care. The whole narrative of her labors at Laytonstone and Cross Hall is deeply interesting; and at no period of her long life did this excellent woman's faith, patience, and resignation, shine forth with brighter lustre than in this "dark and cloudy day."

The leading trait in Mrs. Fletcher's character was faith. Her faith was strong. She "staggered not at the promise through unbelief." Many individuals, no doubt, would denominate her faith enthusiasm. But, we think, the more carefully her life is examined, the genuineness of her faith will appear in a stronger and still stronger light, proved and illustrated as it is by the remarkable and invariable results with which it was followed. Did she leave her father's house, believing she was obeying the will of God? Observe the happy effects which followed in the rearing of orphans; the asylum that was provided for the old and infirm; the souls that were "called out of darkness into the marvellous light" of the gospel. In sustaining so large a family at Laytonstone and Cross Hall, did she, in imitation of the orphan-house of Halle, in Germany, incur expenses which her income was not sufficient to meet, believing that she acted thus agreeably to the divine will? Read her own testimony, that she was always supplied, even in the darkest hours, with money sufficient to meet every demand. Did she, even beforehand, fix upon the very time when it appeared to her the hour of delivery would arrive? Observe the exact verification of that believing reliance. In the greatest pecuniary straits, did she confide in her original promise, that she should, sooner or later, have "plenty of silver?" In her marriage with Mr. Fletcher, the happy adjustment of her pecuniary difficulties, and the peaceful closing scenes of her life, see this promise amply fulfilled. Truly she might say, "There failed not aught of any good thing which the Lord had spoken unto me."

It is easier to doubt than to believe. To the carnal eye, how preposterous would the faith of Abraham appear! How absurd, reasoning according to "fleshly wisdom," to leave his native place, not knowing whither he was going! To believe that the land in which he sojourned as a stranger, and which was then inhabited by numerous independent tribes or kingdoms, should fall to his posterity as an inheritance! But how fully did God justify the faith of Abraham! So did he the faith of Mrs. Fletcher. May her pure, sound, Scriptural faith, prevail among "her daughters!" May many, incited by her example to "covet earnestly" this excellent gift, rise up and call her blessed!

The next in order is Lady Maxwell. Born, it is supposed, about the year 1742, in the county of Ayr, and parish of Largs, in Scotland, educated in Edinburgh, presented at court when sixteen years of age, and "introduced into the first circles of rank and fashion," the early life of Lady Maxwell was far from auguring the eminent piety to which she afterward attained. The season that Lady Maxwell was presented at court, while residing in London with her aunt, the Marchioness of Lothian, an incident occurred which, in later life, filled "her mind with wonder and joy." Walking one day in the garden, "her serious, interesting appearance" encouraged the gardener, who was

laboring under deep and distressing conviction of sin, to state his case to her, and to ask her, in effect, if she could tell him "what he must do to be saved." Affected with the circumstance, and doubtless imbued with religious knowledge from a child, she answered his question according to the best of her ability. Though Lady Maxwell was "as entirely ignorant of the meaning of the words she employed as the ground on which she stood," yet, aided by the directions of his youthful and unenlightened adviser, the gardener was brought to the knowledge of the Saviour. Upon Lady Maxwell's return to Scotland she married; but, in two years, the loss of her husband and child left her a widow, solitary and afflicted. But it was "good for her to be afflicted." "God brought her to himself by afflictions." During her afflictions, she attended the Wesleyan chapel in Edinburgh; and, in 1764, formed a personal acquaintance with Mr. Wesley. The letters written by Mr. Wesley to Lady Maxwell at this period of her life, when she was earnestly seeking the knowledge of the remission of her sins, are the most beautiful and finished specimens that we have seen of his epistolary correspondence. They are particularly valuable as showing the clear, earnest, delightfully persuasive method he adopted when he urged a present salvation. They are peculiarly designed to assist doubting and fearful souls, encouraging them to "lift up the hands that hang down, and the feeble knees," and especially to believe *now*. Lady Maxwell, after a long season of darkness and unbelief, received the evidence of her adoption into the family of God, joined the Methodist Society, and, for nearly half a century, adorned the doctrine of God her Saviour in all things. The gay, the fashionable, the noble, with a few exceptions, left her to pursue the narrow path of self-denial she had chosen, while they continued to "walk according to the course of this world." Youth, beauty, fortune, high rank, were all laid at the foot of the cross, a cheerful and an entire sacrifice. Nay, more. There is reason to conclude that she did not again enter the marriage state, in order that she might be "holy both in body and in spirit," and "attend upon the Lord without distraction."

The general tenor of good Lady Maxwell's life was uniform. The vicissitudes that checkered the life of Mrs. Fletcher she did not experience. But her faith exhibited itself by her works. She devised liberal things. She carefully husbanded her income, moderated her desires, curtailed her own expenses, dressed plain, and lived frugally, so that she might perform the greatest possible amount of good with the income she possessed. One who knew her personally has said, "All that was in her power to do, she did to the very utmost. There was scarcely a humane institution, or a private or public charity, whether for the repose of age or the instruction of youth, the relief of indigence or the help of sickness, for the reformation of morals or the spread and support of religion, from which she did not receive applications, and to which she did not contribute. She erected and supported a school, in which, at the time of her death, about eight hundred children have received a good education; and each a copy of the Scriptures on leaving the institution. And such were the encouraging effects produced by this school, as induced her ladyship, by will, to provide for its continuance to the end of time."

The most striking feature in Lady Maxwell's Christian experience

is her deep and almost uninterrupted communion with God. So strong was her faith, that she seems to have subdued her enemies almost at a blow, and ever after to have maintained the ascendency. It is, perhaps, to be traced to this cause, that her experience does not excite so deep and general interest as could be desired. It commands our admiration, rather than touches our sympathies. As it respects her daily walk and conversation, she was remarkably circumspect: carefully weighing all her actions, as well as the motives by which they were prompted: watching the words which fell from her lips with scrupulous care: never speaking evil herself of an absent person, nor, as far as her influence extended, allowing it in others. She evinced a deep solicitude to promote the salvation of souls, by speaking to individuals personally, not only in the intercourse of daily life, but when travelling; by writing; and by opening her house, not without censure, in the country, for preaching the gospel. Her walk was truly close with God; her affections entirely weaned from an undue attachment to "every creature good;" her love was perfect; while her Scriptural, consistent, unwavering testimony was, that the blood of Christ cleanseth from all unrighteousness.

The individual to whom, in the order of time, we next refer, is Mrs. Mortimer, more familiarly known as Miss Ritchie, one of Mr. Wesley's valued correspondents. "At Otley," England, she says, "on Feb. 2d, 1754, it pleased God to bring me into this land of shadows." Her father was, for many years, a surgeon in the British navy; but, "as soon as he conveniently could, sought for a quiet retreat in some retired spot." The life of Mrs. Mortimer was diversified by few incidents. She did not enter the married state until rather an advanced period of life, devoting herself actively and undividedly to the church, "caring for the things of the Lord." We *infer* from the memoir that she was accustomed to speak, as well as to pray, in public; going from one society to another on this errand of love. It is to be regretted that the writer of her life does not supply us with a greater variety of facts as to the more public active labors in which she engaged. Mr. Wesley, as it appears to us, displayed a great share of wisdom in not controlling, with too rigid and unyielding a hand, that extraordinary work of which he was the principal instrument. The diversity of gifts which were developed by the agency of the Holy Spirit in the prosecution of this glorious revival of religion, he did not seek so much to remould into one form, as to direct into the most useful channel. Wherever he discovered fruit, good sense, and deep piety, he was slow to close the mouth, or check the zeal, of any individual, whether male or female, belonging to his society. Hence, after cautious and prayerful examination, he, in some instances, approved of women speaking in public. Mrs. Fletcher informs us, amidst all the reproach she experienced for efforts of this kind, that she did nothing but what Mr. Wesley approved. This was the case also, no doubt, with Miss Ritchie. It is this Scriptural flexibility of Methodism, developing the diversified gifts of individuals—"but the same Spirit, the same God, working all in all"—which we regard as one cause of its great success in "the edifying of the body of Christ."

Throughout the life of Mrs. Mortimer, there is occasionally an intimation that her public labors were prized, and rendered a blessing to

the various societies she visited; but, at the same time, there is a dearth of facts of this nature which would have added greatly to the interest and value of the work.* Still, this memoir is valuable and interesting,

* On this point we must dissent from the views expressed by the writer. A more extensive collection of facts relative to Mrs. Mortimer's public labors, to the exclusion of such traits of character as serve to illustrate the private virtues for which she was eminently distinguished, would, in our opinion, have marred the harmony of the work, without improving it in any respect. We have nothing to say against the indulgence with which Mr. Wesley tolerated the more public labors of such women as Misses Bosanquet, Ritchie, and others, during the infancy of his societies, and under his immediate direction and control. The peculiar state of the work rendered their labors beneficial in the different societies where their reputation for piety and intelligence was well established, in such a way, and to such an extent, as the wisdom of that eminent man of God, whom they all acknowledged as their spiritual father and guide, induced him, for the time being, to sanction. But as the Great Head of the church did not see fit to select female laborers for the work of the ministry, either among the twelve apostles or the seventy disciples whom he first sent out, so Mr. Wesley made no provision to receive them into the regular ranks of either the itinerary or the local ministry. The few instances in which individuals appear to have occupied a more prominent situation, and employed their talents in a more public manner than other females in the societies, were deemed peculiar as well by Mr. Wesley as others, and tolerated only in that light. It is proper enough that these facts should be recorded, as they serve to illustrate the history of the times, and the extraordinary events which attended the commencement of that great and glorious work which is so strongly marked by its peculiarities as to constitute an era in the annals of the church.

But while these extraordinary events are recorded as matters of history, we should particularly guard against holding them up in a light to excite, in weak minds, a desire for distinctions especially belonging to another period and other persons, and which are not, therefore, to be generally emulated. We wish to be distinctly understood. We have no objections to urge against the practice which has been sanctioned among us from the beginning, viz., that of allowing, and even encouraging, females to speak and pray in meetings appointed for prayer and other religious exercises. To this practice God has given his sanction, as well in the spiritual prosperity of those who have thus exercised themselves in all good conscience, as in the edification of those with whom they have lived in Christian communion. But we have no evidence that, beyond the few extraordinary cases directly under Mr. Wesley's eye, any great good has resulted to the cause from the *more* public labors of females, though some have indicated a strong desire to break through the restraints which nature itself seems to have prescribed, and devote themselves to the work of evangelists or itinerants in the church. We would touch this subject with that delicacy and tenderness which the pretensions of individuals, whose sincerity we have no disposition to question, may be supposed to demand; but we cannot, in justice to our own deliberate convictions, refrain from declaring our decided opposition to any thing which may tend to inflame ardent minds with mistaken views of duty. When God has a work for any of his people to do, out of the ordinary way, he will provide for it by an extraordinary call, and a supply of extraordinary qualifications. In all such cases it will be seen that the spirit of prophets is subject to the prophets—the church will acquiesce, and the instrument be sustained in honor. This has been the case, and may be again. We do not, therefore, say that it is impossible, even now, for females to become as eminently distinguished for their public services in the church as they were in the days of St. Paul or Mr. Wesley. There are, indeed, instances of self-dedication to the work, in the history of our missionary enterprises, which suffer nothing by a comparison with the most heroic acts of those pious females whose examples are handed down to us by inspiration. But all these things are widely different, in our estimation, from the labors and distinctions after which some seem to aspire in the church, and which, if promiscuously countenanced, would, we have no doubt, produce much mischief, if not downright scandal.

For these reasons, and others which we would name were we writing an essay on the subject, we cannot deem it a defect in Mrs. Mortimer's life that her public labors were not more prominently brought to view in it. We have read the work, and consider it a rare specimen of female biography. Mrs. M. possessed

as containing not only an account of a useful and eminently pious woman, but also brief sketches of the excellent women of that day, early fruits of Methodism, with whom Mrs. Mortimer associated and corresponded. It was Mrs. Mortimer also, then Miss Ritchie, who, during the last two or three winters of Mr. Wesley's life, ministered to his wants at the Chapel house, in London. She was also with him in his last moments, and has left a very interesting account of the solemn and affecting scene. Her piety was unobtrusive, but it was deep, pure, permanent; constantly inciting her to labor and self-denial. She lived to an advanced age, testifying in her, to the last, of the excellence of that faith which she had embraced in early life.

We now briefly call attention to the memoir of Mrs. Mary Cooper. Mrs. Cooper possessed a fine mind, highly cultivated by study and reflection. There is such truly feminine loveliness in the character of Mrs. Cooper, adorned with such purity of heart and meekness of spirit, as cannot but charm the reader. She was peculiarly susceptible to the beauties of nature, tracing the divine finger in all the varied scene of hill, wood, "running brook," and landscape, and frequently adopting the language of the poet,—

"My Father made it all."

The memoir of Mrs. C., by Dr. A. Clarke, is replete with interest. Its perusal, while it tends to elevate the understanding, to form the taste, to regulate the conduct, and to produce a laudable emulation to imitate her virtues, is also calculated, by the deep and ardent piety it displays, to promote love to God and man.

Mrs. Cooper's career was very brief. She died at the age of twenty-six. Though brought up in the established Church of England, from the profit she derived under the preaching of the Wesleyan ministry, and her entire agreement with the doctrines and discipline of that connection, she joined the society. This step, which was taken with great deliberation and prayer, and not without surmounting some little difficulty, she never afterward regretted; but rather rejoiced in that providence which brought the Wesleyan preachers to the village of Hammersmith—a village not far from London—where she passed the greater part of her peaceful and useful life.

The next name in order is that of Eliza Higgins; a name which, like Aaron's rod that budded, continues still to flourish fresh in the

such virtues as most eminently adorn the Christian character. They shone in her for a long time, and under all the varied circumstances of adversity and prosperity—in evil and in good report. It is on account of these that we admire her life, and commend it to the prayerful attention of all who would follow her example. But we would earnestly exhort them to keep their eye steadily upon the traits of character which distinguished her as a Christian, rather than her public labors, and emulate those, whether they are ever called to follow her in these or not.

We make these remarks, not because we think the writer of the article really differs from us in regard to the general views here expressed, but to guard against any abuse which might possibly be made of his statements without some such qualification as we have taken the liberty to make. And, moreover, we think his notice of the life of Mrs. Mortimer is not as full and commendatory as it merits in this connection. We are sure no person, whose heart is at all susceptible of those hallowed feelings which communion with deeply pious Christians is calculated to inspire, can follow Mrs. Mortimer through her long, rational, and soul-stirring experience, without receiving special benefit.—Ed.

memories of many. The scene of her Christian life, and triumphant victory over death and the grave, was the city of New-York. The brief record of her religious experience and happy death is invaluable. What strong proof does it furnish of the divine truth of Christianity? The celebrated writer, Miss Harriet Martineau, unhappily ignorant of the spiritual consolations of religion, and imbued with the chilling influence of Unitarianism, may aim the keen shafts of sarcasm at the happy death of the Christian; but the simple, sound, Scriptural testimony of Eliza Higgins, of the power of religion to fill the soul with joy unspeakable amidst lingering and painful sickness, and the certain prospect of death, will cause the envenomed weapons to fall harmless to the earth. Who, that visited the sick room of this lovely disciple, did not "indeed feel that it was the place of the presence of the Most High!" Great, indeed, was the bodily distress she endured for about sixteen months; but from the following "remarkable exclamation," which she uttered during a season of extreme agony, we may form some faint conception of the divine support which she received:—"The Son of God went from the *cross* to his Father's kingdom; and shall I shrink from suffering when I am so near heaven!" The Rev. S. Merwin was rendered the happy and honoured instrument of the conversion of Eliza Higgins. Such a seal to one's ministry is indeed a "crown of rejoicing;" sufficient, of itself, to stimulate the faithful minister of Jesus Christ to the most untiring zeal, and to produce unspeakable gratitude to God through the remaining period of life. The Rev. Joshua (now bishop) Soule, who prepared this unpretending account of one whom he visited through her sickness, closes his description of the blissful and glorious scene with the following remarks:—"Infidelity itself must tremble before the evidence which such illustrious examples afford of the truth and excellency of the Christian revelation. It is humbly, yet confidently presumed, that the facts recorded in the preceding narrative are effects which natural causes could never produce, and to which philosophy itself is totally inadequate. It is the special province, it is the exclusive prerogative of Christianity, to remove doubts relative to a future state, to support the soul in peace and triumph in prospect of the king of terrors, and to illuminate with comfort and joy the valley of the shadow of death. This is the tremendous moment when earth recedes from the sight, and all its interests dwindle into insignificance. This is the grand, the momentous point, at which we must exclaim, with respect to all sublunary aid, Hitherto thou mayest come, but no farther! Here thy feeble efforts fail, thy hand forgets her cunning; and the soul, devoid of thy support, must repose alone on the bosom of her God! I have only to add my earnest prayer, that while Eliza lives in her death, and flourishes from her tomb, her bright example may excite many, especially the young, to a virtuous emulation; and that, while she rests from her labors and her sufferings in the paradise of God, others may be excited to follow her as she followed Christ."

We mention "last, but not least," Miss Hannah Syng Bunting; a name which, to us, is as "ointment poured forth." The title of the work to which we now refer is, "Memoir, Diary, and Letters, of Miss Hannah Syng Bunting." This work was compiled by the Rev. T. Merritt, who, in preparing this publication for the press, has rendered valuable service to the church. The memoir of Miss Bunting, itself,

is brief; her diary and letters constituting the chief portion of the work. The chief excellence of Miss Bunting's diary and letters consists in the evidence they give of her pure, sound, Scriptural experience. Her clear and excellent understanding constantly exercised a salutary restraint over her imagination, while, at the same time, her heart was warmed with the most devoted affection to the Saviour. Her own will was subdued—it was absolutely lost in the will of Christ. Her peace was deep, unutterable. Her affections soared far above the earth; while her zeal in every good word and work was active, fruitful, and untiring.

Having lately, for the first time, read this little work with great spiritual benefit, we feel no ordinary degree of solicitude to recommend it to others. The vital, heavenly influence which it breathes, cannot but refine the heart, kindle love, and awaken a holy emulation. It is our earnest desire that this work may be extensively circulated, that it may be read with prayer, and that it may be rendered instrumental in widely promoting that perfect purity and love which Miss Hannah Bunting in so eminent a degree enjoyed.

We thus conclude our review. The works to which we have alluded constitute a valuable library of experimental religion; and, as the memoirs of eminently pious Christians render essential service in promoting vital piety, we cherish the hope that, by aiding in the circulation of the works we have enumerated, we may subserve the spiritual interests of the church. To raise a holy people was the single object which Mr. Wesley invariably pursued throughout his long and laborious life. In the eminent piety and useful labors of Mrs. Fletcher, Lady Maxwell, and others, belonging to the same illustrious company, we behold some of the fruits of Mr. Wesley's single-minded design. This design will be still more fully accomplished as all his followers imbibe the spirit, and imitate the example, of those blessed women, who, already, "through faith and patience, have inherited the promises." W.

All the above works are published by T. Mason and G. Lane, for the Methodist Episcopal Church, and on sale at the Conference Office, 200 Mulberry-street, New-York.—Ed.

From the Wesleyan Magazine.

Art. VI.—"*The Life and Persecutions of* Martin Boos; *an Evangelical Preacher of the Romish Church. Chiefly written by himself, and edited by the Rev. J. Gossner. Translated from the German. With a Preface, by the Rev. C. Bridges, M. A., Vicar of Old-Newton.* 12mo., pp. 461. Seely and Burnside.

"We believe we shall have the thanks of our readers for giving them some account of this singularly interesting and instructive volume. Our intention is to do little more than present them with a few extracts, sufficient to give them a general notion of the character of a work with a title which may really be called both startling and attractive; and whose publication at the present period we cannot help considering as most appropriate, we had almost said, providential. Amidst the clamors and excitements of the day, there are two subjects which

engage a large, may we not say, a principal, share of public notice—the nature of the unadulterated gospel of Christ, and the principles of what, till very lately, has been, by the vast majority of the inhabitants of our island, believed to be the great, and predicted, and doomed anti-christian corruption of it; the Jerusalem which is above, and the Babylon which is from beneath; the heavenly Una, and the false Duessa. Time was when there was scarcely any diversity of opinion on this subject among Protestants; but it does seem of late to have been suspected, that if Popery be indeed what English and Scotch Reformers and patriots believed and asserted it to be, the Babylon foredoomed of God, from which it was a Christian duty to 'come out,' then is it not to be trusted; and that, as political objects require that Popery be regarded with confidence rather than suspicion, it must be shown that we have all along labored under a great mistake on the subject, and that the 'always-the-same' church is not only very harmless, very amiable, very trustworthy, but, as the great patroness of civil and religious liberty, is to be hailed as a most important ally by all who seek their firmer and more extended establishment. To allude again to Spenser's beautiful allegory: Duessa and Archimago, 'that cunning architect of cancred guyle,' are becoming wonderfully popular, as though the times were approaching when 'all the world should' again 'wonder after the beast.' In such seasons, all they 'who faith prefer, and piety to God,' fearing that 'the Lord is coming out of his place to punish the inhabitants of the earth for their iniquity,' will remember the solemn injunction, 'Come, my people, enter thou into thy chambers, and shut thy doors about thee: hide thyself as it were for a little moment, until the indignation be overpast;' and there, in their prayerful intercourse with 'their Father which is in secret,' their cry will still be, 'O Lord, revive thy work in the midst of the years, in the midst of the years make known; in wrath remember mercy.'

"The volume before us very strikingly illustrates, if we are not much mistaken, the respective characters of the two systems in question, and describes a remarkable revival of the work of God in a way that proves that when He works, whether it be in New England, or Old England, or Austria, the same principles will be developed, the same results will be apparent.

"The following extracts from the preface, by the excellent Vicar of Old-Newton, will be read with interest:—

"'The following work, in its original form, is from the pen of Gossner, the estimable minister of the Bohemian Church at Berlin. It brings before us one of the most interesting records of modern church history: the existence of a body of Christians in the bosom of the Roman Church, fully confessing, in their faith and practice, the grand fundamental principles of the Reformation.

"'To hear (as we have lately heard in our sister island) Romish priests protesting against their own church, may appear, to some, a new thing; but, in reviewing this instructive history, it will be seen that, for nearly the last fifty years, a bold and unflinching testimony has been borne by Protestant confessors, in the communion of the Church of Rome, even in the heart of Catholic Germany.

"'It was towards the close of the last century that many persons, chiefly in the kingdom of Bavaria, were awakened to a deep and serious

concern for the salvation of their souls. Their consciences were powerfully awakened, but their minds very imperfectly enlightened in the simplicity of Christian truth. The narrative gives an affecting account of their laborious but ineffectual mode of seeking rest for their souls. They prayed, they wept, they fasted, they strove. But they were not "crowned," because "they strove not lawfully." Self marred it all. These painful exercises were the grounds on which they attempted to build their peace with God. "Their zeal was not according to knowledge; for they, being ignorant of God's righteousness, went about to establish their own righteousness." It was after the manner of the Jews, though in a far better spirit; a spirit not of proud opposition, but of groping darkness. They worked for life, not from life.

"'Yet it is according to the purpose of God, that those who conscientiously "do his will," shall ultimately "know of his doctrine;" and that those who sincerely, though blindly, "follow on to know the Lord," shall know him. Hence, these persons, being brought under a sense of their utter inability and unworthiness, were gradually led to the full reception of the gospel; and in the submission of their faith to the righteousness of God, they found the blessing of inestimable price, the object of their hitherto fruitless search.

"'Foremost in their number was Martin Boos, the subject of the present memoir. Born and nurtured up under the fostering care of Rome, and consecrated to her sacerdotal service; converted, in a simple manner, to the true knowledge of the Saviour, faithfully preaching his cross; persecuted by his own church "from city to city," imprisoned, condemned, restored, and at last banished from his flock and from his country, worn out with outward trials, and at length finishing his course in the faith;—this is his history, full of interest and instruction. His natural character appears to have been marked by great sincerity and mental energy; while his exemplary observance of his religious duties procured to him, as to the apostle of old, high estimation among his own body. The reception of the truth gave an impulse to his own soul. It was impossible for him to hide the light under the bushel. He lifted it up in a widely-extended sphere, and with a large measure of blessing. Even "a company of the priests became obedient to the faith," and endured, with himself, a living martyrdom in the profession of Christ. The fact that his biographer was one of the number, will give increasing interest to the narrative; while his high character is the pledge of the veracity and impartiality of his statements.' (Page 5.)

"We may as well observe here, that Boos himself did not separate from the Roman Church; and that Mr. Bridges, after examining his reasons, concludes by expressing his own dissatisfaction with him. We shall not examine the question. Boos was evidently a member of the Catholic Church of Christ, for 'God had received him;' and his reasons for remaining in the Roman communion were matters for his own conscience to decide upon as in the sight of God. With Mr. Bridges, we more than doubt the validity of the reasoning; but we cannot doubt of the sincerity of the man.

"We principally advert to the question for the sake of noticing some of Mr. Bridges's remarks on what, to him, we suppose, appeared a collateral one. After expressing his opinion that 'an open and entire renunciation of Rome' would have been 'the better path,' he adds:—

"'And yet this course can only be justified upon the ground that Rome is no part of the true Church of Christ. Separation from the body of Christ involves the guilt of schism. The duty is, to protest, to leaven the corrupt mass, so far as in us lies, with a pure influence; to "strengthen the things that remain that are ready to die," but not to divide. Zacharias continued his priestly course under a most perverted ritual and administration. Our Lord adhered to the system, and enforced it upon his people, even while solemnly denouncing its abuses. Our Reformers define the church by the accredited principles of the body, and by the due and faithful dispensation of the word and sacraments. Thus, by virtually excommunicating the Church of Rome, she clears her own path of separation. It was separation without schism.' (Page 15.)

"The reader will see that Mr. Bridges rests his whole argument on the identity of the society separated from with the body of Christ, and thus assumes the whole matter that could be debated between himself and a dissenter from the church to which he belongs. As to Zacharias, he belonged to a system of divine appointment in all its parts; and with all the abuses of administration on the part of others, he performed the part concerning which, as himself a member of the family to which the priesthood belonged, he could have no doubt. Supposing that the system itself had been altered, that circumcised aliens had been admitted to the priesthood, on the plea that the high priest, for the time being, had the power of appointment; and that his appointment, whether in or out of the line which the original command of God had fixed, made them, to all intents and purposes, priests, and the only persons who could lawfully minister in holy things; supposing that, beside this interpretation of the uninterrupted succession, these consecrated aliens had utterly changed the character of the sacrifices, and claimed the right of substituting swine's flesh for those originally appointed by the law; under such circumstances, Zacharias, we incline to think, would have acted, and our Lord have spoken, in a very different manner. We will not, however, thus incidentally discuss so important a subject; we have quoted the last cited paragraph for the sake of pointing out the practical inconsistency into which Mr. Bridges and his friends are betrayed, by the parallels they endeavor to trace between the Jewish priesthood and the Christian ministry. In the case of the Reformers, 'separation,' it seems, 'was not schism,' because the Roman Catholic Church was 'no part of the true Church of Christ;' and yet, in this body, which had so entirely separated itself from 'the true Church of Christ' as to be 'no part of it,' the true ministry is preserved; so that men may be valid ministers of Christ who are no members of his church! 'Sanballat the Horonite, and Tobiah the servant, the Ammonite, and Geshem the Arabian,' and Herod the Idumean, and Caligula the Roman, if they will only profess the Jewish religion, and can obtain the sacerdotal appointment, become, *ipso facto*, the legitimate successors of Aaron!

"In justice to Mr. Bridges, we give an extract of a different and much holier character:—

"'To insist upon the apostolic succession, without the inculcation of the spirit of an apostolical ministry; to set forth dogmas more prominently upon the authority of the church, than upon the explicit tes-

timony of the word of God; to ascribe universally, and without the exercise of faith, that quickening life to the sacraments, which more ordinarily, in Scripture, belongs to the preaching of the gospel; (of which we hear but little;) to attach virtue to Christian ordinances, innate in themselves or in the church, without a full acknowledgment of the constant need of divine influence; to lay a high stress upon rubrics and postures of worship, while our doctrinal articles have, comparatively, little consideration; this is to impregnate the church with a cold, serious formality, the essence of Popery, the mere shadow of the spirituality of the gospel.' (Page 38.)

"'We want to see in some publications of name and influence, we will not say less of the church, but more of the Saviour. Hooker connects all our ceremonial with holy and refreshing views of our glorious Head, and thus forms sound, consistent, Christian churchmen. Highly as we value the witness of primitive antiquity to many important doctrines and facts of the gospel, yet the prevalent corruptions, even in the apostolic churches, and the mystery of iniquity already working, are plain cautions to us not to connect our faith with their unscriptural superstitions, but to draw freshly the living waters from the fountain head of truth. We feel the principles of the Reformation to be more purely Scriptural. We believe, with Chillingworth, "the Bible, the Bible alone, to be the religion of Protestants." We search here, here alone, with the noble Bereans, for the ground of our faith. We cannot, therefore, consistently receive any dogmas (such as prayers for the dead) upon the authority of the ancient church, the universal concurrence of primitive liturgies, or the weighty influence of theological names. Except they be supported by the clear testimony of holy writ, we can only rank them among the corruptions of the early church, instead of the component parts of Protestant faith.' (Page 40.)

"It seems that, towards the conclusion of Boos's life, a friend who, in his last illness, waited on him with much affection, prevailed on him to dictate a sketch of his history. This sketch, however, does not go much beyond the more youthful period of his life, and the continuation is chiefly supplied from documents in his own handwriting.

"Martin Boos was born December 25th, 1762, in Huttenried, on the borders of Bavaria and Suabia. His father was a considerable farmer, but both parents died when he was four years old. He was then sent to Augsburg, to his uncle Kögil, who held the offices of fiscal and ecclesiastical counsellor there; and, after the usual course of education, was ordained deacon and priest, and, after a while, appointed curate in Unterthingau, a large market-town in the province of Lower Kempten. He seems here to have first obtained an acquaintance, both in theory and experience, with that evangelical method of salvation which marks the old paths where is the good way. Thus experiencing the truth himself, he preached it to others, and with much success. For this he was several times prosecuted in the ecclesiastical courts, and was called to suffer imprisonment, to go into exile, and to undergo various persecutions. He lived, indeed, a life of wandering; but this, as might be expected, was overruled for good, the seed of divine truth being thus scattered abroad far more extensively than if he had continued peacefully laboring in one place. He died in the faith of Christ,

and in good hope of eternal life, August 29th, 1825, in the sixty-third year of his age.

"The account of the manner in which Boos became acquainted with God's method of justifying the ungodly is given rather confusedly. The statements which he himself gave are these. In a letter to a friend, dated October 12th, 1804, he says,—

"'You inquire, who awakened us? A strange question. It was Christ who incited me to believe, and the hand of the Father that drew me to the Son. My history is, briefly, as follows:—I have, from my youth up, known, felt, and mourned over my sin and misery; have wept and prayed, day and night, for years together, for light, peace, power, and deliverance. In 1790, light, rest, peace, joy, power over corruption, a lively insight into the plan of redemption, living faith, hope, love, &c., entered into me. Full of these things, or, so to speak, electrified myself, I electrified others also; a ray of light that was in me fell upon you also, from the prison from whence I wrote. I therefore cannot possibly believe that this is imagination, or a devilish delusion. For we have not a lifeless, wooden, and unsusceptible, but a living God. He answers when we inquire of him, he sends help when we inquire of him in the day of trouble; he gives when we ask, and opens when we knock. Of this I am now a living proof.' (Page 33.)

"On the 3d of December, 1815, from his prison, at Lintz, he thus wrote to a friend:—

"'In the year 1788 or 1789, on visiting a very humble and pious soul on her sick bed, I said to her, "You may certainly die very peacefully and happily." "Why so?" inquired she. "Because you have lived so piously and holily," replied I. The sick woman smiled at what I said, and rejoined, "Were I to die confiding in my piety, I know, to a certainty, I should be damned. But, trusting in Jesus, my Saviour, I can die comfortably." These words, from the lips of a dying female, who was eminent for the suffering she had endured, and for her sanctity, first opened my eyes. I perceived Christ for us; rejoiced like Abraham on seeing his day; preached Christ, whom I had thus become acquainted with, to others, and they rejoiced with me.' (Page 34.)

"'Boos subsequently related this event more circumstantially, and added, that the sick woman, after listening to his remark, looked gravely at him, and said to him, in a tone of astonishment, "What a pretty divine you are! what a miserable comforter! What would have become of me? How should I be able to stand before the judgment-seat of God, where we must give account of every idle word? I should certainly be lost, if I built happiness and heaven on myself, and my own merits and piety. Who is clean among the unclean? Who is guiltless in the sight of God? Who is righteous, if he were to impute sin? No, if Christ had not died for me, if he had not atoned for me and paid my ransom, I should, with all my good works and pious life, have eternally perished. He is my hope, my salvation, and my felicity."' (Page 35.)

"This is a remarkable and very cheering fact. By what means this good woman had struggled into this comparative freedom from the practical influence of the errors of the system in the profession of which she lived and died, we have no means of ascertaining. She had evidently been taught of God, and had discovered the way into the holiest

by the blood of Christ. And even in the dark places of Christendom, especially in the humble walks of life, many such cases may exist, known only to the Searcher of hearts. Boos himself seems to have been led very early to reflect upon divine things, and sincerely, though, in many respects, ignorantly, to have labored to please God, and obtain peace in his own conscience. To allude to an expression which we shall soon have to quote, he dwelt in the seventh of Romans. Moral, devout, and zealous from his youth up, he was an example to the students with whom he associated; nor did his conduct change when he became an ecclesiastic. In this state of mind, honestly feeling after the truth, and obeying the light which he possessed, more was vouchsafed to him, and through a very unexpected instrumentality. He visits a member of his church in her last moments, and finds her a living witness of peace and joy through believing; and seeking the same experience of the good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God for himself, it is not long before he finds it. The account of the first awakenings with which Boos was connected, presents, in its general features, a striking and instructive agreement with those which are on record of gracious revivals of religion among Protestants. The following statement forcibly reminded us of the interesting narratives we have of the work of God a century or two ago both in Scotland and America, as well as of portions of the earlier journals of Wesley and Whitefield:—

"'From 1790 to 1799.—In the neighborhood of the Iller, in the province of Kempten, and of the Wertach in Algau, there were a few individuals who, through the grace of repentance, had become poor in spirit; that is, they began to know themselves, and to feel the extent of their inward depravity and wretchedness. Some of them were so amazed, grieved, and perplexed at their inward corruption, that they were continually on the borders of despondency, despair, and even of suicide itself.

"'They all exercised and wearied themselves greatly for years together in their own ways and works; they were extremely quiet and devout, and made every possible attempt, in the customary external usages of the church, to get rid of the burning feeling of sin, and to obtain rest for their souls. They were regarded by the world as over scrupulous, and righteous over-much; as people who could never confess enough, nor pray enough, and who carried their piety to an extreme; for they really added confession to confession, and were unable to confess sufficiently so as to pacify their consciences. They undertook pilgrimages, inscribed themselves in every order and fraternity, imposed upon themselves all kinds of burdens and penances; and whenever they heard of a confessor that was more strict than others, they hastened to him, however far they might have to go. By these means they incessantly sought, with ardent desire, the rest of their burdened souls, but could nowhere find either rest or peace. They labored and wearied themselves in a variety of ways to destroy the sting of sin, but it died not. They sat in John's prison of penitence and tears, and would probably never have gone out to Jesus, because they believed they must make themselves righteous and holy before they dared come to him. Thus, with all their efforts, and with all their blamelessness as to the law, they neither became new creatures, nor obtained deli-

verance from sin and peace of conscience; they were never really joyful, or free, or happy. They had always a slavish fear of death, hell, and the devil; had a thousand scruples and anxieties, and always found themselves ejaculating with Paul, "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" but were never able to comfort themselves and give thanks for the grace and redemption in Christ.' (Page 16.)

"This was Boos's own state. His interview with the dying female appears to have afforded him a clue to the labyrinth in which he was bewildered. He evidently referred to the New Testament; and the principle having been suggested to him, what may be termed 'the theory of redemption by Christ' was gradually unfolded, in all its beautiful simplicity and power. Various texts of Scripture are quoted as having thus 'expounded to him' and his inquiring friends 'the way of God more perfectly.' The effect is thus described:—

"'In 1795 and 1796 these weary and heavy-laden souls obtained a very clear and vivid insight into the mystery of Christ for us and in us; they saw that Jesus, by his painful life, sufferings, and death, had long ago merited for us a perfect righteousness and redemption from all sin, and that nothing now remained for us but to lay hold of it by faith, and receive out of the prepared fulness in Christ, grace for grace, his Holy Spirit, himself; and that not by a mere imputation and heartless credence in an imaginary manner, but by a real inward change of mind, heart, and conversation. They now believed two very heart-cheering things: first, that Christ for us, suffering and dying on the cross, is that righteousness and redemption from sin which avails before God. Secondly, that Christ dwelling in us, and fulfilling with us the will of the Father, is our sanctification. Now, these were extremely happy tidings for these anxious, half-desperate, and terrified souls, that had been so long shut up under the law. It was long, indeed, before they would lay hold of them; they thought it would be presumptuous to take so much at once, and so much for naught. They still sought to render themselves more worthy and acceptable to God,' (N. B.,) 'and not approach him just as they were, with all their infirmities and diseases. At length, however, they ventured; (a bold one went before, and that was Boos himself;) offered up to the Father the blood of his Son, as the propitiation for their sins, (though certainly with fear and trembling,) apprehended Jesus, and with him the forgiveness of their sins, received grace upon grace, and brought him nothing in return but their sins and their nothingness.' (Page 18.)

"To the interesting extracts which follow, and which show the consequence of this exercise of faith in Christ as a present Saviour, we would direct the very especial attention of the reader:—

"'And as a proof that they had made no mistake, nor believed in vain, and that God was well pleased with this faith, they were immediately baptized with the Holy Spirit, and felt within them a peace which, according to Paul, surpasseth knowledge. The burning feeling of sin had vanished like a cloud, and like a mist before the sun. The Holy Ghost witnessed with their spirits that they were the children of God. He made them free from the dominion of sin, the devil, and hell, and from the fear of death and judgment; whilst their former scruples, doubts, and apprehensions, disappeared. They felt themselves deli-

vered. The most desponding among them, who, previously, were almost in despair on account of their sins, and were never able to obtain peace of mind, however much they confessed, fasted, prayed, and repented, were now the most blessed, joyful, and the strongest amongst them. They all felt themselves at the eighth chapter to the Romans. Some of them were now neither willing nor able to retain the joy and blessedness which they found in the mystery of living faith in Christ for us and in us, merely for themselves; they would gladly have seen the whole world in possession of it. Hence they began with the best intention, and, as they affirmed, being moved by the Holy Spirit, to publish these glad tidings of salvation to others also. Providence frequently conducted others to them in a very remarkable manner. For in those districts many were divinely awakened even during the night, and greatly troubled on account of their sins, so that they cried to God with tears, beseeching him to make known to them what they ought to do; and some of them heard in prayer a voice, or received direction by some singular providence, the thought being suggested to their hearts to go to this place or that, when this or that individual would tell them what they should do. And, in the pressure of the distressing feeling of their sinfulness, they often ran, during the night, to the house where there was an awakened and divinely enlightened individual, hastening in, and inquiring on their knees, "What must I do to be saved?" "My sins weigh me down to the very ground!" The believing and awakened then immediately replied to these inquiries, what Paul said to the jailer, "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, and thine house." That is, they preached to them repentance and faith in Jesus; related to them, in a simple manner, how they had first found the forgiveness of their sins, and rest for their troubled souls, by believing in Jesus; and exhorted them to believe and do in like manner. Now, he that could believe on their testimony, that he was utterly worthless and unprofitable, that he was a sinner, and had nothing of his own that could avail him, but that God, for the sake of Jesus's blood and death, would nevertheless pardon him, and that Jesus himself would enter into his heart, clothe him with his righteousness, and dwell and walk in him;—he, I say, that could thus believe that Jesus would act towards him in the manner which these enlightened witnesses of the word described, was immediately rendered happy and peaceful by his faith, became full of light, life, joy, and peace in the Holy Ghost; the distress and condemnation which he felt in his heart because of sin ceased, and, instead of it, the Holy Spirit witnessed within him that he was a child of God, and that power was given him to overcome sin, death, and the devil. Those that had formerly been given to drunkenness, gaming, lust, covetousness, anger, hatred, malice, or any other vice, practised it no longer, and exhibited at once a completely new mind and conduct, both inwardly and outwardly, so that every one saw and observed that a change of the whole man had taken place within them, and that they had overcome the world, sin, death, and the devil.' (Page 21.)

"After a time, the usual spirit of opposition was awakened.

"'Hence, they raised an outcry, and exclaimed against these preachers of faith and repentance as fools, fanatics, or heretics: they blasphemed the Holy Ghost and his work in every street and pulpit, and

persecuted the members of Christ, under the pretence of doing a good work, and rooting out the tares. They charged them with vicious practices and errors which had never entered into their thoughts. The people were thus stirred up against them, and every one now believed he was doing God a great service by calumniating and persecuting these individuals to the uttermost. They assailed them, not merely with their tongues, but with blows also, and threw stones and dirt at them in the open streets; all the ridicule that could be thought of was heaped upon them; whole crowds met together and drove them out of their villages; they were taken prisoners with loaded firearms like highwaymen; they were dragged, bound, before civil and ecclesiastical tribunals, under the pretext of having caused disturbances, and brought up new and heretical doctrines. Some were driven from their fathers' house, their homes, and their native land, and were often repelled even by their parents, brethren, and sisters. Others fled of themselves, because they could no longer endure the ill treatment, or from the apprehension lest their faith might suffer shipwreck, and in order to escape the danger; because every effort was made to confuse them, and to deprive them of it. Thus it happened that the most hidden and quiet in the land became the object of universal conversation, ridicule, and hatred.' (Page 25.)

"Many deeply interesting anecdotes we might quote, but we are prevented by want of room. One more brief extract, however, we will give, to show that Boos, though, from his unfavorable circumstances he might be confused and mystical occasionally—we really wonder he was not more so—still saw clearly the great principles of the life of faith.

"'When thou art once, in thine own eyes, utterly sinful, depraved, blind, lame, diseased, grieved, and perplexed, it is then time to make faith thy sole concern; that is, thou must go, just as thou art, with all thy sins and shame, and at the same time with full confidence, to the Saviour, and heartily desire of him the forgiveness of thy sins. But after thou art become a believer, that is, when thou hast, by faith, apprehended the forgiveness of thy sins, together with the spirit and mind of Jesus Christ's righteousness, thou must then apply thyself wholly to sanctification, piety, and obedience, and the following of Christ. Therefore, after justification, do all that thou art able, but never build thy rest and peace upon it; for even our best works are very imperfect and impure, and the sight of this causes thy inward peace to depart from thee. Therefore build and trust upon the already-accomplished work and travail of thy Redeemer. Then thou buildest thy peace upon a rock, and it will continue immoveable as a rock. Yet, urged by love and gratitude, thou oughtest to be extremely diligent in every good work; for it is of the Saviour's grace that thou art able to do good. Before he had forgiven thee thy sins, thou wast unable to perform any good work.' (Page 44.)

"The foregoing extracts furnish but an imperfect specimen of the whole work. They who purchase it for themselves will find the interest which it excites sustained to the last. They will be impressed, too, with the remarkable coincidences between the facts narrated concerning Boos and his friends, and those which have always characterized a true revival of the work of God. One circumstance occurs to

us as specially important in its bearings upon prayer for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Even among those who are deeply shadowed with the dense clouds of error intercepting the brightness of divine truth, and transmitting but few and feeble rays to the mind—even among these there is evidently much feeling after God; much of the state described in the seventh chapter of Romans. The burden of religion is felt, but its peace is not enjoyed. Multitudes of saints hide Christ from the view, multitudes of human observances prevent the simplicity of faith from being seen. This is a case loudly calling for Christian commiseration; and the knowledge that it exists—exists, perhaps, to a much greater extent than has been supposed—points those who are favored with clearer light to a duty which, whatever mysteries may be connected with it, cannot be exercised without effect—that of prayer to God for such as thus sit in perplexity and gloom, that the light of the Spirit may be vouchsafed to them, to counteract the disadvantages of their condition.

"To the thoughtful reader, not unobservant of the signs of the times, the entire narrative will suggest many very cheering anticipations. It unfolds the state of things existing in the very heart of Catholic Germany for which we were not prepared, and in which we think we perceive some appearances of improvement. A similar narrative from Spain would inspire us with infinitely more hope than a thousand victories, or ten thousand constitutions. No people ever remained long in civil bondage who, in great numbers, pressed into the enjoyment of liberty of heart derived from heaven. In both Bavaria and Austria, the good seed has evidently been sown; and it shall not all die. Even to Hungary has it extended; and there, too, shall fruit be found. Such a fact as is given in the following extract (which, for its importance, we venture to quote) is no more alone in the movements of Providence, than the observation of the position of a comet is alone in the calculations of the astronomer. A succession of unfavorable weather, in this latter case, may prevent, for some time, a repetition of the observation; but something as to its orbit and revolution has been suggested. And so in the fact we are going to mention. It may be long before we hear again from the same quarter, but the work will be going on. The seed may remain buried deep beneath the soil, and all hopes of its reappearance in the plant may be lost; but it has been sown, and some turning up of the soil, some agitating disruption, may bring it so near the surface as to subject it to the influences required for its actual germinancy.

"In May, 1811, a clergyman from Hungary (a vicar and dean) visited Boos. The result we give in the words of his biographer:—

"'He was very candid, humble, childlike, and poor in spirit; and Boos was able to speak cordially with him concerning Christ and the faith. The conversation lasted from noon to midnight, until at length the dean fell upon his knees, thanked God, and exclaimed, "Now I am satisfied, I am happy, I am saved, I have received mercy, I am born again, and baptized, as with Spirit and fire. My eyes," said he, "have seen the glory of the Lord: I have found him of whom the prophets and apostles wrote; I have him in my heart. O that I could remain and die here! However, I will gladly return to my own country, and tell my bishop and all the people what I have found and expe-

rienced." He continued five days with Boos, heard him preach, &c. Many other clergymen, from other countries and provinces, from Bavaria and Switzerland, came to Boos, and, while with him, obtained that living faith which rendered them happy, set them at liberty, and blessed them, so that they returned home in peace, and preached it also to others in their own country.' (Page 266.)

"Let every orthodox Protestant minister throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland, begin at once to preach a present salvation through faith in Christ, believing in the divine promise, humbly expecting success, and fervently praying for it, and God will bear testimony to the word of his grace. Even in Ireland, the reign of the man of sin would be shaken to its very foundations, and 'the wicked one' be consumed with the Spirit of the mouth of the Lord, and destroyed with the brightness of his coming. The system would fall, but its abetters would be saved.

"The fact which is established by all great revivals of religion in Protestant churches, and which is so strikingly illustrated in the history of Boos, is no mean proof of the truth of Christianity, and suggests an important lesson to Christian preachers;—the fact, we mean, that all who believe in Christ crucified, in a penitent state of heart, obtain tranquillity of conscience, with a new and holy nature. Christianity is thus reduced to the test of experiment. It promises salvation from sin to the contrite believer; and ten thousand witnesses declare, as the result of their own experience, that the promise is true. Their own personal consciousness assures them that the gospel is of God. Let the Christian teacher, therefore, in whatever section of the church his lot may be cast, and wherever he may be called to labor, offer to lost mankind, as the fruit of the Saviour's merit, and the free gift of God, present pardon, peace, and holiness, to be obtained by faith in the Lord Jesus; and he cannot fail of success."

For the Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review.

Art. VIII.—TRUE AND FALSE RELIGION CONTRASTED.

The forcible language of the psalmist, "The fool hath said in his heart there is no God," implies a rebuke against atheistical unbelievers, the justness of which will be admitted by all reflecting minds. "Who but a *fool*," as one has aptly remarked, "could ever have said so?" Lonely and solitary through this valley of tears must be the pilgrimage of the atheist,—the man who acknowledges no God. As he is "without God in the world," so will he be forsaken of man: sober, reflecting, rational men, will refuse to associate with him, or to embrace his forbidding skepticism, while he practically illustrates his theory, "there is no God."

Although the unbelief of the deist is not so revolting to our understanding and Christian feelings as is that of the atheist, who denies the very existence of a supreme Being; yet deism furnishes no ground of hope to the sinner. The enjoyment of such as question the inspiration of the holy Scriptures, and of the religion they reveal, must be unsatisfactory; for he who will not receive the Saviour of the world

knows nothing of real and permanent happiness. The diversified and beautiful scenery of this "bright earth"—the consummate harmony manifest in the works of creation—are presented to the mind of the deist, not indeed as the offspring of *chance*, but as the handiwork of a great and glorious Creator, who, nevertheless, deigns not to regard the happiness of his creature man. He beholds the towering forests, in the tops of whose trees the bird of heaven builds her nest, and is cared for and fed by that unseen Protector who "suffers not a sparrow to fall to the ground without his notice,"—on every hand he discovers the beneficence of Heaven, in the ample provisions made for the comfort of mankind—all proclaiming the mercy and goodness of the divine Upholder of all things; but although he may be delighted with these works, and even feel his heart to swell with gratitude to God for his abundant kindness, he never realizes those exalted feelings of enjoyment experienced by such as can exclaim, in the language of the amiable Cowper,

"My FATHER made them all!"

In order to sustain their views in opposition to the Christian religion, unbelievers sometimes presume to institute a comparison between the God of the Bible and the heathen deities, and contrast paganism and Mohammedanism with Christianity; and because the pagan appears to believe as firmly in his idol, and the Mohammedan in his prophet, as the Christian does in his Saviour, they contend that it is reasonable to suppose all are alike deceived; for, say they, one is as tenacious of his faith as the other. The absurdity of such an argument may be seen at once by any person who will take the trouble to examine the subject.

The God of Christianity is not only a Being of unlimited power: he is also a God of infinite goodness. To prove that he is omnipotent, it is only necessary to say, in the language of inspiration, "He created the heavens and the earth;" to show that he is good, it is sufficient to observe that he gave his only begotten Son for the redemption of a ruined world. He has mercifully given a revelation of his will, in which are pointed out to man the character and attributes of his Maker; and these are such as to excite his warmest love: he is constrained to adore a Being of such wonderful perfections, and only regrets that he is incapable of loving him still more.

None of these things, however, can be said of the idols of the heathen. Jupiter, the supreme deity of the ancient pagan world, although he was regarded as the most mighty of all their gods, "who, by the mere movement of one of his eyebrows, could make Olympus tremble," was, nevertheless, according to their own representations of him, a god of limited power, insomuch that he was compelled, on various occasions, to have recourse to stratagem in order to effect his wishes.* And certainly, to compare the Maker of heaven and earth

* It is said, that, when the giants resolved to dethrone Jupiter, by besieging him either in heaven itself, or upon Olympus, he was terrified at the sight of his enemies, and their formidable proceedings, and summoned all the gods and goddesses to his assistance. We are also informed that he was deceived in a sacrifice offered him by Prometheus. This so greatly enraged him, that he resolved to avenge himself on mankind by taking from them the use of fire. Prometheus, however, possessing a subtle and crafty genius, ascended to hea-

with a deity of this description, would be impious. We would not, indeed, presume to contrast the ennobling religion of Jesus Christ with the disgusting and demoralizing worship of these heathen gods, but to show the supreme excellence of the one, and the deep corruption of the other; extremes which weak and corrupt minds bring together. Every infidel must admit, that, prior to the propagation of the Gospel, the world was sunk in the grossest idolatry. St. Paul, under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, paints, in true colors, the condition of the people under the influence of this idolatry; and the picture thus drawn should cause every man to be thankful that it was not his lot to live in that wretched era of the world. But grand and glorious was the change which followed the introduction of Christianity into the world, as the legitimate effect of it. Well might the angels sing for joy at that glad moment when the birth of Immanuel was proclaimed; for soon the voice of the mighty God—of the incarnate Saviour—broke over Judea's hills, and the long worshipped idols of the pagans trembled upon their venerable pedestals. The almost impenetrable moral darkness which had reigned so long now receded as the Sun of Righteousness arose, dispensing his heavenly light over the desolate places of a fallen world. In language not to be gainsaid, the followers of the Saviour, as they had been taught by him, proclaimed in the ears of all classes, whether high or low, rich or poor, learned or unlearned, "the unsearchable riches of Christ;" and, with a voice which carried authority in its tones, declared to the worshippers of strange gods that their deities possessed no power to save; and that, unless they called upon the name of the true God, they must perish. The effect was a reformation, such as the world never before witnessed. The gross immoralities of the heathen were held up to view; and many, becoming disgusted with them, renounced idolatry, and embraced the Christian faith.

But let us inquire into the condition of idolatrous pagans at the present age, and see how far the influence exerted over their minds, by their paganism, has tended to elevate their moral and intellectual character. The present state of the Hindoo world is one in which every Christian feels the most intense interest. Destitute of the light of the gospel, this unhappy race of men emphatically "sit in darkness." Polygamy and prostitution, the effects of ignorance and idolatry, are not regarded by them as vices; and the miseries thus occasioned must call forth the deepest sympathy of the heart that can "feel another's wo." The temple of Juggernaut, which is esteemed the most sacred

ven, and, approaching the chariot of the sun, stole thence the sacred fire, and brought it down to earth. Incensed at this daring and audacious enterprise, Jupiter devised an unsuccessful plan to insnare his enemy. He caused to be formed a woman of surpassing loveliness, whence she was called Pandora, and sent her, decorated with choicest gifts, and a box filled with every description of misery, to Prometheus; but he, suspecting the artifice, would have nothing to do with her. Epimetheus, however, to whom she subsequently presented herself, became so captivated with her charms that he married her; and curiosity inducing him to look into the fatal box, the moment he opened it there issued from it a deluge of miseries, which, according to this fable, have overrun the earth ever since. Increasingly incensed that Prometheus should have so much sagacity as not to be insnared by so great an enchantress as Pandora, Jupiter finally caused him to be carried to Mount Caucasus, and bound fast to a rock, whither a monster in the form of an eagle was sent to punish him for his offence.

of all their religious institutions, is annually visited by one million two hundred thousand infatuated worshippers, numbers of whom throw themselves upon the ground, and are crushed to death beneath the ponderous wheels of the moving tower, amid the joyful acclamations of the deluded multitudes. During this dreadful ceremony, the priests and principal worshippers of the idol often address the people in libidinous songs and gestures, for "obscenity and blood are the characteristics of Juggernaut's worship." The Hindoo widow who offers herself a sacrifice at the funeral pile of her deceased husband imagines she performs a most meritorious action. After passing through various ceremonies, the most important of which is bathing in the Ganges, whose waters the Hindoos consider sacred, the hapless victim rushes upon the burning pyre, and, as the flames gather around her, her shrieks are drowned amid the beating of drums and the shouts of the multitude.

We turn from pictures so revolting, to contemplate paganism in a more modified form. Although at the present day the Chinese are lamentably superstitious, they are not so grossly idolatrous as the Hindoos. Time was, indeed, when the religion of China was of a more elevated character. In fact, it may safely be inferred, from the consideration that their canonical books set forth the idea, and enforce the belief, of one supreme Being, that the ancient inhabitants of that country recognised, in some degree at least, the worship of the true God; for, at one period of their history, "His fear alone was sufficient to restrain all the subjects of the empire, and to keep them within the bounds of duty." As in England, during the reign of the great and good Alfred, it was not necessary to intimidate the people by the severity of penal laws, so also was it not, at this period, with the Chinese. This ray of light which shot through the surrounding darkness was no doubt reflected, in one way or other, from the inspired records which God gave to his ancient people. But their degeneracy shows the insufficiency of their prevailing idolatry, to which they still adhered, to enlighten and save them.

There are other pagan worshippers of whom we might speak at length; but as they do not materially differ, except in their religious ceremonies, from those already introduced, it will be unnecessary longer to detain the reader on this particular point. The religion of the false prophet, Mohammed, may therefore next invite our attention.

Mohammed was unquestionably one of the most extraordinary men the world ever knew. Had he not been such, he could not have exerted so mighty an influence over the minds of his countrymen, in the short period of one single life, as to induce them to receive him as the prophet of God, and his Koran as the written will of Heaven. The main arguments which he used to convince his followers of the divinity of his mission, were contained in the Koran, which, he said, was made up of certain revelations sent from God, and brought to him by the angel Gabriel; and from the same source he professed to derive his commission to convert the people from the errors of paganism. In order the more effectually to excite the passions, and to enlist the support of the vulgar, he framed his paradise agreeably to the corrupt appetites and inclinations of those whom he desired to proselyte, by representing it to consist of enjoyments in which he well knew they

mostly delighted; while, to excite their fears, he presented to their imagination a hell comprising such torments as were the most dreadful to them. Through these means he raised up an army of followers; and, by the power of the sword, succeeded in establishing his religion over a great portion of the Eastern world.

One of the principal institutions of this religion is the pilgrimage to Mecca, which is made an affair of state. Every year the devout Moslems of Damascus and Grand Cairo depart in solemn procession for the burial-place of their prophet. As they advance, the caravan is swelled by Moors from every part of Asia and Africa. The common horrors of the desert, which are greatly heightened by the harassing depredations of the roving Arabs, who equally despise the devotion and the sword of the pilgrims, are not so great as to overcome the zeal of the pious Mussulman. In addition to this, the Koran enjoins prayer, fasting, almsgiving, &c., requisitions which are strictly adhered to. In this respect, perhaps, the Christian would do well to emulate the conscientious Mohammedan, whose religion, it cannot be denied, is vastly more rational than paganism. However evil his motive in establishing his imposture, the prophet certainly arrayed himself against many of the corruptions of paganism, which he discarded from his system, and most solemnly denounced. This mixture of good with evil doubtless gave plausibility to his cause, and tended to extend the mischief it was calculated to produce.

We have already spoken of the great change effected in the pagan world by the introduction of Christianity. We may now briefly speak of the Christian religion as a system.

The systems of morals propagated by a few of the wisest philosophers of Greece and Rome, and especially those of Socrates and Plato, have been justly commended by historians; and some of the precepts inculcated by them are certainly excellent. But what were Socrates and Plato, and their systems of morality, in comparison with Jesus of Nazareth and his holy religion? The immortality of the soul was a doctrine on which Plato reasoned well; but the Son of God demonstrated the truth of this doctrine by offering up his life for the redemption of the immortal spirit, and rising from the dead as evidence and an earnest of the resurrection of the body.

It is in vain for us to attempt to find, in the schools of the heathen sages, any system so well adapted to the wants of man as is that of Christianity; for, with all their reasonings and researches, those philosophers could never confidently point him to a world of happiness, "where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest." Christianity not only does this, but it also exhibits to our view a course which, if faithfully pursued, will secure to us real and permanent happiness while travelling through this "wilderness world." No community is so blessed as that in which she reigns in her purity.

That there are those bearing the Christian name who bring a reproach upon the cause, is a fact too evident to be evaded or denied; hence unbelievers say that though the Christian religion claims superiority over all other systems, yet its supporters do not display in their lives that superiority of virtue which the assertion leads them to expect. Unhappily, this is true of many professed believers; but it is not reasonable to bring their deficiency as an argument against the

truth of Christianity, which, as these very objectors well know, discourages every thing approaching to immorality. The great Founder of our religion himself said, "Not every one that saith unto me Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven." It would be remarkable, if, in so large a body as the Christian church comprises, there should be no hypocrites. Such are to be found among all classes of men in every pursuit in life. It is far from being improbable that infidels themselves, during some portions of their lives, *pretend* to doubt the truth of the Christian religion, when their consciences are loud in proclaiming to them that they are in error. P. D.

For the Magazine and Review.

ART. IX.—*The Sufferings and Glory of Christ.* A Sermon. By J. H. YOUNG, *of the Baltimore Annual Conference.*

"The sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow," 1 Peter i, 11.

MYSTERY is engraven indelibly on every part of the material universe. The lowest degree of crystallization bears its impress, as well as the most perfect metals, to the diamond sparkling on the monarch's crown. It is written on the blade of grass scarcely visible in the dust, on the sacred hyssop at the wall, on the tall cedar of Lebanon, and the proud oak of the forest; on the least winged insect, buzzing round the midnight lamp, and on the steady pinions of the soaring eagle, who delights to gaze at the brightness of the sun. It is seen in the microscopic animalculæ, a thousand of which can play in a single drop, and in the unwieldy whale, sporting in "the paths of the deep," or the dreadful leviathan, "thou canst not draw out with a hook;" in the diminutive creeping thing of the ground, trodden under foot, as well as in the king of beasts, whose terrible voice shakes the solid earth, or the elephant, who "trusteth he can take up Jordan into his mouth," or the huge ruins of the mammoth, whose giant bones remain only as an antediluvian wonder, and, like the pyramids of Egypt, stand forth in defiance of the ravages of time. Its voice is heard in the loud thunder, in the fall of the cataract, and in the roar of the ocean. Its footsteps are seen in the red lightnings of heaven. It frowns in the storm, it glows in the sun, it burns in the fire, and it twinkles in every star. "The wind bloweth where it listeth; thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, nor whither it goeth." Men, by perseverance and application, may learn much, and yet, in reality, know but little. The most profound investigations of philosophers have left still undiscovered the primitive essence of matter. If, therefore, the real nature of its elementary particles is yet a mystery, we need not think it strange if some of its laws are likewise totally unknown, and some of its most common properties revealed to us but in part. And if the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms of the world we inhabit, and many things connected with the innumerable systems composing the extensive dominions of the Deity, which are but "the works of his fingers," are "hard to be understood," it should certainly not surprise us if the moral and intellectual worlds, and especially the holy

Scriptures, contain mysteries likewise—mysteries lying so deep in the ocean of divine knowledge that they cannot be fathomed by human thought, and which are so shrouded in darkness that the gloom cannot be pierced by the most penetrating minds.

The *death of Christ*, considered in all its bearings, as it is doubtless the most *important fact*, is certainly the most *mysterious event* recorded in the annals of the world. It is a mystery, not only to *man*, who is immediately and greatly interested in it, but to the higher order of beings in the scale of intelligence; for "these things the *angels* desire to look into." This angelic investigation of human redemption, referred to by St. Peter, was figuratively represented by the *bending attitude* and the *intense gaze* of "the cherubim shadowing the mercy-seat," in the most holy place of the Jewish sanctuary. *There* were the two tables of the law, the ark of the covenant overlaid with gold, the lid of which was the propitiatory, and was annually sprinkled with the typical blood of animal victims; and there, too, was the luminous cloud of divine glory, the sacred *shechinah*, dwelling and shining forth between the golden cherubim, who appeared deeply engaged in looking into, and fully comprehending, the hidden connection between the *broken law*, the *sprinkled mercy-seat*, the *pardoned sinner*, and the *glory of God*. But as the plan of salvation was devised by infinite wisdom, at the suggestion of unbounded love and mercy, so it can be fully comprehended by the infinite mind alone. We may, nevertheless, profitably consider, and patiently examine the apostle's text, in imitation of the ancient prophets, who "spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost;" who "inquired diligently," and "prophesied of the grace that should come unto us;" searching what, or what manner of time, the Spirit of Christ, which was in them, did signify, when it testified beforehand *the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow;* ver. 11.

This verse has been differently translated and interpreted by critics and commentators. Mr. Wesley, Dr. Clarke, and others, understand the first "*what*" in the passage to refer to the *particular time* when Christ should endure his sufferings; and the "*what manner of time*," to the characteristic circumstances of that time. Dr. M'Knight renders it "searching what *people;*" supposing the term to refer to the people who should inflict his sufferings, or among whom they should be inflicted. It is most natural, perhaps, to interpret the word "what," first used, as having respect to the character or nature, intensity and duration, of his sufferings; and the second, to the signs of the times when they should take place. The passage may then be paraphrased thus:—"Searching what *amount of pain, in degree and duration, and what character the pain should be, whether vicarious or not;* or what manner of time, *what age of the world; and what should be the political, intellectual, moral, and religious condition of that age*, the Spirit of Christ, which was in them, did signify, when *he* testified or *prophesied*, beforehand, the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow *these sufferings*." Or, changing it slightly, it may be thus read:—"Searching *what* the Spirit of Christ, who was in them, did signify, when he testified, beforehand, the *sufferings* of Christ; and *what manner of time* he signified when he prophesied of the glory that should follow his sufferings;" what manner of time that would be when the glory of the cross, like the sun in the firmament, should pour its radiant beams over

fallen humanity, and exert its hallowed influence over the thoughts, dispositions, words, and actions of the whole family of man.

The words already announced are at once a proper definition of the present subject, and a very natural and correct general division of the text. In their illustration in this sermon, I will consider, first, The sufferings of Christ; and, secondly, The glory that should follow.

I. His sufferings: not merely those strictly called *sacrificial*, nor these in their *atoning* character alone, but *all* his sufferings, from the manger to the cross; and these, principally, in their *greatness* or *severity*.

First, then, He suffered the innocent infirmities of humanity. Jesus Christ, in his *divine* nature, was essentially *God;* but in his human nature he was likewise essentially man. He not only received divine worship, claimed the titles, possessed the attributes, and performed the peculiar works of the *Deity;* but he had a real human body, and a proper human soul, in every particular like ours, with the exception of sin. St. Paul, therefore, says, Heb. ii, 14, "Forasmuch, then, as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, He also, himself, took part of the same;" i. e., the *sinless* part. Those who reject the proper humanity of Christ, think that the apostle teaches the doctrine, in this passage, that the Saviour had a *body* of some *kind*, but *no soul*. If, however, it is to be thus understood, then it is evident that he had not even a *whole body*, for he took only *part* of flesh and blood. And it is equally evident that Christ had a human *soul*, in the proper sense of the term. David prophesies in the Psalms, and the prophecy is applied to Jesus by the apostle Peter, in the Acts—"Thou wilt not leave my *soul* in hell, in the place of separate spirits." Isaiah says, "He shall see the travail of his *soul;* he shall make his *soul* an offering for sin." And Christ himself declares, in the hour of his extremity, when he most keenly felt what he said, "My *soul* is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death." But this soul was entirely free from every moral taint; for, though he "was made in the *likeness* of sinful flesh, he had *no* sin, neither was guile found in his mouth." Hence, as a sinless partaker of our nature, as a progressively perfected human being, increasing gradually in stature and wisdom, from the earliest dawn of his human existence to the maturity of manhood, he endured the *helplessness* of *infancy;* he *labored with his hands*, at Nazareth, until the commencement of his public ministry; he was *hungry* at the close of his forty days' fasting in the wilderness; he was *faint*, and *weary*, and *thirsty*, at the well of Samaria; he *shed the tears of affectionate grief* at the tomb of Lazarus, and *wept in compassion* over ungrateful Jerusalem; and he *fell asleep* in the ship on the sea of Tiberias. Thus, we perceive, as a *man*, he was *hungry* and *thirsty*, he was *weary* and *sorrowful*, he *wept* and he *slept*. He was subject to these infirmities, that he might know what allowance to make for our weakness, how to pity the frailties of our nature, how to sympathize in affection, how to comfort the disconsolate, and how to relieve the afflicted.

2. He suffered poverty and humiliation, connected with circumstances of the place of his birth, his obscure parentage, and his destitute life. The Redeemer of men made not his advent in *Jerusalem*, the city of the great King, the pride of the nation, the joy of the earth, the home of the great, and the resting-place of the venerable dead, though it was *his own* city. He entered not through the splen-

did palace of the high priest, or any court of royal dignity, though he was "a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedec," and the royal heir of David's throne; the "King of kings, and Lord of lords." The infant king of Zion, who dwells in light inaccessible, who makes the clouds his chariots, who walks upon the wings of the wind, who lays the beams of his chambers in the waters, and who is surrounded by the astonishing magnificence of the whole universe as the walls of his palace, this Almighty Saviour made his first appearance upon earth in a *stable* at Bethlehem! The *cradle* that then contained the sacred treasure was a *manger!* The softest bed, upon which reposed the new-born prince of life, was the fodder of the ox! His pious and industrious parents, though the legal descendants of the royal line of Judah, were, nevertheless, indigent and obscure. The proverb, "Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?" designates the reputation of their dwelling-place. His mother, unable to bring into the temple, for her purification, the gift of the rich, brought the offering of the poor—"A turtle-dove and two young pigeons!"

Though *he* could say, with the utmost propriety, "The gold and the silver are mine, and the cattle upon a thousand hills," yet his parents possessed not *half a shekel*, as the tribute money of the temple. By his unbounded goodness and benevolence he supplied the various wants of all the creatures of his power; and yet a few kind-hearted women, "*last* at the *cross* and *first* at the *sepulchre*," ministered unto him of their substance! He laid the foundations of creation, and raised thereon the superstructure of innumerable worlds; and yet, while "foxes had holes, and the birds of the air nests, the Son of man had not where to lay his head!" "He was *rich*, yet for our sakes became *poor*, that we, through his poverty, might become rich!" O how humiliating was this condescension in Jesus, that he might raise man to the very zenith of heavenly blessedness!

3. He suffered the actual temptations and powerful assaults of Satan, at the commencement and the close of his personal ministry or public life. Indeed, as he "was tempted in all points as we are, yet without sin," it is very probable the adversary did not confine his attacks to these two particular opportunities, but that he called into vigorous exercise all the malicious cunning of his art, and all the combined powers of darkness, at every opportunity, to prevent the Saviour from teaching and moralizing men by his doctrines and precepts, and from saving them by his sufferings and death; and, to accomplish these objects, he suited his temptations, as he did with the woman in Eden, and as he does generally, to the desire of the flesh, the desire of the eye, and the pride of life. "When the woman saw that the tree was *good* for *food*, and that it was *pleasant* to the *eyes*, and a tree to be *desired* to *make* one *wise*, she took of the fruit of it, and did eat." This course Satan almost invariably pursues, in all cases of interest to his cause. He tempted Christ to exhibit his miraculous power, and *satisfy* his *appetite*, by changing stones into bread; to secure the *applause* of the *multitude* by casting himself from the pinnacle of the temple; and to procure the *glory* and *power* of *earthly kingdoms*, by falling down and worshipping the prince of darkness. What the particular temptation was which Satan presented to the mind of Christ, in the garden, we are not informed; but this we know, that as he departed from him, in

the desert, "for a season," so he came again at the point of time most emphatically called his "hour," but he found nothing in him; nothing to favor his malignant designs, no carnal mind to ignite by his fiery darts. Having thus been tempted himself, he knows how to succor those who are in heaviness through manifold temptations; and he will speedily afford them the requisite grace to sustain the conflict uninjured, or conquer the foe.

4. He suffered the malicious persecutions of men. When we consider the real dignity of this divine personage, the purity of his thoughts, the heavenly dispositions of his heart, the gracious words of his lips, the sublime, reasonable, and consistent doctrines he taught by his wisdom, the purity, excellence, and beneficial tendency of the precepts he inculcated, the benevolent actions of his life, and the stupendous miracles he wrought to confirm his asserted right to the high and holy title of "SON OF GOD," is it not astonishing that he should have had a single enemy in the universe! And yet more exceedingly strange that these inveterate enemies should be found among the redeemed children of men! *Men* for whose special good the gospel was intended, for whom the Saviour veiled the grandeur of his Godhead in flesh and blood, and humbled himself even to the death of the cross, rose up in violent opposition to their Redeemer, and persecuted him from city to city! The time-serving Herodians, the self-righteous Pharisees, the infidel Sadducees, the haughty scribes and lawyers, and the bigoted priests and elders, though frequently at variance with each other, united in maligning his motives, in perverting his speech, in defaming his character, in representing him as an enemy to the government, a deceiver of the people, and a blasphemer of God; in ascribing his miracles to the agency of Satan, and in loudly clamoring for his precious life! How true is the Scripture, that "the carnal mind is enmity against God!" And how dark and deep does that enmity appear when it manifests itself so vigorously in the actions of men against the very individual who came to subdue and destroy it! Tell it not in Gath! Publish it not among the fallen sons of the morning, lest they rejoice, and lest the daughters of the aliens triumph!

5. He suffered the deceitfulness and inconstancy of his chosen disciples. Christ, in imitation of the twelve members of the grand Jewish Sanhedrim, selected twelve disciples, to whom he said, "Ye shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." Disciples whom he personally instructed in the truth, endowed with power to work miracles, and commissioned to preach the glad tidings of the kingdom to the nations of the earth; disciples who professed the most profound reverence for his doctrines, the most unyielding compliance with his precepts, the most sacred regard for his person, and the most devoted attachment to his cause; and yet these, his avowed friends, when their Master was wickedly apprehended by a lawless soldiery, "forsook him and fled!" One denied him thrice, after he had declared, trusting in his own self-sufficiency, "Though *all* should forsake thee, yet will not *I!*" Another betrayed him with a *kiss*, the usual token of friendly affection; having sold him, in the wickedness of his avaricious heart, "for thirty pieces of silver!" How impotent is an arm of flesh, unnerved by divine energy! How frail, and easily overcome by sin, and fear, and shame, is a human being, unassisted by the grace

of God! The most fixed purposes of his soul are unstable as water; and his most solemn resolutions, when they come in contact with confirmed evil habits, or the headstrong dispositions of his fallen nature, are but ropes of sand, and the ready sport of every contrary wind. How fickle is the self-interested friendship of man! While the Saviour was popular with the multitude, while he received the applause of the populace, and his disciples were under the impression that he would sway the sceptre of Judah, sitting on the throne of his father David, pleased, perhaps, with the fond anticipation of sharing the honor and power of the kingdom, they continued his steadfast followers; but no sooner had the tide of popularity turned against him, than they deserted him and his cause. Cicero well said, "A friend in *need* is a friend *indeed*."

6. He suffered the pain and ignominy of a death by crucifixion. Crucifixion was an ancient method of capital punishment among the Egyptians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, and others, and is still practised by the Chinese. The cross, in some cases, was shaped like a T, and in others like the letter X. This last was frequently its figure when the person was crucified with his head downward, as a universal tradition says St. Peter was at Rome. Before it was erected and planted in the earth, the malefactor's hands and feet were fastened with cords to each end of the transverse beam, and to the bottom of the upright, and then cruelly transfixed to the rugged wood with nails, driven in by the hammer of the executioner. As there are more nerves and tendons in the hands and feet, so they are more exquisitely sensitive than almost any other part of the body; and as the person who was so unhappy as to end his life in this way was supported by nothing else, beside these cords and nails, than a small piece of wood that projected from the centre of the upright part of the cross upon which he sat as on a saddle, this must have been the most painful death that could be devised by the inventive genius of Satan or the fruitful malice of men, or that could be inflicted on a human being. Hence it was customary to present the criminal with a mixture of wine and myrrh, to lull his physical and mental feelings into insensibility. But this stupifying potion the magnanimous Redeemer indignantly rejected, choosing to endure the jeers of his enemies, the scoffs of an unlicensed mob, the ingratitude of false brethren, and the excruciating tortures of the cross, with all his bodily senses fully susceptible of the utmost intensity of feeling. It may here be remarked, that this kind of punishment was anciently inflicted upon none but the most abject slaves; and not upon these, unless they were the basest of criminals. Jesus Christ was accused of various crimes, of which he was innocent; and yet, while Barabbas, the *insurgent*, the *robber*, the *murderer*, was released unto the Jews by the governor, they cried out with one united voice against the Son of God, "Let him be *crucified!* let him be crucified!" Well may we exclaim, in the inimitable language of the poet,—

> "O Lamb of God, was ever *pain*,
> Was ever *love* like *thine?*"

7. But all this accumulated load of suffering, though greater, perhaps, all things considered, than ever was endured by any other person in the world, was nothing in comparison with the weight of his

people's sins. The *infirmities* of *humanity* were *nothing;* the *wants* of *poverty* were *nothing;* the *assaults* of *Satan,* and the *malice* of his *enemies*—the *inconstancy* of *human friendship,* and even the *extremely painful death of the cross*—were *nothing* when compared with the judicial wrath of heaven's offended majesty! Think of the dark forebodings his pious mind had of the claims of divine justice for years before the consummation of his sacrifice. These forebodings might have appeared in early youth, when he first attended to his Father's business, like the distant eminence to the anxious traveller; but as he advanced in life, and approached the scene of his final conflict, he saw rising before him, and frowning over him, a huge rugged mountain of wrath, that was to press his humanity sorely, and rest upon him as a load of wo "more than whole worlds could bear!"

Come with me to "gloomy, sad Gethsemane;" where he drank, in part, the bitter cup of the aggravated rebellion of the human race. See him, about a stone's cast from his slumbering disciples, prostrate on the cold earth! Hear him exclaiming, while the intense agony of his suffering soul is forcing the red current of life through the very pores of his skin, until it falls in great drops to the ground, "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me!" Why this thrice offered prayer? Why this agony? Why this bloody sweat? Here are no *nails,* no *spear,* no *vinegar* and *gall,* no *racking cross;* here is no *purple robe,* nor *reed,* nor *crown of thorns,* in mock royalty; here are none to *mock* him, or *spit upon* him, or *scourge* him, or *smite* him with the palms of their hands; and yet he *bleeds from every pore!* No human or angelic tongue can describe, nor can a created mind even conceive, the degree of anguish he that moment endured! To bear, *at once,* the punishment of a single crime, though God could justly lengthen it out to run parallel with the countless ages of eternity, were *great;* to bear thus the full penalty of the law for all the sins of but one individual, were unspeakably greater; but to meet, in his own person, though incomprehensible by us, within the narrow limits of a few short hours, the demands of divine justice on the whole human race, was infinitely the greatest!

Let us attend him a little farther. See him ascending the hill of Calvary, bearing his own cross, until, the strength of his humanity wearing away, he faints beneath the "infamous load!" The shoulders upon which the government rested—the celestial government of the church triumphant, the ecclesiastical government of the church upon earth, the spiritual government of every heart, and the universal government of vast creation—now bend beneath the weight of "a malefactor's cross!" Behold him again, supported in his weakness by his executioners, standing upon the brow of the eminence, but a few paces from the top of Moriah's hill, where Abraham bound with his own hands, laid upon the uncouth altar erected by him for the purpose, and stretched forth the knife to slay, his son, his only son Isaac, whom he loved; and behold in this victim the *true* sacrifice, the Lamb for a burnt-offering, provided by the God of Abraham in Isaac's stead!

The cross is now thrown upon the ground, and he is stretched and nailed upon it, and raised between heaven and earth as the immolated victim of the malice and revenge of his enemies; as an example of patient suffering to all future persecuted Christians; and, at the same

time, as the bleeding Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world! The sun refuses to behold the mournful tragedy. A thick darkness settles over all the land. Listen to the distant voice of thunder rolling in the troubled clouds! Behold the vivid lightnings glittering in the darkened heavens, as the sword of justice was plunged in his devoted bosom! The veil of the temple is rent in twain, from the top to the bottom! The graves of the dead are opened! The strong rocks of Judea tremble! And while the earth quakes, while death is brandishing his sting in token of victory, while Satan rejoices, while all hell is exulting, while his enemies are pale with consternation, and involuntarily confess that *this* was the Son of God, while angels, in silent astonishment, behold the mysterious offering, while his disciples stand aloof and view the scene at a distance, trusting it had been he who should redeem Israel, and while a few weeping, but faithful females are clinging to the reeking cross in all the agony of bereaved friends, he yields up his spirit, praying for his murderers—"Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!"

Well might Rousseau exclaim, (an unintentional tribute to the Author of our holy religion,) while comparing the tragic end of a celebrated heathen moralist with the sublime exit of Jesus,—"If the death of Socrates was that of a sage, the death of Jesus Christ was that of a God!"—"It is finished," he says. "His aching head is at rest, and all his sufferings are over." This leads me to notice—

II. The glory that followed his sufferings.

The first glorious events that speedily succeeded his death were his resurrection from the dead and his ascension into heaven. The *truth* of this doctrine is, at present, taken for granted; let us, therefore, consider two of its most important consequences.

1. It was a satisfactory vindication of his essential divinity. By this I mean, that Jesus Christ was the supreme God; that this truth was apparently obscured by his shameful death; but that afterward it shone with meridian lustre when he so gloriously triumphed over the king of terrors. To deny the first part of this proposition, the supreme divinity of Christ, is to strike at the very first principles of the Christian system, the *Trinity in Unity*; and at the infinite satisfaction he made by his death for the sins of men. It is to reject a doctrine which has been received as a part of revelation by all the orthodox churches in the world, from the time that God said, "Let *us* make man," in the creation of whom the church began her existence, until the present hour. This is a doctrine which has been carefully examined,—so far as the human intellect is capable of searching into the deep things of God,—by the mightiest minds, and has been pronounced not inconsistent with human reason, though, as all things in immediate connection with the Deity, are far above it; the profanity of infidels and the supposed superior light of Unitarians to the contrary notwithstanding: a doctrine that is revealed in the Bible; that is proved by the titles and attributes of Christ; that is exemplified by his works of creation, providence, and redemption; that is daily evidenced to his followers by the supreme worship which he receives and approves, as every real Christian is assured in his own soul, when he is enabled to exclaim, with Thomas, "My Lord and my God!" But this doctrine was, apparently, obscured by his ignominious death. What! God,

manifested in the flesh, die as a malefactor! The Holy One of Israel be nailed to the accursed wood as a basely detested criminal! This was indeed the *stone* of stumbling and the *rock* of *offence*. It was to the *Jews*, who required a sign, a *stumbling-block;* and to the *Greeks*, who sought after wisdom, *foolishness*. The former could not reconcile the opinions they had formed of the promised Messiah with the manner of his death; and the latter could not conceive how a person justly put to death, as they thought, for crimes committed by himself in Judea, could save them from sin by that death, in another and a distant part of the world. But he suffered, the *just* for the *unjust*.

But, although the brightness of his Godhead was shrouded in a momentary gloom by the shadow of an ignominious death, as is the natural sun in the heavens when his rays are obstructed by the intervention of a dark cloud, yet he did not remain in this obscurity. By his authority an angel was commissioned to leave the heavenly world; at whose approach the earth reeled to and fro, and trembled to her centre, and the iron-hearted sentinels quaked with fear, and became as dead men. By his arm alone *death* was conquered, and his power subdued; and, by rising in glorious triumph from the tomb, he became the first-fruits of them that slept. We behold the Sun of Righteousness bursting forth from behind the gloomy cloud of the malefactor's death, in all the ineffable grandeur of the Deity; and forty days after received up into heaven, leading captivity captive, and imparting gifts unto men as the Lord of Hosts, as the King of glory, and the mighty God of Jacob!

2. A second result of this event was, the permanent establishment of the truth of Christianity.

The two great branches of external evidence of the divine authenticity of Revelation are, the *fulfilment* of *prophecies*, and the working of miracles; and these alone are sufficiently authenticating for human acceptance. The book that contains particular predictions concerning nations, individuals, or events,—written hundreds and even thousands of years before such nations or individuals had an existence, or before such events had transpired,—all of which are recorded in sacred and profane history as having been circumstantially fulfilled, must have been dictated by that Spirit of Wisdom who sees at once the past, the present, and the future, and surveys, at a single glance, the boundless extent of eternity. But when we consider, in addition to this, that the persons who claimed to be inspired wrought miracles—produced such effects by controlling or suspending the known laws of nature as do not follow natural causes—effects which nature, in the ordinary course of her operations, is incapable of producing, and that these works were performed for the express purpose of substantiating their claims to a divine mission, then the evidence becomes convincing, even to a demonstration. With all this evidence, I am at a loss to know how any man, possessing only a tolerable degree of reason, to say nothing of those who profess to be the peculiar favorites of the goddess, can reject the Bible as an uninspired volume.

The *resurrection of Christ* was a miracle—the *greatest* and *most important* of all the miracles of the Bible. It was the *greatest*, because he who voluntarily laid down his own life,—as he said, "I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again,"—*actually raised*

himself from the dead. And it is the most *important*, because upon it principally, as upon a broad foundation, the fair fabric of Christianity sublimely rests. Remove *this*, and its well-proportioned fellow—the atonement he made for sin by his death—necessarily follows; and then the magnificent temple of the Christian religion, in which thousands have peaceably worshipped the God of the universe, through the sufferings and mediation of his Son, will fall to the ground. Could infidels grasp, with a giant hand, these firm supporters of our faith, as Samson did the pillars of the house of the Philistines, and move them from their place, the superstructure would inevitably give way, and bury the fairest hopes of millions beneath its ruins. But, "thanks be to God who giveth us the victory," this truth is more firmly based than the everlasting hills! The gospel is not "a cunningly devised fable," but it is the wisdom and power of God to every one that believeth.

3. Passing over the wonderful effusion of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, which was foretold by the prophets and promised by Christ, and which was a striking fulfilment of that promise and of those prophecies, the *third* glorious circumstance immediately following the sufferings of the Son of Man was the rapid and extensive spread of this divinely-attested system of religious truth. The gospel, when it was first propagated, had every thing to oppose it. The Gentiles, according to the portrait of their moral character, as drawn by the pencil of inspiration in the Epistle to the Romans, were extremely wicked, and wholly given up to the worship of senseless idols. The Jews, though worshippers of the true God, had, in general, lost the *spirit* of piety in the *letter*, the *substance* in the *shadow;* and they contented themselves with a formal observance of outward washings and cleansings—of offerings and sacrifices. So the gospel stood directly opposed to the whole state of things; it denounced all the abominations of idolatry, and repudiated the most popular systems of heathen philosophy; and it taught the entire abolition of circumcision, with all the other ceremonial rites. Here, then, we have arrayed in opposition, on one hand, the mighty ones of the earth, with all their deep-rooted prejudices and long-cherished errors, their learning, philosophy, and eloquence, acting under the influence of the unbridled appetites of the flesh, and in co-operation with all the hosts of Satan; and, on the other, a few poor and illiterate Galilean fishermen, without the warrior's helmet, sword, or shield, having only the *simple story* of the *cross*, the weapons of truth in the sling, drawn from the word of God, and aided by the power of their faith and the ardor of their love. But their strength was in an invisible arm. What were the immediate effects of this apparently unequal combat? Did the gigantic enemy march against and overpower the followers of the Lamb? Did the formality and bigotry of Judaism, or the corruptions and superstition of pagan idolatry, triumph over the doctrines of the cross? Was the Christian religion exterminated and banished from the face of the earth? Not at all! With a devout heart, richly glowing with the graces of the Spirit, and an eagle's eye, sparkling with the rays of supernatural inspiration, and the holy ardor that animated the benevolent bosom of their Master, the eleven fishermen of Galilee, and the tent-maker of Tarsus, were more than equal to the united powers of earth and hell! They *came*, they *saw*, they *conquered*. The touch of the cross trans-

formed the nations. Thousands, who had resisted the fascinating charms of the most accomplished heathen orators, were brought under the sweet influence of

"Jesus' tuneful name."

Others, who had stood undismayed upon the field of battle, surrounded by the slain and the dying; whose hearts of brass and frames of steel had never trembled with the effects of fear, acknowledged the force of truth, and yielded to the soldiers of Christ. The angry lion became a peaceful lamb; the wild barbarian the child of God; saints were found in the household of Cesar; a whole company of priests became obedient to the faith; systems of false philosophy gave way to that of the Bible; and the worship of idols to the worship of the true God. From this you perceive that the banner of the cross was not only unfurled upon the mountains of Gilboa, and wet with the dew of Hermon, but it waved also, in glorious triumph, over the walls of Athens and Corinth, of Philippi, and Ephesus, and Rome, the very centre of the empire, and mistress of the world. It exerted a powerful influence over the hearts and conduct of men in all classes of society, and in almost every place inhabited by man.

4. And is not this a "glory" that still follows the sufferings and death of Christ? Did he say to his disciples, "Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world?" And is not his word as firm and immoveable as the pillars of his throne? It is, my brethren! Though eighteen hundred years have passed away, as a tale that is told, since the Saviour expired to redeem man, religion and his gospel are still the same; the sword of the Spirit has the same heavenly temper, keen edge, and sharp point; the armor of righteousness has the same lustre and impenetrability; and the entire arms of the Christian warrior are as successful now, in conquering sinful men and their evil practices, as they were when first employed in mortal combat.

At this moment the angel that unfolded his pinions of light to the hoary seer of Patmos is "flying in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people; saying, with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgment is come; and worship Him that made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of water." And this gospel has not lost its saving efficacy; it is subduing its enemies, and planting the victorious standard of its Author upon the top of every mountain, and in the depth of every valley. For, speedily, another angel will follow the first, and proclaim the success of his message, saying, "Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city, because she made all nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornications." The Son of man, riding in majesty on a cloud made luminous by the reflected glory of uncreated light, having on his head a golden crown, will thrust his sharp sickle into the waving harvest; for the harvest of the earth is fully ripe, and it shall be reaped and gathered into the garner of God. The Bible, if it be not already, shall *soon* be translated into all the various dialects of the babbling earth. This alone will do more in evangelizing the world than all the crusades for the rescue of the holy sepulchre that were ever undertaken; all the pilgrimages that were ever performed; all the

inquisitions or civil statutes for the preservation of the faith, and the excision of heretics, that were ever instituted; with every other means that human policy or fanatical bigotry can devise. Speed its progress, O God, until every family shall possess, in its own native language, the unadulterated word of life!

The missionaries of the cross, who have bidden adieu to the land of their fathers and to the endearments of home, and have gone into distant regions with the ministry of reconciliation, shall be *successful* in their labors of love; and while Ethiopia is stretching out her hands to God, and, in the anguish of her heart, is pleading her own cause, her earnest appeal to Heaven shall be regarded; and though she cannot change her natural hue, she shall wash her robes and make them white in the blood of the Lamb!

Those men of God who have gone to the miasmatic swamp missions of the south to teach the poor negro the way of the Lord, or those who have penetrated far into the wilderness of the west to instruct the wild Indian in the true knowledge of the Great Spirit, together with all others who are Scripturally engaged in the blessed work of this holy calling in every part of the world, shall be greatly instrumental in advancing the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom, and in increasing the glory that is following the sufferings of Christ.

The happy effects of these sufferings may not only be experienced in the heart and witnessed in the life of *one* individual, but in the hearts and lives of *all;* and when the glory of the atonement shall have spread fully over the four quarters of the globe, who can properly describe, or even anticipate, the heavenly condition of human society? All nations shall be at peace with each other. War and destruction shall not be heard in their borders. No civil discord shall agitate a single state or government. No broils or quarrels shall discompose domestic tranquillity. No guilt shall produce condemnation and remorse in the mind of the pardoned sinner. The love of the creature will be centred supremely in God, as the grand focal point of a believer's affections; while that love that thinketh no evil, but hopeth, believeth, endureth, and beareth all things, and without which all other gifts would leave him only as "a sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal," will regulate his actions toward his mutually loving neighbor. The different denominations of Christians shall dwell together in perfect unity, each one worshipping God under its own vine and fig-tree. O when will those golden days of Christianity fully arrive! My soul longeth for them as for the breaking of the morning!

"*Waft, waft*, ye winds, his story,
And *you, ye waters*, roll;
Till, like a *sea of glory*,
It spread from pole to pole!

Till o'er our ransom'd nature,
The Lamb for sinners slain,
Redeemer, King, Creator,
In bliss, returns to reign!"

5. Were there no other glory than that which can be felt and seen in this world, and that especially which diverges in radiant beams from the death-couch where the good man ends his life, the love of God would be astonishingly magnified in the gift of his Son. But all this is only

as a drop to the ocean; as the feeble light of the midnight lamp to the brightness of the noonday sun. The *faintest rays* of glory are witnessed in *this* state of being; the *strongest* and *most overpowering* in that which is to come. Here we can learn but the alphabet of a future language; there we shall possess the richest treasures of this language. Here we can have but a crumb, a mere *foretaste*, of the bread of life; there we shall have all the deep and hallowed blessings of the whole feast.

A cheering vision, a fair and extensive landscape, rises to my sight! I see in it the mountain of God, towering in grandeur to heaven! I see the holy city, the New Jerusalem, adorned as a bride prepared for her husband; its streets are as transparent as a sea of glass; its walls are built of diamonds and all manner of precious stones; its gates are composed of the "goodliest pearls;" its inhabitants are pure and lovely as the angels of God, clothed in white robes, with palms in their hands and starry crowns on their heads. I hear them singing, and the sound of it is as the voice of many waters:—"Blessing, and glory, and honor, and thanksgiving, and power, and might, be unto the Lord our God, who liveth and reigneth for ever! Hallelujah to the Lamb that was slain, who hath washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto his Father!" Thousands upon thousands are there; a great multitude that no man can number, out of every nation upon earth. Patriarchs, prophets, kings, and saints of Israel; apostles, martyrs, and primitive Christians; ministers and missionaries of every clime; children who have died in infancy, in countless myriads; together with all others who have wrought righteousness, and have died in favor with God. Their natural, weak, dishonorable, mortal, and corruptible bodies have been changed into spiritual, active, glorious, immortal, and incorruptible bodies. All natural, physical, and moral evil, of every kind and degree, is removed from them; and all possible good of every kind, and to a degree of which we can have no adequate conception in this our present state of being, is theirs for ever. Their holiness is unsullied, their happiness unalloyed, and their joys and knowledge are eternally increasing. The mind of man, soaring upward on its eagle pinions to the highest point of which it is capable, can discover in the distant prospect no shore to the boundless ocean, no efficient barrier to stay the proud waves of human improvability! Nevertheless, we may "poise on steady wing" at this height in the intellectual heavens, and contemplate the immensity which surrounds us, whose great depths we cannot possibly fathom. This very impossibility will teach us that, in contemplating the perfections of the unsearchable God, we shall find ceaseless employment for our faculties in the world to come. All this, and indescribably more, may be reckoned as the effect of the sufferings of Christ. But the subject is inexhaustible; and as these remarks have, perhaps, already been extended too far. I will only add a few brief concluding observations.

1. The several kinds of sufferings the Saviour endured are full of instruction. Was he *poor?* How resigned to his lot! Was he pious at the same time; and did the Father say, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased?" Then poverty is not a mark of the divine displeasure; and the fact that good men are afflicted, is a strong argument for a future state of rewards and punishments. Was he *tempted?*

Then temptations are not, in themselves, sinful; and the *best* man may be subject to them without incurring guilt, while he yields not to their influence. Did he foil the tempter by quoting appropriate passages of Scripture? This, then, is the right way for the Christian to resist Satan, when placed in a similar situation. Did he suffer *persecution?* The servant is not above his Lord; let him only have the same meekness and the same forgiving spirit. Did he die the death of a martyr? Let us, also, be willing to lay down our lives in his cause, and for his sake. Did he die to redeem us from sin, death, and hell? "Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us!" He pitied us in our wretchedness; he made heaven itself possible of attainment, by giving his only begotten Son as the infinite ransom price of our deliverance!

2. We should perseveringly imitate the prophets of old in searching the Scriptures. They had, comparatively, but few books to search and study: we have the complete canon of Scripture. They had only a part of the Old Testament—a book, moreover, that is but seldom read by Christians as attentively and frequently, in the present day, as it ought to be, unless we except the Psalms, and a few other more particularly devotional portions—we have the Old and the New Testament in connection. Many of the predictions of the prophets were not understood by themselves, and others but partially; "the true light now shineth;" and the knowledge they were denied to obtain, for reasons known only to God, may now be fully acquired by us. And, with these superior advantages, shall we remain ignorant? That which

> "*Prophets* and *kings* desired so long,
> But died without the sight,"

we behold with open face. Shall we not so improve it that it may make us wise unto salvation? It is a book of *history* the most ancient and curious; a book of doctrines the most ennobling; of precepts the most holy; of promises the most precious and inviting; of threatenings the most terrible; of prophecies and miracles the most wonderful; of *poetry* the most sublime and inspiring; of learning the most deep and profound; and of philosophy the most correct and consistent. O Lord, open thou our eyes, and our minds shall behold wondrous things in thy law!

3. We should endeavor to obtain suitable qualifications for enjoying the glory that shall follow our stay upon earth. "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption." Therefore sin must be pardoned, its power, love, and radical contamination must be destroyed, and the image of God must be deeply impressed upon the soul. This is a great work; but it is as *necessary* as it is great. For, "without holiness, no man shall see the Lord." But, great as it is, it may easily be accomplished, and in a short time, by the agency of the Holy Spirit, through the exercise of faith in the merits of those vicarious sufferings of which we have spoken. Jesus is waiting to impart his grace to every anxious heart, to apply his blood to the perfect purification of every stain of sin, and fully to deliver his people from the power of the adversary, and the dominion of every unhallowed propensity. O that the blessings he purchased by his sufferings may be speedily communicated to those for

whom they were so dearly bought, and that we may all have the "wedding garment" in the day of the Lord, and enter in to the marriage-supper of the Lamb, to enjoy for ever the glory that shall succeed our happy entrance there! Amen.

For the Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review.

Art. X.—OBSERVATIONS ON WATSON'S THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTES.

To those who are acquainted with Mr. Watson's writings, and with Methodist periodicals, it may be matter of surprise that any person should undertake to present a review of him to the public. His writings have been some time before the world, and at least one review of the present work has appeared in our own Magazine. "What need we any farther judgment?"

The reviews already published, however, have rather served to furnish specimens of the work, and as "letters of commendation" to the favorable notice of the public, than as cautious examinations of the matter and manner of the author. I am not in favor, indeed, of rigorous examinations in all cases. There are mistakes which a reviewer should not see. There may be differences of opinion not proper to be mentioned. But,

The subjects on which Mr. Watson writes cannot be examined too closely. No careless logic should settle our opinions respecting them. Of these subjects I am a student. Of Mr. Watson, I am, in some degree, an admirer; and have been, at least, a *patient* reader. Of some of his views, I should be glad to state my opinion; not the less so, that they refer to matters of great moment.

At the same time, the reader need be under no apprehension of meeting with that which he has often met before. If I saw no other course of remark but that which has already been pursued, I would not intrude myself upon the readers of the Magazine.

The "Institutes" commence, very naturally, with the Evidences of Christianity. This presents to us a very important subject; and we will occupy our article in following Mr. Watson through the series of arguments by which he proposes to prove that the Bible is the word of our God, which liveth and abideth for ever.

It would seem that the very consent of all Christians, that the Bible is from God, must render the construction of an argument in its behalf convincing to others, peculiarly difficult. Both we who preach and write, and, generally, they to whom we preach and write, believe in the doctrine already; and we cannot very readily enter into the thoughts of one who does not. *We* incline to receive an argument too readily; *infidels*, too reluctantly. *We* would not hesitate to urge an unsound; *they*, to reject a sound argument.

The same circumstance which renders convincing argument peculiarly difficult, renders it also peculiarly necessary; and justifies rigorous caution, lest we be found resting upon a basis unsubstantial to all eyes save our own.

There is no need of any hesitancy in throwing away an unsubstantial prop to Christianity. Her foundations are so broad, so stable is the rock on which she is built, that no prop is necessary.

To the preliminary reasoning of Mr. Watson I have some objections. The train commences with what our author styles *presumptive* evidence, which, though not full and direct, is yet, as he thinks, of too great weight to be overlooked.*

Now, of this I remark, in the first place, that we are not informed of what the presumption is, but only, in general terms, that it is favorable to Christianity. A very trifling matter in appearance, but, to the character of the argument, of high import.

The reader will observe that there may be two ways of framing a presumptive argument: the first, being to show that, under certain circumstances, we would have reason to expect a revelation from God, and that those circumstances exist; the second, being presumptive, historical evidence, that a revelation *has been* made.

The first method places us in the chain of effects, *before* revelation, and endeavors to show, that such are the purposes of God respecting the human race, that, under certain circumstances, he will reveal himself; and also to show that those circumstances actually present themselves. The second places us *after* revelation, and, without judging the divine character or human wants, it inquires whether there be not evidence of it, as having actually occurred.

The former judges from those circumstances which would *give rise* to revelation, and is *à priori;* the latter, from those appearances which would *result from* revelation, and is *à posteriori*.

To which of these two kinds does the argument of Mr. Watson belong? Is it a presumption that God *would* reveal himself, or that he *has* revealed himself? Mr. W. nowhere recognizes our distinction, though a remark in chap. xii. shows that his mind was proceeding in the direction of the former. He says, "in addition to the proofs which have been given of the necessity of a revelation, both from the *reason of things*, and the *actual circumstances* of the world," &c. This passage shows, very clearly, what kind of proof he intended to furnish.

It will be found to be, however, of both kinds; though the former very decidedly predominates. It will also be found, I think, that so far as the former predominates, the reasoning is suspicious. To any reasoning of that kind there appear to be very serious objections.

* The reader will perceive that the strictures contained in this article relate to Mr. Watson's *method* of conducting the investigation, and arranging the evidence usually adduced in support of a divine revelation; and not to his work generally, as a system of theology entitled to the high rank among those extant which has been assigned it by the almost unanimous voice of an enlightened Christian community. The fact is, that the method adopted by Mr. Watson is not peculiar to him. He has followed in the track of almost all distinguished theologians who preceded him. But whether this method be best—whether it be the happiest arrangement to precede the demonstration of truth founded on the history of the revelation itself, and essential, after all, in producing conviction, by a vast amount of *presumptive* evidence, often rendered doubtful by the interposition of balancing probabilities or error in the process of reasoning from alleged premises—may, at least, admit of an inquiry. This we understand to be the object of our correspondent, which it is proper for the reader to bear in mind, lest, by not closely following him through, his article may be misapprehended, and construed to have a bearing unfavorable to the distinguished reputation and relative merits of Mr. Watson's Institutes, which, we are persuaded, the author never intended.—Eds.

1. It presupposes knowledge, not only of the divine character, but of the divine purposes respecting man, greater than can be furnished except by revelation, and thus leads to a begging of the question.

He who would judge of the probable conduct of God toward man, must know what is the divine purpose respecting man. This knowledge must come either from revelation or from human reason. If it be brought into this connection *from* the Bible, and made the basis of argument *for* the Bible, then the truth of Scripture is taken for granted. If from reason, then reason is competent to teach those great truths, our ignorance of which is *assumed*, in order to prove that the Bible is necessary.

2. This species of argument reproaches God. Revelation is the offspring of divine goodness. Because God is good, says this method, "he will pass by and proclaim his name." He will reveal himself.

Does it not follow, that the withholding of revelation is want of goodness? If the conclusion that God will reveal himself, follow from the premise that God is good, does not the absence of the fact concluded argue the falsity of the premise concluding? This will bear upon the times preceding revelation, as well as upon those of our race who live after, but see not its light.

3. It presupposes greater knowledge, I do not say of human wants, but of the destination of man, than is actually possessed. Man's destiny depends upon the divine will; his wants accord with his destiny; and, necessarily, ignorance of the latter implies ignorance of the true character of the former.

Let us exemplify these remarks by reference to Mr. Watson's reasoning.

Chapter i. is a presumptive argument for the fact of a divine revelation, and as being, for the fact, unobjectionable. Nevertheless, the revelation is not the Christian, but one anterior to it; nay, anterior to any portion of the Scriptures. The process by which this one is to be identified with the Christian is too obscure to be at once detected.

Chapter ii. proposes to show, that "the rules which determine the moral quality of actions, must be presumed to be matter of revelation from God;" whence it will follow, either that those who are not favored with the degree of light which we possess have no rule by which to determine the moral quality of actions, or else that all men have always had the light of revelation.

If the rule of moral actions be necessarily matter of revelation, then those who have not revelation have no rule. But, if they have no rule, they are not moral agents, by our author's own definition, page 1.

But, if they have a rule, then they have a revelation. How this concludes in favor of Christianity I cannot determine. The Chinese and Hindoos either have a rule by which to test the moral quality of actions, or they have not. If they have, by this principle they are in possession of revelation; which, indeed, they are not. If they have no rule they are not moral agents, which is equally absurd, according to Mr. Watson's own showing.

The subsequent parts of the chapter illustrate, still more clearly, the remarks which have already been made. On page 11, ch. ii, it is proposed to show that there are not, in the natural works of God, or in his manner of governing the world, such indications of the will of God

concerning us as can afford sufficient direction in forming a perfectly virtuous character, and sufficient information as to the means by which it is to be effected. But, it is plain, that in order to determine this matter, we must know beforehand what, in God's estimation, will constitute a "perfectly virtuous character." "The theist," says Mr. W., "will himself acknowledge, that *temperance, justice*, and *benevolence*, are essential to moral virtue." Why will he acknowledge it? Evidently, because so much is taught him by the light of nature; for, being a theist, he will not acknowledge it upon the authority of Scripture. This concedes the whole question. It is granted that natural religion teaches that temperance, justice, &c., are essential to moral virtue; and yet the aim of the following paragraphs is to show that nature does *not* furnish us with sufficient light on this subject, which deficiency of natural light is argued to show the necessity of supernatural.

Perhaps that point is already plain. If not, one more illustration will make it so.

"The third branch of virtue is benevolence—the disposition and the habit of doing good. But in what manner, except by revelation, are the extent and obligation of this virtue to be explained?"

Observe. The "extent and obligation" of this virtue cannot be known but by revelation, yet its "extent and obligation" are assumed as known, at least in part; and from the assumption of them, the necessity of revelation is argued *to make them known*. This is a flat begging of the question. So is the entire argument on that topic.

Passing over the intermediate chapters, as not requiring, in this connection, any particular notice, we come to chap. v; which is less objectionable, perhaps, than some which precede, and others that follow.

Of this chapter, we may make about the same remarks as of chap. i. The argument is for the *fact* of a revelation, though of one anterior to the Biblical. The process by which the two are to be identified is too subtle to justify the author in leaving it unsupplied.

The three chapters which follow are as faulty as any. They are all entitled, "The Necessity of Revelation."

Now, before I peruse any of these arguments, I need to know what the necessity is of. We were in the dark before, to know of what was the presumption. I inquire now, To what is revelation necessary?

Things are necessary in one regard, and not in another. Revelation is not necessary to respiration, nor to human life in general. That, then, to which it is necessary, needs to be specified.

Is it necessary to our *happiness* in this life? When our author speaks of the comfort of prayer, trust, hope, &c., as flowing from revelation, as in various passages, he seems to place the necessity here. But if from this you would infer revelation, you must first prove that God intends men to be happy in this life; and also admit that God does *not* intend the happiness of those who are without revelation. Not their happiness simply, which might be argued from divine benevolence, but their happiness in this particular degree.

Is it to the life to come? You must prove there is one. You may not beg that question. Or, if you argue hypothetically, supposing there is one, you will then admit that those who have not revelation cannot be happy hereafter.

Is it necessary to moral agency? which would seem to follow from

various passages, (see above, on chap. ii.) Then the heathen are not moral agents.

Is it necessary to the divine government? This would follow from chap. ii, paragraphs 3 and 4, also paragraph 13, where he speaks of subjects of "vital importance to the right conduct and effectual moral control, as well as to the hopes and happiness of man." If this be the necessity, then it must be admitted that the heathen are not under the moral government of God.

Is it to the fulness of knowledge? To what, then, is the fulness of knowledge necessary? Doubtless, to some one of the particulars already mentioned, in which view this consideration is already met. Besides, if the theist knows that justice, temperance, and benevolence, are essential to moral virtue, he already has fulness of knowledge on that subject.

It is, then, an unanswered question, To *what* is revelation necessary? I have another, equally important, To *whom* is it necessary?

The necessity is educed from the history and condition of heathen nations. Surely, if necessary, the necessity is in the case of those from whose history it is shown. Yet these, unfortunately for the argument, are the very men who are without it. Were it not so, the necessity could not be shown.

I think these observations, carefully considered, will show clearly that there can be no abstract or *à priori* argument for Christianity. The disadvantageous character of that argument has been pointed out and illustrated from the reasoning of Mr. Watson. But, in addition, we may remark, that this species of proof is perpetually assailed with such questions as these, viz., Why was not revelation *previously* made? Why not *universally?* Why not *directly?* Nor are these idle questions. Upon *that system* we are bound to answer them. For, as we conclude revelation from the causes which would produce it, if we argue truly, we can also conclude the manner and circumstances of it. If the "reason of things" indicate revelation, it will indicate the kind; if the "circumstances of man" call for it, it will specify *when—where—how—to whom.*

On the other hand, the inquiry into the fact, Has a revelation been made? is simple and unembarrassed. The demonstration of this point settles the main question, and renders every other matter of mere curiosity. Should one ask, Why is revelation given so and so? the fact that it is given being determined, we need no answer. The querist may answer himself. The infinite wisdom and goodness, *included in the fact*, (but, in the other case, assumed to prove the fact,) push all such questions backward into blank oblivion.

We have, in the revelation so proved, the well-established and equitable principle, that he to whom much is given shall answer for much; he to whom little, for little; but we have no insight, not even in the volume itself, much less out of it, into the reasons by which Almighty God is induced to bestow upon one much, upon another little; though it is this very insight which the *à priori* argument supposes. For this reason, we cannot anticipate, in any given case, whether God will bestow either upon the race, or upon any portion of it, either "much," (i. e., revelation,) or "little," (i. e., natural religion only.)

But, on the system against which we are contending, we are bound

to say *why* revelation is given to one and not to another; for the very reason which would lead to its bestowment on one, would lead to its bestowment on another. Is that reason the goodness of God? Is not God, then, good to *all?* Are not his tender mercies over *all* his works? Is that reason human necessity? I ask, then, Are not all alike necessitous? The demonstrator, therefore, is bound to find some way of reconciliation between his own logic and the contradictory phenomenon that revelation is not universally bestowed.

I know of but one passage in any writer which looks to a solution of these questions, and that, by reason of its absurdity, might almost be left to refute itself.

"At the same time," says a moral philosopher of some note, "the effects of natural religion were tested among the heathen nations that surrounded them. The result was a clear demonstration, that, under the conditions of being in which man was created, any reformation was hopeless; and that, unless some other condition was revealed, the race would perish by its own vicious propensities, and enter the other world to reap the reward of its guilt for ever."

According to this, heathenism is an experiment, and "souls are in the crucible." But for whose information? Not for God's, I am sure. For man's, then? And has the heathen world been doomed to "enter the other world to reap the reward of its guilt for ever," that paltry we, of Christendom, might know the insufficiency of natural religion? One needs to have been prepared, by the horrible decree, for the reception of this doctrine.

We may here briefly recapitulate the principles and reasoning which have been presented on this branch of the subject.

1. Revelation cannot be presumed from God's character simply. That is always, and to all men, the same; "yesterday, to-day, and for ever." If any of his attributes would lead to a bestowment of this blessing upon one, so far as we can see, it would lead to its bestowment upon all.

2. Revelation cannot be presumed from the circumstances of man. For, so far as this question is concerned, men universally, and in all ages, are the same;—ignorant, sinful, corrupt.

3. Nor from the two conjointly. For, when followed out, they are the same.

Neither, by itself, is any thing. If man's circumstances would lead to revelation, it is because man, so circumstanced, is subject to a God so characterized and having such purposes.

If God's character and purpose would prompt revelation, it is because that character and purpose respect man, so circumstanced. The one of these avails nothing without the other. Ignorance of one is ignorance of the other. An assumption of the one is an assumption of the other.

Here we leave the presumptive evidence. If, as is very probable, the reader is now weary, he may turn to some other part of the volume; if not, he may follow the writer into another division of this great subject.

Chapter ix, is an inquiry into the nature and amount of evidence necessary to substantiate a revelation. The sophistry by which infidels would persuade us that miracles and prophecy are impossible in

the nature of things, and not subject of human testimony, is swept away, and the ground cleared for the advance of the argument proper.

On our author's treatment of this part of the subject, justice requires one observation. It is in reference to his method of meeting the infidel objection, that if prophecy be possible, events must be certain; and if certain, necessary. Mr. W. could not meet this by an appeal to the "eternal now;" a doctrine which he rejected. His only way of disposing of the matter appears, to me, to have been this:—That events have been foreknown, I have proof. That they are not *all* necessary, I have equal proof. This is all I can say. This would have been fair, if not satisfactory.

But it is not so done. An appeal is made to an argument of a very sophistical character, in which Mr. Watson appears to have been preceded by no less a personage than Dr. Samuel Clarke. It is this:—"The whole question lies in this. Is the knowledge of an action a *necessitating* cause of the action? And the answer must be in the negative, as every man's consciousness will assure him." See close of chap. ix, for the whole subject.

Now, if ever a fool dreamed that the foreknowledge of an action *made* or *caused it to be* necessary, I will admit that this is all fair. But if, as I affirm, such an idiot is not—not even amid the besotted legions of unbelief—then must such an answer meet with the reprobation which it deserves.

It is not pretended that knowledge *makes* the thing known necessary, nor that foreknowledge so does; but it *proves* that it is so. Necessity does not result from foreknowledge, but foreknowledge from necessity.

I see the book on which I am writing; therefore, (logically,) of necessity, it must be before me. No, sir, says Mr. W., your seeing the book does not make its presence necessary, (i. e., physically.) Ridiculous, Mr. W., you waste your words. I do not say it is there because I see it, but I see it because it is there. I could not see the book if it were not there; so God could not foresee events if they were not destined to happen. The necessity, objected by the infidel, is logical. That to which Mr. Watson replies is physical. Even an infidel argument ought to be stated fairly. If we resort to false principles to defend Christianity, those principles will meet us elsewhere, and neutralize the Christianity which we attempt to defend.

At this point in our progress an important and somewhat vexed question presents itself, respecting the relative values of the different kinds of evidence. As the external, primary, or the internal. Which of these is the *essential* argument, which not?

As, I suppose, Mr. Watson's argument in favor of the external is both conclusive and familiar to most readers of the Magazine, I will not rehearse it, but beg leave to discuss the subject in my own way; referring, as we progress, to some remarks which have been made by others.

There are some distinctions on this subject which, I suppose, must have been in the minds of those who have treated it, but which I do not recollect to have seen any where fully drawn out.

The first of them is between the historical and the doctrinal, or *inspired* truth of Scripture. The sacred writers may have narrated

facts without inspiration. Nay, they might have given a history of the first appearance, and subsequent advance, of the doctrines of the cross, without so much as believing them. Gibbon, the infidel, does as much. The evangelists, therefore, might have narrated what they saw and heard without inspiration; or, rather, their truth, as historians, is not their truth as prophets and apostles. It includes it, indeed, as a premise includes its conclusion. But, in order to constitute an argument from premise to conclusion, the one must be allowed to be different from the other.

All this is most clearly illustrated by the case of Luke, in the Acts. He was neither prophet nor apostle—we have no proof that he was inspired, except as a historian;—yet was he well acquainted with inspired truths, and well fitted to give their history.

The second distinction which I would wish to make, refers to the term revelation. Popularly, it includes the whole sacred volume. Strictly, it includes much less, and signifies either, 1. The act of revealing, or, 2. The thing revealed. I apprehend that it is from forgetting this distinction that much of the confusion of ideas, respecting the internal evidence, has arisen.

The Bible is not a revelation, but a history of revealed truth, and an account of the manner and circumstances under which it was given. That history is not *revealed*. The matter of it did not come into the minds of the writers by supernatural communication, though they were inspired, i. e., divinely assisted, to remember precisely, and to state exactly, what they had seen and heard.

The statement of facts, respecting the revelation, has its truth; the revelation itself has its own truth. A particular instance will render our view clear. In Matt. v, we have the following passage: "And seeing the multitudes, he went up into a mountain; and when he was set, his disciples came unto him; and he opened his mouth and taught them, saying, Blessed are the poor in spirit." Here we have, simply, a history. The history is, that Jesus said and did so and so. Observe: the history includes the revealed truth which Jesus uttered, but not as being revealed. It includes as being simply what Christ said.

Where, then, is the revelation? The act of revealing is not here mentioned. It may have taken place then, or at some other time; but, whenever it took place, it was private between Christ and the divine Spirit. The thing revealed is here recorded.

Now, the truth of the history that our Saviour did and said thus is one thing, and the truth of the position that he did and said thus by revelation is another.

This, too, although I infer, *logically*, the truth of the revelation from the truth of the narrative. It is manifest, from what has been said, that that may be internal to the record which is external to the revelation; and that that may be external to the record which is internal to the revelation. Yet, much of the confusion arises from considering whatever belongs to the one as belonging to the other.

Look at the revelation a moment, and you will see that, to us, there *can* be no internal evidence, so far as the act of revealing is concerned. That act is past. There is nothing of it, either external or internal. Think a little farther, and you will see that in no way could the divine origin of the revelation be made known to

them who received it *originally* but by its own internal évidence; while to us, who receive it secondarily, there can be no evidence of its origin but that which is external.

For this reason, a certain writer is wide of the mark when he asks us, How did Abel, Noah, and Abraham know that the Lord had spoken to them?

Was it imagined that we are in the same condition, relatively to the evidence, with Abel, Noah, and Abraham? Far from it. 1. To Abel, Noah, and Abraham, the act of revealing was present, and its evidence could be contemplated. To us it is past, and affords no evidence. 2. To Abel, Noah, and Abraham, the event, and, of course, the narrative of the event, were future, and had no evidence. To us they are past and present, and their evidence is abiding. In this we have but another instance of God's unvarying mode of procedure. While supernatural methods of conviction were needful, they were supplied. *We* have proof which our reason can compass; therefore that which they had is not furnished us. (See below, for more ample illustration of this point.)

I, therefore, agree with Mr. Watson, that the external evidence is the conclusive evidence. But to his doctrine, with all humility, I would add a clause, which, to me, seems somewhat important: *that the evidence which is external to the doctrine, or matter revealed, must be internal to the record.*

There are some lately expressed views to which I wish to apply this reasoning, as the application will show its character still more clearly.

A very distinguished writer, in treating of the prophecies and miracles of Scripture, proceeds as follows:—

"It is asserted by skeptics, that having no other account of the prophecies and miracles of Scripture than what is found in the sacred Scriptures themselves, this account cannot be fairly considered as substantial proof of the truth and divine authority of those Scriptures." "And we are compelled to allow, that, granting the truth of the proposition," i. e., that we have no other account, "we cannot gainsay it;" i. e., the conclusion, that we have not substantial proof.

Here we differ. I say, no *other* account is necessary. Nay, if any other were necessary, Christianity would be oppressed by the weight of its own evidence. This is substantially what I mean when I say that the evidence, external to the doctrine, must be internal to the record. When the writer grants that if we have no other account we have no substantial proof of the truth of Scripture, he means one of two things: either, 1. That we have no proof of the truth of the history, or, 2. No proof of the inspired truth of Scripture.

Now, if the first be meant, I remark that that is poor testimony, or rather, no testimony at all, which requires proof of its truth. Other testimony may augment its power, but no other can give it power. If it require proof of its truth it is of no value at all. Nay, the proof of the facts themselves will not prove *its* truth. When, therefore, the writer in question traverses sea and land in search of evidence, historical, traditional, and observational of certain great facts, such as the deluge, the confusion of tongues, &c., and produces passages from Abydenus, Eusebius, Virgil, &c., from the appearances of earth and the aspects of heaven, this is nothing to the ques-

tion. Having done all, he has only established certain great facts. The question is, Can we believe the story these evangelists tell, and as they tell it? The only possible mode of determining that question is, by reference to the honesty and capacity of the writers themselves.

If confirmatory evidence be produced, that evidence must be testimony; in which case what proof have we of the truth of that which confirms?

But, if the second thing be meant—the inspired truth—we take another position, and remark, that while the ground of believing the historical truth lies in the credibility of the witnesses, the ground of believing the inspired truth is in the clearness of the *argument* from the one to the other.

To illustrate this, Luke narrates that, on a certain occasion, Paul the apostle, professing to be divinely inspired, declared of one Elymas, a sorcerer, that he should become blind. See Acts xiii, 11.

This is Luke's narrative of what Paul *said*. He farther adds that Elymas became blind. This is his narrative of what befel.

Where is the inspiration? It is not here. That had taken place previously, when the divine Spirit communicated to the spirit of Paul the divine intention respecting one of his rebellious creatures.

Now, the truth of Luke's narrative, of what Paul said and did, is one: the truth of Paul's pretence to have received a divine communication is another.

Upon what ground, then, do we receive Luke's narrative? I answer, Upon Luke's testimony.

Upon what ground do we receive Paul's profession? Answer. Neither upon Luke's testimony nor upon Paul's profession, but upon *our judgment*. For *we thus judge*, that if Paul predicted thus and thus about things which he could not know, except by inspiration, and if those things came to pass exactly as predicted, Paul must have been inspired.

The writer referred to, however, affirms that, if we have no other account of this affair than the Scriptural, (and we have no other,) then we must concede to skepticism. I answer,—

That, for the historical truth, it rests upon Luke's testimony, which is uncontradicted. If, then, any thing better than the testimony of one who saw, uncontradicted by others who saw, can be produced, let us have it. For the inspired truth, that rests upon our own judgment, built upon the historical. No other account, therefore, is necessary.

The reader will please to observe that, as is Paul's claim to inspired knowledge in this particular instance, such is the doctrinal part of Scripture in general; and as is the history in this particular case, such is the narrative of facts throughout the sacred volume.

On the quotation already made, no more needs to be said; only that that truth, which rests upon testimony, is, by such views, altogether confounded with that which rests upon a deduction of our own minds from the testimony. It is farther forgotten, the difference between opinion and fact—between argumentation and testimony. The former may be brought into dispute at any time. The objector may put you to the proof, simply, because he will. But testimony is *never* in dispute. It is always either good or bad—false or true.

When, therefore, an infidel calls upon you for proof of Christianity, counting it a matter of dispute, his privilege so to do extends only to the doctrinal or revealed truth, for that only depends on our own minds, and is matter of argument. But the testimony stands until overthrown by counter testimony, or by an appeal to that nature of things which is everlasting and immutable. *Until proved false it must be acknowledged true.*

If men argue about Christianity, either *pro* or *con*, it behoves them to know where, and in what shape, the argument begins.

The writer before us farther remarks, "That if we have no *other* account of these miracles than what is contained in the Holy Scriptures, and no other evidence of their truth, we cannot infer the truth of the miracles without first inferring the truth of Scripture. And hence it follows, most undeniably, that the miracles cannot be adduced as a proof of the divine authority of the Scriptures until the sacred Scriptures themselves are allowed to be true; and when this is done, the reality of the miracles follows as a necessary corollary, though their existence is not necessary to substantiate a truth already established." On this passage I have to make the following observations: 1. "We cannot infer the truth of the miracles without first inferring the truth of Scripture." If this passage have any meaning, it is this. We cannot admit the *reality* of the miracles without first admitting the *credibility* of Scripture. This is very true, and yet to no purpose. For, the Scripture being, in the first instance, history, its truth is a matter of course, until overthrown. The writer of that passage, however, must allow that the truth of Scripture, *in one respect*, may argue its truth *in another respect*. The historical may argue the doctrinal. 2. If we must have extraneous testimony to one marvellous event, we must also to another. Not only must Abydenus and Virgil testify to one or two things, but to every thing. Be the matter as it may, if this view be correct, Christianity is overthrown; for, though we have a small amount of corroborative testimony to *some* of the leading facts, yet, for *most* of them, we have none whatever. 3. According to the quotation, the termination of the whole argument for Christianity is, that miracles have been wrought. Of what use, it may be asked, are the miracles? The writer first establishes the truth, in full, of Scripture, (i. e., the historical and inspired, in one proposition,) and thence infers the reality of miracles. Will he not now make some use of these miracles? Will he not lead us, through them, to some higher conclusion? Certainly not. "Their existence is not necessary to substantiate a conclusion, already established."

On the other hand, *we* believe the miracles on the assurance of the witnesses, and thence infer the divine authority of the doctrine. Which is the more worthy termination of a long argument, which the more simple and efficient process, the reader may determine.

I am afraid, moreover, that this species of argument cannot be made consistent with itself. Our author, having pursued a close and learned argument through many pages, thus concludes:—"The grand conclusion to which we come, from this view of the subject, is this: that, having arrived at satisfactory evidence of the truth of the facts recorded in the sacred Scriptures, it follows, most undeniably, that they were given by divine inspiration." I will not tarry

long to show the reader that this and that are the two ends of a circle. It seems to have escaped the attention of the writer, that in his demonstration of the truth of Scripture its inspired truth was included, as is manifest from a former quotation. To infer it now, would, therefore, be to infer it from itself. But there is an important objection to what is implied in that grand conclusion, as will appear more fully by adding to it the following quotation and remark:—"As they profess to speak in the name of Jehovah—under his inspiration—and to record his doings—to proclaim the miracles which he wrought—so, if they speak the truth in any sense, then we must admit *all* that they say, and also in the sense in which they meant to be understood. To say that they speak the truth, and then deny that they thus speak in the name of God, &c., is a most manifest contradiction." Not a "manifest contradiction" in itself, but (I suppose it is meant) because they *profess* to be inspired. One may speak truth, and narrate miracles, without doing it in God's name.

But that which I wish to note, is this, that they are admitted to be inspired, because, being honest men, they professed to be so. Now this is not sound. An honest man may think himself inspired when he is not. A link is wanting here which this writer cannot supply. It must be proved that they *knew* when they were inspired, and when not. Why cannot this writer supply that link? Because his demonstration of the inspiration precedes his demonstration of the miracle. This point will be made clearer below.

Besides, when it is said, in the grand conclusion above quoted, that, having satisfactory evidence of the miracles recorded in the sacred Scriptures, it "follows most undeniably that they were given by divine inspiration." If it is meant here that the sacred Scriptures "were so given," then the inspiration of the book is inferred from the facts, although we had been informed that the existence of the facts was not necessary to "substantiate a truth already established."

Farther, "Allowing to the inspired writers the credit due to historians of undoubted truth, we have allowed that prophecies were delivered; that miracles were wrought; that the dead were raised; and that Jesus Christ not only died and rose from the dead, but that he shall also come again to judge the world," &c. Pray, do they say that Jesus Christ shall come again to judge the world, *as historians?* This is an instance of the confusion of *truth of fact* with *truth of inspired doctrine.*

Let me conclude with the assertion of a few plain but valuable propositions.

1. To the first receiver of a revealed truth, there can be no evidence of its origin but that which is internal.

The truth revealed to Paul, in the case of Elymas the sorcerer, already referred to, was, that Almighty God was about to work a supernatural work, for the vindication of divine truth.

The evidence to the mind of Paul that this communication was divine, was not the *truth* of it, for of that he had no test. Nor was its supernatural character the ground of his confidence; for an inferior spirit, pure or impure, might whisper a supernatural truth. But the Spirit which had spoken to prophets of old, revealing itself as the communicator, both spake to the spirit of Paul and revealed

itself as the speaker. To the mind of Paul there could be no evidence but this.

2. But to us, who receive it mediately, there must be an external authentication.

That which convinced Paul could not convince any other. If we will place ourselves in the situation of Luke, we will perceive that he, though a companion of the apostle, and then present, required something different from his great leader. The voice of the Spirit—its peculiar tone—could not affect him. He did not hear it. The supernatural tenor of the communication could not, for, so far as he knew, the event might yet prove it false. What ground, then, had he for believing it divine? Some will answer, perhaps, that he knew Paul to be an inspired man, and a worker of miracles. But that comes to the same. He knew it, if at all, upon the evidence of some previous miracle. And so we may trace it back, until we come to the first of Paul's miracles, when it will be found that Luke's faith rested upon the fulfilment of the prophecy—upon the actual performance of the work predicted.

But, whatever may have been the case with Luke, the faith of Publius rested upon the result. His case is the same with that of one now inquiring into the truth of Christianity. For the first time, he had been brought into contact with a teacher professing divine authority. His mind was then in suspense whether he should receive this man's teaching as divine, or reject it as imposture. Such is our condition previous to conviction.

Yet the faith of Publius did not rest upon the result simply as showing that what Paul had said was true, but upon this: that the truth was one which God only could make known.

It will hence appear that there must be an authentication, and that that must be by miracles or prophecy; for the revelation contained in these is the only one which God alone can impart.*

That the authenticating evidence, to us, *cannot* be internal to the revelation, understanding, by that expression, the *act of revealing*, is plain. It may be contended that it must be internal to the *thing revealed*, or to the doctrine. This is a plausible notion, and perhaps too complimentary to our own reason to be fairly weighed.

Not to repeat here the reasoning of Mr. W., nor that of Dr. Alexander, who shows that there are many parts of Scripture to which that kind of proof does not apply, it is sufficient to remark, that even the demonstration that a doctrine is both true and above human reason, does not prove it divine. It may be angelic. The sorceress who proclaimed Paul and his companions servants of the most high God, showing the way of salvation, spake the truth. Nay, more. She spake a revealed truth; yet not one revealed by God, but by the demon which afterward came out of her. Those truths,

* A remark or two, perhaps, should be inserted here. 1. Whoever undertakes a miracle, professes to have received from God an intimation that he (God) is about to perform a certain work. A miracle, therefore, implies a revelation, as well as a prophecy. 2. The honesty of the man does not prove the profession true. An honest man may think himself inspired when he is not. It must be shown, over and above, that the man knows when he is inspired and when not. The actual miracle proves this knowledge. We do not, therefore, infer inspiration from the honesty of those who claim it, as is often done, and (if I mistake not) by a writer already quoted, but from the fulfilment of their predictions.

alone, which refer to the divine purposes, are necessarily divine; and these can be traced by miracles alone.

It is remarkable that, to all these circumstances, we have a precise parallel in the perpetually recurring revelation, which we entitle the witness of the Spirit.

There, as here, the only evidence to the receiver is internal; to all others external.

3. Those evidences which are frequently called internal, are, in many cases, merely *negative*. The proper sense of internal, in this controversy, I have given above. That which is in the voice of God speaking, or in the thing spoken by God, is internal. This is the sense in which Mr. W. uses the term, when arguing the question; and this is the sense of Mr. Erskine, in the note referring to his work in chapter 19.

Yet few of the arguments adduced by Mr. Watson are any thing more than negative arguments. That is, they simply remove objections. Their force will be seen in an imaginary case. An infidel objects: You say this book (the Bible) is divinely inspired? I do. If so, all its doctrines are infallibly true? Certainly. Well, then, its claims are void. I can prove some of its doctrines utterly false: as, for instance, that there is but one true God, the maker and governor, &c.

Now, in reply to this man, I adduce the various arguments from reason, in proof of the being and attributes of Jehovah. On that point he is put to shame. What have I accomplished? Have I proved Christianity divine? Certainly not. I have simply swept away that objection, which, indeed, is well worth doing, but not a proof of the divine origin of our holy religion.

All those various reasonings about the divine Being, the fall of man, the atonement, &c., amount simply to this: they remove, each one, a specific objection, and no more.

4. That other sources of evidence, which have been styled internal, are not so to the doctrine, but to the record.

Whoever will consider that the end of all argument here is to establish the divine truth of the doctrines of holy writ, will perceive that by that phrase, *internal evidence*, when used without qualification, should be meant internal to the thing to be proved, i. e., to the doctrine.

Yet some have incautiously applied the term to that which is internal to the history, and thus have given to those who differ from them the appearance of undervaluing this source of evidence. But that an important office is assigned to it, may be seen by the synopsis of argument, to be given below.

Mr. Watson refers to the style and manner of the sacred writers as internal evidence. The writer on whose views some remarks have been made, to the manner in which they wrote and spoke; the agreement of their testimony; their honesty of expression; their independence and dignity of thought; their purity of sentiment; boldness of manner, &c. All this appears to me indicative of the guileless character of the writers, and to be properly considered as internal to the narrative.

5. That, while the authentication is external to the doctrine, it must be internal to the record; and that, whatever argument comes

from an extraneous source, is, at the most, negative and transient, and, to the main question, superfluous.

The illustration of this will be very brief. Christianity, being a positive faith, must have a demonstration. It is not denied that it may have many proofs. Nevertheless, it is maintained that Providence has indicated its preference for one of a particular kind. Without arguing at present, it is affirmed that the circumstances of the case, and the actual foundation of the faith of Christians, point out the following as the characteristics of a conclusive and efficient argument for Christianity:—1. It must be *simple*, and easy to be understood. 2. It must be *universally accessible;* and, 3. *In the Bible.* The first, because intended for minds of every grade; the second, because designed to work universal conviction; the third, both because we are assured the record was made for this very end, (John xx, 31,) and because, if it be not so, some other book is indispensable besides the Bible.

Such an argument, I suppose, would contain the following positions:

1. The historians of the New Testament were honest men, as the book itself will show.

2. They were capable, by the same token.

3. These honest and capable men say miracles were wrought, and prophecies uttered. They must be believed.

4. A miracle, wrought by human instrumentality, implies inspiration, and contains a prophecy. They who wrought miracles must have been inspired.

5. Among the miracle workers were the writers.

6. They who wrought miracles at their option, must have known when they were inspired and when not.

7. They profess to have been inspired throughout the whole process of writing these books; divinely assisted in the history; fully inspired in the doctrine.

8. Therefore, these entire volumes are of divine authority.

Whatever else may be said of this argument, I think it will be admitted to possess the characteristics mentioned. It is *simple.* The propositions themselves are plain, and the passage from one to another obvious. It is *in the Bible.* Every part and parcel of it lies in the volume itself; we travel not one step beyond the record. To all who have the Bible, therefore, it is *accessible.*

Of *negative* arguments, it is not denied that there may be a variety. These take their aspect from those who object. Of these, there must be one for the Hindoo, another for the Esquimaux; one for the philosopher, another for the peasant. But an objection answered is no objection. These arguments, having kept the faith for a season, die. Besides, they only refute the *negative*, that Christianity is *not* divine. When our object is to establish the affirmative, that Christianity *is* divine, the only, the immoveable basis of our logic, is

UNCONTRADICTED TESTIMONY;

for testimony, only, can prove a miracle; and miracle, only, such inspiration as God *alone* can impart. Upon this basis we establish the conclusion of the whole matter. *This is* ETERNAL LIFE, *to know thee the* ONLY TRUE GOD, *and* JESUS CHRIST *whom thou hast sent.*

W. M. B.

Art. XI.—MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

We have repeatedly been solicited to publish notices of new and rare works, for the information of our readers generally, and the preachers in particular. To something of this kind, under proper restrictions and regulations, we have inclined from the commencement of our official services in this place. Hitherto, however, we have not found it convenient to adopt any systematic course in the matter. Slight notices of such books as come under our own eye, and we can recommend on our own responsibility, are all that we should think proper to admit into the Advocate and Journal. More than these, therefore, the readers of that work need not expect. The reasons which have determined our course in this matter, are, we think, good and sufficient; and we shall, therefore, at least for the present, adhere to it. But we have concluded to admit such as follow into the Quarterly, as the proper medium through which to publish them. That this comes within the appropriate design of a quarterly rather than a weekly periodical, all will agree. The only objection to the course we propose is, that our Review is less extensively circulated than the Advocate and Journal. This, however, we cannot help. It ought not to be so. There is no good reason why the Quarterly, the only periodical of the kind in the church, should not have as many subscribers and readers as the Advocate; and we cannot think that we are discharging our duty to the church by admitting into the latter work what properly belongs to the former, and thereby diminishing the principal motives to sustain it. We have reason to hope that the Review will soon obtain a more extended circulation, and fully answer the purposes for which it was instituted.

In regard to admitting these miscellaneous notices, we deem it proper to say, that we shall strictly adhere to the following regulations: They must come to us accompanied with the signature of a person, in whom, from our knowledge of his reputation, we can repose confidence. We shall admit none commending works, which, in our opinion, ought not to be recommended to public favor. But, as we cannot know, in all cases, the character of the books thus noticed, the writers of the notices must be held responsible for what they shall say of their contents, and not we. And such as may be copied from respectable cotemporary periodicals, after credit to the works from which we copy, the responsibility must rest with them. But, we repeat, we will admit no notice of a work which we have any reason to think of a doubtful character. As we have adopted this course in compliance with the suggestions of several of our respected correspondents, and from a persuasion that it will be satisfactory to many of our patrons, may we not

indulge the hope that they will aid us in it, by furnishing such notices and brief reviews of new and rare books which may fall in their way as will be calculated to interest our readers, and exert themselves to extend the circulation of this work.

TODD'S STUDENT'S MANUAL.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—

This work is accompanied with several very warm recommendations from Prof. Stuart, the Knickerbocker, Connecticut Observer, Episcopal Recorder, Hampshire, Springfield, Philadelphia, and United States Gazettes, Providence Journal, and the Northampton Courier. After so many respectable testimonials in its favor, to which others of equal respectability and influence might be added, a recommendation from your humble correspondent, however highly wrought, may be thought entirely unnecessary, and cannot, perhaps, gain for the work any more popularity than it already possesses, nor add much to its circulation. I am convinced, however, that many young Methodist preachers and Methodist students will not be likely to hear of this book, much less understand its real worth to that class of persons for whom it is more particularly intended, unless it be noticed in some of our own periodicals. Some of us, for want of the means, cannot afford to take many periodicals of any kind; and if our own give us not the necessary information on this subject, we must consequently remain ignorant.

This interesting book, Todd's Student's Manual, which, in a short time, has gone through seven editions, is divided into ten chapters. The first chapter is introductory, and embraces the *Object* of study; the second treats of *Habits;* the third, of *Study itself;* the fourth is on *Reading;* the fifth, on *Time;* the sixth, on *Conversation;* the seventh, on *Politeness* and *Subordination:* the eighth, on *Exercise, Diet,* and *Economy;* the ninth, on the *Discipline* of the *Heart;* and the tenth, on the *Object of Life.*

The object of study, the author informs us, is to fix the attention, to strengthen the memory, to form the judgment, to lead the student to think and act for himself, to gain a knowledge of self and of human nature,—in a word, to discipline the mind in all its parts; to show it where to find tools, and how to use them. He thinks the real, close student, during his academical course, has the best opportunity of becoming acquainted with human nature; and he gains this knowledge by poring over his books in his study. This is, perhaps, doubtful. It *may* be a very good way of acquiring this information; but Methodist travelling preachers, who are a kind of *circulating medium* in the moral world, and who, in general, are not extraordinarily severe students, are probably best acquainted with human nature; and they gain their knowledge on this subject principally by *personal observation,* and daily intercourse with all classes of society, and persons of every variety of character.

"Habits," says the author, "are easily formed, especially such as are bad; and what, to-day, seems to be a small affair, will soon become fixed, and hold you with the strength of a cable. That same cable, you will recollect, is formed by spinning and twisting one thread at a time; but, when once completed, the proudest ship turns

her head towards it, and acknowledges her subjection to its power." For the formation of *good* habits, he lays down twelve directions, viz. :—"1. Have a plan laid, beforehand, for every day; 2. Be untiringly industrious; 3. Cultivate perseverance; 4. Be punctual; 5. *Be an early riser;* 6. Be in the habit of learning something from every man with whom you meet; 7. Form fixed principles on which to think and act; 8. Be simple and neat in your personal habits; 9. Acquire the habit of doing every thing well; 10. Make constant efforts to be master of your temper; 11. Cultivate soundness of judgment; and, 12. Be kind and attentive to your parents, friends, and companions."

In relation to study, Mr. Todd suggests the following particulars:—"The number of hours of daily study; the positions of the body while engaged in study; no conversation in the hours of study; study every thing thoroughly; expect to become familiar with hard study; remember that the great secret of being successful and accurate as a student, next to perseverance, is *the constant habit of reviewing;* be faithful in fulfilling your appointed exercises; and learn to rest the mind by variety in your studies, rather than by entire cessation from study.

"The genius of Shakspeare has shed a glory around the name of Brutus which the iron pen of history cannot do away. The historian and the poet are, certainly, greatly at variance in regard to him. The latter has made him so amiable and exalted a character that we feel unwilling to know the truth about him. I am not now to act as umpire between them; but there is one spot where we see him in the same light, both in history and in poetry. It is this. The night before the celebrated battle of Pharsalia, which was to decide the fate of the known world, Brutus was in his tent *reading*, and making notes from his author with the pen!"—"All distinguished men have been given to the habit of constant reading; and it is utterly impossible to arrive at any tolerable degree of distinction without this habit. The food is to the blood, which circulates through your veins, what reading is to the mind; and the mind that does not *love* to read, may despair of ever doing much in the world of mind which it would affect."

After a number of important directions in regard to profitable reading, he closes the fourth chapter by noticing the three great objects of this delightful exercise:—it forms the style; it stocks the mind with knowledge; and it stimulates and puts one's own mental energies into operation.

On the subject of time,—so valuable to all who wish to benefit themselves and their fellow-men, and to live in reference to another state of being, the "Manual" introduces *nine thieves*, that are apt to steal away the student's hours, viz.: "*sleep; indolence; sloth; visiting; reading useless books; improper method of study; pursuing a study* when the *mind* is *wearied;* having our *studies press us* in *consequence of procrastination;* and *beginning plans* and *studies* which we never *complete.*"

Conversation. "There are few things more neglected than the cultivation of what we denominate conversational powers, and yet few which can be more subservient to bestowing pleasure and advantage. The man who knows precisely how to converse, has an instru-

ment in his possession with which he can do great good, and which will make him welcome in all circles." On this method of improvement the author has the following judicious hints:—"1. Do not waste your time, and that of the company, in talking upon trifles. 2. Beware of severe speaking in company. 3. Never indulge in levity upon what is sacred. 4. Be careful in introducing topics of conversation. 5. Use facts just as they occurred. And, lastly, Tell no stories, or repeat no anecdotes, for *their sake*, and to amuse by them." He then abridges the eleven rules of *Mason*, in reference to conversation; and adds, as a twelfth,—"*Never get out of temper in company.*"

The chapter on politeness and subordination is thus introduced:—"The students of a certain literary institution were assembled, in commons, at tea, at the commencement of a new academical year. A new class were thus, for the first time, brought to eat together. Their advancement in life and in education were such, that each one ought to have been a gentleman. As they sat down, one says to his friend at his right, 'We shall soon see who is who.' Presently a large, brawny hand came reaching along up the table, pushing past two or three, and, seizing the brown loaf, in a moment had peeled it of all its crust, and had again retired with its booty to the owner. 'Hold, there!' cries one; 'to say nothing about politeness, where is the justice of such a seizure?' 'O! I love the crust best.' 'Very like; and *perhaps* others may also have the same taste.' Here the conversation ended; but that unfortunate *coup de main* fixed an impression concerning the student which was never removed. He was at once marked as a man destitute of politeness, and justly, too. All believed that his heart was more to blame than his hand."

The following are his hints for the student's consideration:—"1. That good humor is essential to politeness; 2. That the cultivation of the conscience will increase politeness; and, 3. That cheerfulness is essential to a polite man."

Of the ladies, the author says, "With all due respect to their influence, I must be allowed to say, that every association of the student, connected with their society, is too ideal to do much toward forming habits of politeness." And yet he adds, on another page, "We justly admire the easy, graceful politeness of our southern brethren. They are always welcomed among us, and make all happy among whom they move. We may, and ought to have, more of their pleasing manners, without sacrificing any thing of the New England character, which is truly valuable. From their infancy they exceed us altogether in reverence for their parents, deference to superiors, and urbanity towards their associates."

This, then, is an effect, and where is its *cause?* With all due deference to the opinion of the Rev. Mr. Todd, I immediately answer, *It is found in the constant association of our "southern brethren" with refined females.* I have ever been under the impression that improved female society is indispensably necessary to make a man a finished gentleman, and help him to conduct himself in an easy, natural, graceful manner; and this is the very essence of politeness.

In speaking of subordination, he introduces *college rebellions*,

and wishes the students to consider the following points before they engage in this business, viz.:—

"1. That, at such times, the faculty are always acting on right principles, and the students always on wrong.

"2. That, in every rebellion, public sentiment will always set against the students.

"3. That, in these cases, the students always miss their aim.

"4. That a rebellion generally results in the ruin of several members of the institution."

The author's remarks on this subject are very appropriate indeed. These are the difficulties pointed out as standing in the way of the student taking proper exercise:—"He does not feel the necessity of it; he feels pressed for time, and, therefore, cannot take exercise; he does not feel interested in his exercise, and, therefore, does not take it; and his habits make bodily exertions fatiguing, and, therefore, he neglects exercise." He adds, "It should be pleasant and agreeable; it should be regular and daily; it should relax the mind; it should be increased at convenient seasons." And subjoins, as reasons:—"Your life will probably be prolonged by it; you will enjoy more than without exercise; you will add to the enjoyments of others; and your mind will be strengthened by it."

"*Diet*," continues Mr. T., "must correspond with your exercise in the open air, and be regular and simple." The eighth chapter closes with some just observations on the *economy* of students.

In the latter part of the book the reader's attention is directed to the disposition of the heart and the actions of the life. These are the rules for the discipline of the heart:—

"1. Let it be your immediate and constant aim to make every event subservient to the cultivation of the heart.

"2. Make it a part of your daily habits to improve your conscience.

"3. Avoid temptations.

"4. Watch over your temper.

"5. Be careful to improve your thoughts when alone.

"6. Be in the daily practice of reading the word of God. Read the Bible alone in your retirement. For all practical purposes in your daily reading, use the common translation of the Bible. Read it with an humble, teachable disposition. Read it under a constant sense of high responsibility.

"7. Be in the habit of faithfully reviewing your conduct at stated seasons.

"8. Be in the habit of daily prayer. Have regular hours of prayer: these should be in the morning and evening. Keep your conscience void of offence in other respects, if you would enjoy prayer. Offer your prayers in the name of Christ, and ask the assistance of the Holy Ghost."

The closing chapter, on the Object of Life, is truly valuable; but my remarks, I am fearful, are already too extended to allow me to give either an extract or a condensed view of its contents. Suffice it to say, it is well worth a careful perusal; and the whole book is an excellent manual for a pious young student, and all students ought to be pious. And though this volume is intended principally for young men at college, a Methodist preacher may read it with great profit.

J. H. Y.

Clarksburg, Md., May 23.

For the Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review.

2.—ANTHON'S LATIN CLASSICS.

Sallust's Jugurthine War and Conspiracy of Catiline, with an English Commentary, and Geographical and Historical Indexes. By CHARLES ANTHON, LL. D., *Jay-Professor of Ancient Literature in Columbia College, and Rector of the Grammar School. Sixth Edition, revised and enlarged.* New-York: Harper and Brothers, 1836, pp. 332.

Select Orations of Cicero: with an English Commentary, and Historical, Geographical, and Legal Indexes. By the same. Harper and Brothers, 1837, pp. 518.

THERE are few, certainly, if any, to whom the classical literature or the classical reputation of our country is more largely indebted than to Professor Anthon. His labors have been remarkably and deservedly successful, and not less so abroad than at home. Here, perhaps, he is most widely and favorably known by his fine edition of Lempriere's Classical Dictionary, with its extensive amendments, and many important fillings up where the original text afforded but a meager information. This work, so truly valuable as we now find it, has a circulation almost universal; and, in the states especially, scarcely a village school will to-day be discovered without it. Among European scholars it has a high and just character for accuracy, research, and convenient arrangement; and has, in fine, superseded all other works of a similar nature.

The works now before us do Professor Anthon no less credit than his Lempriere. They also have been here adopted, very generally, as text-books; and cannot fail, in a short space of time, to take precedence of all other editions. In England they are now in use at Eton, Harrow, &c., (for which institutions, indeed, they seem to be especially intended,) an honor which can only be fully understood by those acquainted with the many high qualifications requisite for attaining it. Of the Sallust, two separate editions have appeared in London from the hands of different editors; and without any effort, on the part of the author, to procure a republication of his labors. The Cicero, we are happy to learn, has been still more positively successful.

The correct and truly beautiful Sallust of Mr. Anthon leaves nothing to be desired. The principal changes now effected consist in a more enlarged commentary on the Jugurthine war, in making the account of this war precede the narrative of Catiline's conspiracy, and in two valuable indexes which have been appended—the one geographical, the other historical.

The enlargement of the notes on the Jugurthine war has been made, we are told, at the request of several instructers, who thought a more ample commentary, at this point, especially needed by their pupils. There can be no doubt that the notes usually appended to this portion of Sallust were insufficient for the younger, if not for all classes of pupils; and when this deficiency is remedied, as in the present instance, by the labors of a sound scholar and acute critic, the service thus rendered to the classical public at large can hardly be appreciated too highly.

The chief object of the geographical and historical indexes was,

to relieve the annotations from what might have proved too heavy a pressure of materials; preventing, rather than inviting a perusal. This difficulty is well obviated; the historical and geographical matter being now made to stand by itself, and the notes being devoted to more direct and legitimate comments on the text.

The most striking emendation, however, consists in placing the narrative of the Jugurthine war before that of the conspiracy of Catiline. This arrangement makes no pretension to novelty, except as far as regards its introduction into America. In many foreign editions of Sallust the Jugurthine war is made to precede the conspiracy; an order of whose propriety no reasonable doubt can be entertained. In the customary arrangement there is an obvious anachronism; for the rebellion of Catiline did not take place until nearly half a century after the war with Jugurtha. The student, consequently, who is required to read the account of the latter first, must necessarily read it with difficulty, and receive but a confused impression at best from the perusal. "In the account of Catiline's conspiracy, for example," says Mr. Anthon, "he will find frequent allusions to the calamitous consequences of Sylla's strife with Marius, and will see many of the profligate partisans of the former rallying around the standard of Catiline; while, in the history of the Jugurthine war, if he be made to peruse it after the other, in the ordinary routine of school reading, he will be introduced to the same Sylla just entering on a public career, and standing high in the favor and confidence of Marius. How, too, will he be able to appreciate, in their full force, the remarks of Sallust relative to the successive changes in the Roman form of government, and the alternate ascendency of the aristocratic and popular parties, if he be called upon to direct his attention to results before he is made acquainted with the causes that produced them?" Sallust, it is true, wrote the narrative of the conspiracy before the account of the Jugurthine war, and all the MSS. have followed this order; but no better reason than this (which is really no reason at all, when weighed against positive utility) can be assigned for the usual arrangement.

The text of the Cicero now before us is based upon the work of Ernesti; but there is no particular, at least no inordinate adherence to the opinions of that distinguished commentator. In many instances there are deviations which will not fail to strike every scholar as evincing high critical abilities in Professor Anthon. It is here, indeed, that he is entitled to be regarded with the highest consideration. In most of the readings wherein he has differed from men of the first celebrity, there will be found a directness and perfect obviousness which do him honor in more points of view than one. He deserves respect as the philosopher no less than as the philologist; and, in daring to "throw aside the pedant, and look *en homme du monde* upon some of the most valued of the literary monuments of antiquity," he has done, perhaps, as much for his own reputation as in any other manner.

We find here only the four orations against Catiline, together with those for Archias, Marcellus, the Manilian law, and Murena. These orations have been selected with an eye to a regulation of Columbia College in New-York, which requires that the first six shall be read by candidates for admission into the Freshman class. In addition, the orations for the Manilian law and for Murena have been well chosen

by Mr. Anthon, as favorable specimens of Cicero's more elaborate style of eloquence. Most colleges throughout the union accord with the regulation just mentioned in regard to the speeches against Catiline and for Archias; and so far, at least, the selection is such as will be most generally approved. In all respects, too, we believe that no better sample of Cicero could be given, with the intention of conveying a proper idea of the higher qualities of the orator in question. We accord, however, with a southern Monthly, in thinking it would have been well to give the fourteenth vigorous philippic against Antony, (the last effort of Cicero,) and that spirited defence of Coelius, which has been commended by Middleton and Fox, and which has received much less attention, generally, than its intrinsic merits entitle it to. This oration places Cicero in a strikingly novel point of view, and should thus undoubtedly be inserted in every collection whose design is to impart a knowledge of the oratorical character of the great Roman.

The commentary in this edition is far from being a scanty one, and upon this head we cannot do better than give the words of Professor Anthon himself:—

"If there be any author that stands in need of full and copious illustration, it undoubtedly is Cicero, in the orations which have come down to us. The train of thought must be continually laid open to the young scholar, to enable him to appreciate, in their full force and beauty, these brilliant memorials of other days; and the allusions in which the orator is so fond of indulging must be carefully and fully explained. Unless this be done, the speeches of Cicero become a dead letter, and time is only wasted in their perusal.

"The editor is induced to make these remarks from the conviction that the system of commenting which he has pursued throughout the present work will, as in the case of his previous efforts, be condemned by some on the ground of its affording too much aid to the learner. The truth is, however, the editor had no alternative left him. If there be any one cause which has tended more powerfully than the rest to bring classical studies into disrepute among us, it is the utter incompetency of many of those who profess to be classical instructers. It is very natural that such preceptors should be strongly averse to bestowing too much assistance upon their pupils; and perhaps it is lucky for the latter that such a state of things should exist; but, certainly, for the credit of our common country, it is high time that some change should be effected, and that, if the learner cannot obtain from oral instruction the information which ought to be afforded him, he may procure it, at least, from the notes of his text-book. We may be very sure of one thing: that the style of classical instruction which prevails at the present day in so many of our colleges and seminaries of learning, of translating merely the language of an ancient author, without any attempts whatever at illustration or analysis, will never produce any sound fruits either of learning or of intellectual improvement."

The works of which we have been speaking are published by the Messrs. Harpers, in a style of most unusual beauty. No fault can possibly be found with the mechanical execution, which we should be delighted to find imitated, in similar publications, all over our country. In accuracy of proof-reading, in typography, in paper, and in binding, these books might be profitably adopted as models. We have only to

add, that if the Sallust and Cicero now before us, presenting every claim to public attention and preference, be not generally brought into use, there will remain a stigma upon the common sense, no less than upon the good taste of the community.

DEAR BRETHREN:—

As you sometimes admit short notices of works recently issued from the press into your Magazine, you will oblige some of your readers by inserting the following, from the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine for March last. R. WYMOND.

Hillsdale, June 5th, 1837.

3.—JENKYN ON THE ATONEMENT.

"THIS is a work, in many respects, of very considerable talent. It contains some powerful, though certainly no new arguments, in favor of the great doctrine of Scripture, that 'Jesus Christ, by the grace of God, tasted death for every man;' and so thoroughly repudiates the doctrine of limited atonement, that the incautious reader would suppose he was in company with a zealous assertor of the doctrine of general redemption. Before he had finished the volume, however, he would discover that Mr. Jenkyn is as thorough-paced a Calvinist as Augustus Toplady, though adopting a somewhat different nomenclature. We have the old arguments and illustrations about an election which implies no reprobation,—the destitution on the part of man, not of ability, but of will; and the justice of punishing him with eternal death in all its bitterness, because his sin is voluntary; though, as his will receives its sinful bias before any of its actings could possibly take place, and solely in virtue of the sin of another, committed many ages before he was born, he sins unavoidably, and the grace by which alone the sinfulness of the will could be corrected is purposely withheld. In all this, as our readers are aware, there is nothing novel. It is the old way of concealing the deformities of reprobation under the milder-sounding term of preterition. After all, there are but two views of the subject: the truth is to be found either in the doctrine of liberty or necessity; and the controversy between Calvinism and Arminianism, when the disputants are willing to come to the core of the question, will always come to this point. Between the doctrine of necessity and the moral feelings of men, as indicated by their ordinary language, there is, indeed, a direct and palpable discrepancy, and, therefore, we have always considered the French infidel philosophers as its only perfectly honest advocates; because that, asserting the necessity, they denied the moral feeling; and rightly argued that, as there was no liberty, though there might be beneficialness encouraged, and imperiousness to be repressed, there could be no virtue to be rewarded, nor vice to be punished. Now, of the parties in this great controversy, the issues of which are to decide whether the moral feelings of man are founded in delusion or truth, Calvin and Arminius are but the types. He who believes in the doctrine of liberty cannot be a Calvinist; he who believes in that of necessity cannot be an Arminian. In a crystallized mass, the primary crystal has always its proper form, however disguised by the accretions which have been added to it. Of Calvinism, under every

form in which it can be represented so as properly to retain the name, the primary crystal is absolute necessity. We do not argue the point: enough has been written on the controversy to guide the inquirer to his decision; but the simple and exclusive issue that has to be tried is, whether the doctrine of necessity be true or false."

Such is the able, though concise notice of the English reviewer. In perusing this work, one cannot but observe the studied attempt, almost from the beginning to the end, to conceal what Mr. Fletcher calls "the left leg of Calvinism." It is almost sufficient, in showing the character of this book, to say, that it has been printed, and somewhat extensively circulated, by the new-school party in this country, both Congregational and Presbyterian; and it is finding its way, by the candid and popular style in which it is written, into the hands of some members of our own church, who should be cautioned against the errors it contains.

4.—*Excursions to Cairo, Jerusalem, Damascus, and Balbec, from the United States ship Delaware, during her recent cruise. By* GEORGE JONES, *Chaplain U. S. Navy.* New-York: Van Nostrand & Dwight, 1836, pp. 388.

"We ought to have recommended to our readers this unassuming and well-written volume in our last number. We assure every person of true taste, of an American heart, and of pious feelings, that he will do well to read the book. The author is an Episcopal clergyman, a graduate of Yale College, and formerly tutor in the same, and author of 'Sketches of Naval Life.' In preparing the volume, he had the use of the private journal of Commodore Patterson, and of the official letters. A considerable part of the volume is taken up with an attempt to discriminate between truth and error in regard to the sacred places of the Holy City. His delineations and descriptions on this subject are, in general, exceedingly well done. He has thrown a tender and touching interest over the hallowed spots where our Lord suffered and was buried, as well as over and around the whole city. Some valuable statistical matters relating to Egypt, Damascus, &c., we should be glad to quote. But we must refer our readers to the volume itself."

From the American Biblical Repository.

5.—*Text-Book of Ecclesiastical History. By* J. C. I. GIESELER, *Doctor of Philosophy and Theology, and Professor of Theology in Göttingen. Translated from the third German edition by Francis Cunningham.* In three volumes, pp. 382, 420, 437. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, & Blanchard, 1836.

"Prof. Gieseler was born in 1792. He commenced his academical studies in the orphan-house at Halle, whence he entered the university at the same place, and attended on the instructions of Knapp, Gesenius, and Wegscheider. At the age of twenty-five, he was appointed to an office in the gymnasium at Minden, his native place. He was then appointed professor of theology at the new university of Bonn. Here he continued eleven years, and earned a high reputation by his industry and intellectual vigor. In 1831, he went to Göttingen as

professor of ecclesiastical history. The first volume of his History appeared in Germany in 1824, and passed through three editions, 1824, 1827, 1831, before the completion of the second volume in 1835. The two volumes, (three in the translation,) extend to the Reformation. Another volume, which has not yet appeared in Germany, is to bring down the history to the present time. Gieseler gives up the old division into centuries, and divides his work into periods. The first extends from the birth of Christ to the accession of Constantine. The second period embraces the events from Constantine to the controversy respecting images, A. D. 324–451. The third period extends from the controversy just named to the Reformation. Appropriate divisions under these periods are made. 'It will be seen, by a glance at the main body of the work,' says the translator, 'that by far the greatest part of it consists of extracts from the original sources; the text itself, though containing a complete view of the whole field of church history, being exceedingly compressed. The advantages of such a plan for a manual of this study will at once be manifest. On the one hand, the student does not wish to be encumbered with long disquisitions on subjects so hard and dry as for the most part are here treated of, and on the other it is important that he should have the means of investigating them on occasion; while, frequently, the points involved are so refined and delicate, that the mistranslation of a word, or even the substitution of one language for another, may essentially modify the idea.'

"As a specimen of the manner of the author, we quote a few sentences on the internal relations of the Christian Church in the apostolic age. 'The new churches everywhere formed themselves on the model of the mother church at Jerusalem. At the head of each were the elders, (πρεσβύτεροι, ἐπίσκοποι,) all officially of equal rank, though, in several instances, a peculiar authority seems to have been conceded to some one individual from personal considerations. Under the superintendence of the elders were the deacons and deaconesses; Rom. xvi, 1; 1 Tim. v, 9, 10. All these received their support, like the poor, from the free contributions of the church; 1 Tim. v, 17; 1 Cor. ix, 13. It was by no means any part of the duty of the elders to teach, though the apostle wishes that they may be apt to teach, (διδακτικοί;) 1 Tim. iii, 2; 2 Tim. ii, 24. The power of speaking, and exhortation, was considered rather the free gift of the Spirit, (χάρισμα πνευματικόν,) and was possessed by many of the Christians, though exercised in various ways, (*prophets—teachers—speaking with tongues;* 1 Cor. xii, 28–31; ch. xvi.) There was, as yet, no distinct order of clergy, for the whole society of Christians was "a royal priesthood," (1 Pet. ii, 9;) "the chosen people of God;" 1 Pet. v, iii. Comp. Deut. iv, 20; ix, 29. They assembled for worship in private houses; in cities the churches were often divided into several societies, each having its particular place of meeting.' The characteristics of Professor Gieseler's work seem to be general candor and fairness—the great compression of ideas in the text—and the learning, research, and judgment displayed in the notes, quotations, and references. If this history gains currency among us, it will argue well for the cause of sacred learning. Recommendatory notices are prefixed from Professors Stuart, Emerson, Hodge, Sears, and Ware. We know not what Professor

Sears means by saying that 'Mosheim's History can no longer be used.' Mr. Cunningham remarks, very justly, that 'of all (the ecclesiastical historians hitherto accessible to the English reader,) Mosheim alone is fitted for a general and comprehensive study of the subject.' 'The translation by Dr. Murdock is particularly valuable for the great learning and fidelity displayed in the notes.'"

For the Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review.

6.—*An Examination of Phrenology. In two Lectures. By Thomas Sewall, M. D., Professor of Anatomy and Physiology.* Washington City. Published by request. 1837.

For a number of years past, the public press has been employed in discussing and canvassing the claims of phrenology; but although the subject had created great sensation, and attracted much attention in some of the countries of Europe, as was well understood here, yet it failed to awaken any considerable interest among scientific men in America until the year 1832, when Dr. Spurzheim visited the United States. For, though the works of Dr. Gall and others had been extensively read in this country, and a number of professional and literary men had embraced the doctrines of phrenology, yet the subject was much more frequently ridiculed than lauded by the critics of the day; and Phrenological societies had not attracted public attention anywhere, nor had any of the publications emanating from them found their way to public favor.

But when it became known that the distinguished pupil and devoted friend of Dr. Gall, the father of modern phrenology, had arrived in this country for purposes purely phrenological, and impelled by an ardent zeal to propagate and defend his favorite system, a new impulse was given to the public mind on the subject, and Dr. Spurzheim availed himself of the curiosity which was so favorable to his object. Indeed, during the brief period which elapsed between his arrival at New-York and his lamented death at Boston, no man filled a larger space in the public eye. Everywhere he went, his society was courted by the literati; and his learning, eloquence, and polished manners attracted to his lectures admiring crowds. Such was the impression made upon the *élite* of Boston and its vicinity by his public discourses and private conversations, that many of our larger cities had already given him most pressing and flattering invitations to lecture; and a field was opened before him in this country for the propagation of phrenology altogether unexpected, and proselytes to the "science" were already becoming numerous. A very general affliction and disappointment was felt throughout the country when the intelligence became circulated that Dr. Spurzheim had suddenly fallen a victim to a fever in the midst of his career, or rather, in its very commencement, from which he and his friends had anticipated both fame and fortune. The citizens of Boston mourned his early departure, and erected a monument to his memory at Mount Auburn, in token of their veneration for his genius and learning.

During the few weeks of his labors in America, however, Dr. Spurzheim had made many converts, and some of them among distinguished

men. So complimentary were the notices of the public press, both of the doctor and his science, that the latter became everywhere a subject of attention; and, on the announcement of his death, lecturers on the subject found curious and willing hearers in almost every considerable city and town in the country. Literally it might be said, "many were running to and fro, and knowledge was increasing," for itinerant phrenologists could scarcely be found in sufficient numbers to gratify the popular rage for this literary novelty; and, much to the disadvantage of phrenology, the merest tyros, and even pretenders to the subject, became objects of public patronage. Books, pamphlets, plates, and busts without number, have ever since deluged the country; and scarcely a school-boy could be found whose bumps have not been phrenologically examined by some real or pretended *savan* in the science.

Meanwhile the greatest contrariety of opinion has been entertained and expressed in relation to the whole subject; for, while some learned and excellent men in all the learned professions have enthusiastically embraced the entire system, and regarded it as the most magnificent discovery of ancient or modern times, by far the greater number of American philosophers and scholars have rejected the whole as a visionary and silly conceit, altogether unworthy of sober criticism or refutation. Hence, the treatment the subject has received from such has been a subject of unceasing complaint on the part of phrenologists. They have remonstrated, and not without some reason, against the summary way of disposing of their "facts and arguments," by denying the former and ridiculing the latter. They have insisted that the light confessedly thrown upon the physiology of the brain, and the improvements in the philosophy of the mind, which they claim for Dr. Gall and other phrenologists, entitle them to a fair and candid hearing. And they are ever and anon proclaiming alleged "facts," as confirming and establishing the science, and to these they importunately claim the public attention.

Under such circumstances, the lectures of Dr. Sewall must be regarded by all parties as a most timely publication. The subject is, undoubtedly, one of high and commanding importance in every aspect. It involves physical, mental, and moral science; for if phrenology be true, in whole or in part, all the learning of the schools on these several topics is exploded, and "the world is turned upside down;" and on the other hand, if it be false, it is calculated, by its specious plausibility and pedantic pretensions, to inflict irremediable wounds both upon philosophy and religion. It is, therefore, strictly within the province of science and philanthropy to give to the whole subject a rigid investigation. This its enemies need, to arm them in the conflict with its zealous advocates, from which it is impossible to escape; and the honest friends of the science ought not to shrink from such an ordeal, if conducted with candor and liberality.

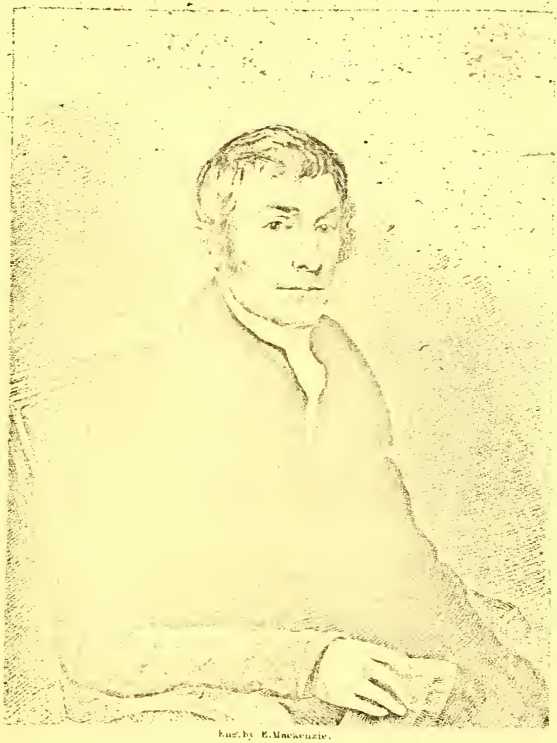
Professor Sewall, in these two lectures, has taken a course the most unexceptionable in all respects that can well be conceived. In the first lecture he gives a succinct, but comprehensive history of phrenology, together with a brief exhibition of its nature, its claims, and the arguments by which it is vindicated by its authors and disciples. And in the second lecture he examines the science by the only true criterion, the anatomical structure and organization of the cranium and brain.

The warmest admirer of phrenology will be constrained to admit that the author has not misrepresented the science in his first lecture, and such will read it without finding any want of candor or magnanimity in the exhibition of its principles or claims. Indeed, it is obviously his design to give the true character of phrenology, so that the reader may discover its multiplied and important bearings, and appreciate the propriety of a patient and sober examination. And, indeed, the author attaches censure to those who have caricatured and satirised the science and its votaries, and maintains that it is entitled to other treatment than that of ridicule.

But, in the second lecture, Professor Sewall has grappled with the "science" in a style of manly and logical reasoning which shows him to be a master of the subject. As an able and practical anatomist, he has dissected both phrenology itself, and the human head, of which it speaks with such oracular dogmatism; and as a physiologist and metaphysician, he has contented himself with environing the science with inextricable difficulties; and although this is accomplished by a few brief hints, yet the sect will find them to be absolutely unanswerable. Indeed, the plates which accompany the volume, even if unaccompanied by the argument, would be sufficient to overthrow the whole fabric of phrenology; for it is impossible to examine these drawings, and the summary explanations which accompany them, without perceiving the *physical impossibility* of determining, from any inspection or admeasurement of the scull, either the "volume of the brain," whether absolute or relative, or the size, much less the configuration of the organs into which "the science" has arbitrarily divided the structure of the brain.

By the publication of these lectures, Professor Sewall has greatly added to his well-earned professional reputation, and performed an essential service to the cause of science and religion. He deserves and will receive the thanks of the public for thus interposing the shield of science, to protect the young and rising generation from the ingenious and mischievous influence of a species of philosophy which might else deceive by its learned empiricism, and beguile from the truth by the gaudy plumes it has borrowed from true philosophy, to conceal its errors and follies under the name of discoveries and facts. Phrenologists can no longer clamor for candid and liberal opposition, for these lectures have furnished facts and arguments which will give employment to the whole clique for a century. R.

For want of room we are obliged to close this article here, though it contains several additional paragraphs.—Eds.



Engd. by E. Mackenzie.

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Art. I.—SUCCESSION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND EXAMINED.

BY REV. CHARLES ELLIOTT, A. M.

Continued from page 264.

V. *Alliance of Church and State.*

This alliance is attended with so many disadvantages, that it seems strange more vigorous efforts have not been adopted to sever the connection. We do not here pretend to enumerate all the evils of this alliance, nor to give extended views of those which we will present. A few brief observations are all we have room for.

1. This connection of church and state reduces the church to a servile condition, inconsistent alike with Scripture and the example of the primitive church. The clergy are in a state of abject dependance on the civil magistrate, and of miserable subjection to unconstitutional canons. The king and parliament may fashion the church into any shape they see fit, in opposition to the united exertions of the clergy. King Henry did this once; and it may be done again whenever the king and parliament are so disposed. For one hundred years the convocation has done no business; and it is not likely the king can be persuaded to permit it to do any, though the most serious changes are about to take place in the government of the church by the king and parliament.

2. The dogmas of the church seem to be in opposition to the constitution of the state. The result that always may be expected from such a connection is, contention and continually clashing interests coming into contact with each other. Both kinds of jurisdiction, the civil and religious, are made strangely to encroach on one another. We do not here particularly refer to the judicial power of the bishops' courts, in matrimonial or testamentary matters, though these are purely secular. As church censures are followed with civil penalties, the loss of liberty or imprisonment, and the forfeiture of the privileges of a citizen, the clergy must have become absolute lords of the persons and properties of the people, had there not been lodged in the civil judicatories a superior jurisdiction, by which the sentences of the spiritual courts can be revised, suspended, and annulled.

We have an instance of this collision in the sacramental test, by which the participation of one of the sacraments is perverted into a

test for civil offices. A minister may be compelled by the civil magistrate to admit a wicked and profligate person to the Lord's supper. Thus, by the law of the land, the institution of Christ is made void. The sacrament is made a qualification or test, necessary for the attainment of a lucrative office, and for securing continuance in it when attained. There is, indeed, no way in which the spirit, power, and use of the sacrament could be more effectually abrogated by statute, than by thus retaining the form, and at the same time altering its proper design.

3. Another consequence of the confusion of spiritual and secular jurisdiction in the English Church is, that ecclesiastical censures now have little or no regard, agreeably to their original destination, to purity and good morals. They serve only as a political engine for the eviction of tithes, surplice fees, and the like, and for the execution of other sentences in matters purely temporal. No possible method could be more effectual in rendering the clerical character odious, and the discipline contemptible, than this.

4. Besides, a plan of relief, retaining the present alliance of church and state, seems impossible, without involving the state in the most serious calamities. England, in consequence of her religious establishment, is now agitated to an extent which threatens seriously her political existence and the cause of true religion. We will here introduce the sentiments of Warburton on this subject, in his Alliance, as quoted by Dyer :—"While the civil magistrate endows the clergy, and bestows on them a jurisdiction with coactive powers, these privileges create one supreme government within another, if the civil magistrate have not, in return, the supremacy of the church. And nothing is so much to be dreaded as an ecclesiastical government not under the control of the civil magistrate. It is ever encroaching on his province, and can never be satisfied. In the Roman Church, when spiritual men had got influence enough to be exempted from civil courts, and to set up a separate jurisdiction, popes became, by degrees, the sovereigns of emperors and kings. Cardinals, the beloved children of these popes, became princes; and bishops, as their brothers, became at once secular and spiritual lords. And, on the other hand, the Presbyterian government, during the little time it prevailed in England, gave no favorable proofs of its designs when its progress was retarded by Oliver and his adherents. A religious establishment, free of many of those political evils which are wont to attend a state on account of religion, might, I aver, be framed; but the true policy is, to let religion and civil government exist apart, and to encourage each to attend to its own province. Both, then, will flourish."

5. Moreover, true religion cannot be promoted by coercion. Men, however, have been long in discovering, and even yet seem scarcely to have discovered, that genuine religion is of too delicate a nature to be compelled by the coarse implements of human authority and worldly sanctions. The law of the land ought to restrain vice and injustice of every kind, as ruinous to the peace and good order of society, for this is its province; but let it not tamper with religion, by attempting to enforce its exercises and duties. These, unless they be free-will offerings, are nothing. They are even worse than nothing; they are injurious to all concerned. By such an alliance, and ill-judged aid,

hypocrisy and superstition may be greatly promoted, but genuine piety never fails to suffer.

Add to this that the jurisdiction of the church is purely spiritual. No man ought to be compelled, by rewards or punishment of a temporal or political nature, to become a member of any Christian church; or to continue in it any longer than he honestly believes it to be his duty. All the ordinances of the church are spiritual, and so are her weapons and censures. The weapons of the church are Scripture and reason, accompanied with prayers and tears. These are her pillars, and the walls of her defence. The censures of the church are admonitions, reproofs or declarations of persons, unfitness for her communion, commonly called excommunications, which are of a spiritual nature, and ought not to affect men's lives, liberties, or estates. No man ought to be cut off from the rights of a citizen or subject merely because he is disqualified for Christian communion; nor has any church on earth authority from Christ to inflict corporeal punishments, seize persons, distrain goods, or employ ecclesiastical censures, by an indirect coercion, as tools for effecting the same worldly purpose. Coercive measures are the weapons of civil magistrates, who may punish those who break the laws of their country with corporeal pains and penalties, as guardians of the civil rights of citizens; but *Christ's kingdom is not of this world.* (See Neal's Hist. Pur., vol. i, p. 26.)

From this part of our subject may we not legitimately infer, that the alliance of the English Church with the state is neither Scriptural, apostolical, primitive, nor useful; but, on the whole, it is unfavorable to the interests of true religion? We may also infer that it was neither schismatical nor sinful for Mr. Wesley and others to reject this part of the English polity, and take for their guide the Holy Scriptures and the example of the primitive church, as far as she followed Scripture. We will next consider,—

VI. *The early doctrine and fundamental principles of the English Church respecting Episcopacy and Succession.*

The fathers of the English Church did not believe that bishops and elders were different orders of clergy, nor did they place episcopacy on the footing of *divine right*, so as to nullify ordination by elders; but, in process of time, they so far deviated from the great principle of Protestantism, of Scripture, and the primitive church, as to place the principal jurisdiction in bishops, and thus reject the supremacy of the body of elders. In this they receded from original principles, and retrograded towards Rome. It is proper, however, to remark, that the clergy, as we have seen, had little to do with the reformation of the English Church, as this was effected by the king and parliament. To clear up this matter to the satisfaction of the reader, the following arguments are adduced:—

1. The English Church, in her early days, did not maintain that episcopacy was of divine right, and that ordination by presbyters was invalid. Indeed, reordination of persons ordained by presbyters was a perfect novelty in this church at her formation, and for many years after. It was reserved for recent times to profane the ordinance of Christ by reordinations, and to exclude from the character of true churches those who were more intent on following Scripture and primitive usage, than to receive a fundamental element of popery as a rule

of practice. Nevertheless, the doctrine of the English Church, as expressed in her articles, homilies, and liturgy, gives no foundation for recent exclusiveness. The proofs of this declaration will be called for, and they are the following:—

(1.) In a "Declaration, made of the functions and divine institution of bishops and priests," signed by Cromwell, the two archbishops, eleven bishops, and twenty divines and canonists, in the year 1537 or 1538, it is declared, speaking of the ministerial office, "That this office, this power and authority, was committed and given by Christ and his apostles unto certain persons only; that is to say, unto priests or bishops, whom they did elect, call, and admit thereto by their prayer and imposition of their hands." The same document, in speaking of what the fathers of the church did, says, "They did also institute certain inferior orders or degrees,—janitors, lectors, exorcists, acolytes, subdeacons,—and deputed to every one of these certain offices to execute in the church, wherein they followed undoubtedly the example and rites used in the Old Testament; yet the truth is, that in the New Testament is no mention made of any degrees or distinctions in orders, but only of deacons or ministers, and of priests or bishops; nor is there any word spoken of any other ceremony used in the conferring of this sacrament, but only of prayer and the imposition of the bishop's hands." (Burnet, Hist. Ref., vol. —, p. 322, and Addenda, p. 467, Col. v, p. 394.) Such were the views of the first reformers from popery in the English Church.

(2.) In a book published in 1543, called "The Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man," similar sentiments to those expressed above are uttered. This book was drawn up by a committee of bishops and divines, and was afterward read and approved by the lords spiritual and temporal and the lower house of parliament, published by King Henry's authority, and was designed for a standard of Christian faith. (Burnet, vol. i, pp. 369–374.) In this book we have the following view concerning the orders of clergy:—"Their (deacons') office in the primitive church was partly to minister meat and drink, and other necessaries, to the poor, and partly to minister to the bishops and priests. Of these two orders only, that is to say, priests and deacons, Scripture maketh express mention, and how they were conferred of the apostles by prayer and imposition of hands; but the primitive church afterward appointed inferior degrees." (Neal, vol. i, c. i, p. 31, to whom we are indebted for this quotation. See also Miller's Letters, letter vi, p. 141.) According to this book, deacons were no order of clergy at all in the primitive church, bishops and elders were of the *same order*, and the authority of archbishops and metropolitans was only of human appointment.

(3.) In the year 1540, in the reign of Henry VIII., we find the sentiments of the early reformers, respecting ecclesiastical orders, very clearly expressed in "the resolutions of several bishops and divines of some questions concerning the sacraments." They were "a select number of divines, who sat by virtue of a commission from the king, confirmed in parliament." (Burnet, vol. i, pp. 369–374; and Col., No. xxi, p. 256.) Cranmer was the leader in this select committee. In answer to the tenth question, which is, "Whether bishops or priests were first? and if the priests were first, then the priests made the

bishop," we find the following among other answers. Cranmer says—"The bishops and priests were at one time, and were no two things, but both one office in the beginning of Christ's religion." The archbishop of York gave the following answer :—"We think that the apostles were priests before they were bishops, and that the divine power which made them priests made them also bishops ; and although their ordination was not by all such course as the church now useth, yet that they had both visible and invisible sanctification we may gather of the gospel. And we may well think, that when they were made bishops, when they had not only a flock, but also shepherds appointed to them to overlook, and a governance committed to them by the Holy Ghost to oversee both ; *for the name of a bishop is not properly the name of order, but a name of office, signifying an overseer.* And although the inferior shepherds have also care to oversee their flock, yet forasmuch as the bishop's charge is also to oversee the shepherd's, the name of overseer is given to the bishops, and not to the other ; and as they be in degree higher, so in their consecration we find difference even from the primitive church." The next is the bishop of London's sentiment :—"I think the bishops were first, and yet I think it is not of importance whether the priest then made the bishop or else the bishop the priest ; considering (after the sentence of St. Jerome) that in the beginning of the church there was no (or if it were, very small) difference between a bishop and a priest, especially touching the signification." The opinions of others are to the same purpose, but our limits do not allow us to enlarge. In their *agreement*, or summary of opinions on this tenth question, we find the following answers as the sum of their decision :—1. "At the beginning they (bishops and priests) were all one." 2. "That the apostles were priests, and after were made bishops, when the overseeing of other priests was committed to them." 3. "That the apostles first were bishops, and they after made other bishops and priests." 4. "That the apostles were made bishops, and they were after made priests." 5. "That bishops, as they be now-a-days called, were before priests." 6. "It is no inconvenience if a priest made a bishop in that time."

The eleventh question discussed is—"Whether a bishop hath authority to make a priest by the Scripture or no ? And whether any other but only a bishop may make a priest ?" The answers to this question were as follows :—Some thought that bishops had no authority to make priests without the authority of the prince ; but others thought the authority came from God, but that bishops could not use it without permission from the prince. Others believed that laymen had power to make priests, especially in time of necessity.

The twelfth question is—"Whether, in the New Testament, be required any consecration of a bishop and priest, or only appointing to the office be sufficient ?" Cranmer believed that appointment or election was sufficient. Others thought imposition of hands and prayer were required.

Thus, according to Cranmer and the principal divines of his day, episcopacy was not a distinct order from presbytery, by divine right, but only a prudent ecclesiastical constitution for the better government of the church. Dr. Miller (letter vi, p. 141) places this transaction in the year 1548, and in the reign of Edward VI. ; but Bishop Burnet,

whom we follow, placed it in the year 1540, and consequently in the reign of Henry VIII. As nearly as we can ascertain, Dr. Millar is mistaken in his date.

Bishop Burnet considers the deliberations and decisions of this company of divines "as great an evidence of the ripeness of their proceedings as can be showed in any church or any age of it." (Hist., vol. i, p. 373.) Indeed, their sentiments were formed at a time when they had just thrown off the principal dogmas of popery, and while they were calmly inquiring after truth, and before they were influenced by the peculiarities of a system. Nevertheless, some of the sentiments delivered are somewhat singular.

(4.) In King Edward's ordinal there is no acknowledged difference made between elders and bishops as *distinct orders* of clergy. In this the form for ordaining a bishop and priest is the same, there being no express mention in the words of ordination whether it be for the one or the other office. It is true, priests and bishops were distinguished in other parts of this official, though there was none in the words of consecration; but the distinction in other parts of the ordinal was not such as to point out that both were of *different orders*, though it did of *different functions*. (See Burnet, vol. ii, p. 188. Neal, vol. i, p. 57.) This ordinal was made in 1549. Above a hundred years afterward, in the reign of Charles II., this service was revised and altered; and the greater part of the alterations indicate an intention to make the whole speak a language more favorable to the *divine right* of prelacy. The alteration was made when a distinction between the two offices became current, so as to make them two distinct orders of clergy; but this was not the received doctrine of the English reformers. And even now, the ordinal service does not contain the doctrine of the divine right of episcopacy in the sense in which high churchmen use the term.

(5.) The early and first, and, indeed, the best doctrine of the Church of England was, as we have seen, that elders and bishops were not, according to Scripture, of two orders, but one; and that any difference made in their offices was not, by divine right, a separate jurisdiction arising from a superior order. Such was the constant opinion of the first reformers, Cranmer, Pilkington, Jewel, Grindal, Whitgift, &c.

2. The doctrine of the divine right of bishops, as a superior order to presbyters, as possessing supreme jurisdiction in ordination, government, and discipline, originated in the English Church subsequently to her organization.

Archbishop Whitgift was the first who defended the hierarchy from the practices of the third, fourth, and fifth centuries, when the Roman empire became Christian; but Dr. Bancroft, his chaplain, divided off the bishops from the body of presbyters, and advanced them into a superior order by divine right, with the sole power of ordination and the keys of discipline, so that, from this time, they began to reckon three orders in the English hierarchy, viz., bishops, priests, and deacons. Bancroft broached, in form, this doctrine in a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, Jan. 1, 1588; and maintained that the bishops of England were a distinct order from the priests, and had superiority over them, *jure divino*, and directly from God. He affirmed this to be of God's own appointment; if not by express Scripture terms, yet by plain Scriptural inference. This was new doctrine for that time.

Those that preceded said that the superiority of bishops above presbyters had been a useful and wise appointment, for the more orderly government of the church, begun about the third or fourth century; and, indeed, it was not till then there was any thing like the diocesan episcopacy that afterward prevailed. But Bancroft was one of the first who advanced it into a divine right. It was asserted by Dr. Heylin, in the beginning of the 17th century, (1638,) "That the archbishop of Canterbury was lineally descended from St. Peter, in a most fair and constant tenor of succession." And Dr. Pilkington advanced, "That if he who now sits archbishop of Canterbury could not derive his succession from St. Austin. St. Austin from St. Gregory, and St. Gregory from St. Peter, we would be miserable." (See Neal, vol. i, pp. 5, 10, 432.)

Nevertheless, Bancroft himself was far from being scrupulous on this subject, and as tenacious of popish forms as some of his successors; for when Dr. Andrews, bishop of Ely, moved that the Scottish bishops elect should first be ordained presbyters, in the year 1610. Bancroft replied that it was unnecessary, since *ordination by presbyters was valid;* and the Scottish bishops were accordingly ordained. Bishop Moreton was of the opinion, that to ordain was the *jus antiquum* of presbyters. (*Idem*, vol. ii, p. 387.) But the Church of England advanced in her claims, and removed, by degrees, to a greater distance from the other European Protestant Churches.

3. In the articles of the English Church the doctrine of succession, as held by high churchmen, is not found either in express words or by legitimate inference.

When the great reformers of the English Church, after preparing the way by proper deliberation, went to frame fundamental articles of religion, they carefully guarded against any exclusive claim on the subject in question. If they had believed that an order of bishops, superior to presbyters, was indispensably necessary to the regular organization of the church, the validity of Christian ordinances, and that presbyters in presbyterial churches must be *reordained* on coming over to their communion, they would certainly have embraced it in their article, in which they formally state their doctrine respecting the Christian ministry. This article, which is the twenty-third, is as follows:—"It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering the sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation, to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard." The language of this article was studiously chosen, in order to embrace the other reformed churches whose ordination was presbyterial, and to recognize as valid their ministry and ordinances. Were the recent doctrine of exclusion the doctrine of the first English reformers, they would certainly have embraced it in the articles; but they were of quite a different mind.

This succession by divine right of episcopacy, to the exclusion of presbyters, appears to us an innovation in the English Church; and we cannot consider it as a part of the scheme that Christ and his apostles have laid down in the New Testament. We must, on the

other hand, view it as accompanied and followed with many evils, either in comparison of a presbyterial government, or of an episcopacy under the control of, and derived from, the presbytery or body of elders. The following reasons appear to us to be subversive of the high pretensions of churchmen, in reference to the divine right of their bishops :—

4. They attempt to derive this succession from the apostles, through the Church of Rome. That this is inconsistent, we prove by the following reasons :—1. The Church of Rome, in her ordinations, never endowed any man with episcopal authority with the intention of leaving their communion; and without the *intention* in the person officiating, no ordination, according to them, could be valid. 2. The English reformers were all excommunicated by the pope, and, of course, their succession was cut off; especially viewing succession to be uninterrupted, which is the general idea attached to it by its assertors.

5. In several instances this succession in the English Church was actually broken. The following are given as specimens :—

The case of Archbishop Parker.—He was the first archbishop of Canterbury under Elizabeth, on her accession to the throne; all the bishops except one, to the number of fourteen, were deprived by her because they would not take the oath of supremacy, being all of them firm papists. Dr. Matthew Parker was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth, by some of the bishops that had been deprived in the reign of Mary, for none of the present bishops would officiate. The persons concerned in the consecration were Barlow and Scory, bishops elect of Chichester and Hereford; Miles Coverdale, the deprived bishop of Exeter; and Hodkins, suffragan of Bedford. The archbishop was installed December 17th, 1559, soon after which he consecrated several of his brethren, whom the queen had appointed to vacant sees; as Grindal to the bishopric of London, Howe to Winchester, Pilkington to Durham, &c. The Roman Catholics urged the unlawfulness of the proceedings against the new bishops, who began to doubt the validity of their ordinations, or at least their legal title to the bishoprics. The affair was at length brought before parliament, and, to silence all future clamors, Parker's consecration and that of his brethren were confirmed by the two houses, about seven years after they had filled their respective sees, and had, during that time, ordained numbers of persons to deacons' and elders' orders.

To this ordination it may be objected, 1. The persons engaged in it had been legally, and, indeed, ecclesiastically deprived in the last reign, and were not yet restored; and Coverdale and Hodkins never exercised their episcopal functions afterward. 2. Because the consecration ought, by law, to have been directed according to the statute of the 25th of Henry VIII., and not according to the form of King Edward's ordinal, which had been set aside in the late reign, and was not yet restored by parliament. 3. The parliament, by this act, assumed the right of validating an *irregular* or *null* appointment to the ministry; and, although a civil body, they assumed the highest act of the ministerial or ecclesiastical functions. 4. How an act of parliament could have a retrospective view we cannot tell, so as to make valid the various ordinations irregularly performed during the space of several years previous. 5. What can we say to the unlawful ordinations that took place during these several years of officiating? These, surely,

must have corrupted the church, and made a breach on the regularity of succession. (See Neal, vol. i, p. 133.)

The case of Archbishop Juxon, in 1663 *or* 1660.—Immediately after the protectorate of Cromwell, the succession of the Anglican Church was in imminent danger. Many of the bishops at the protector's death were dead, and in a few years there would be none to consecrate; and thus the succession must be broken unless they could receive it anew from Rome, a thing not to be expected, or admit of ordination by presbyters. This induced some of the ancient bishops to petition the king to fill up the vacant sees with all possible expedition, in which they were supported by Sir Edward Hyde, chancellor of the exchequer, who prevailed on the king to nominate certain clergymen for these high preferments. It was necessary, however, to carry on this design with great secrecy, lest the governing powers would secure the bishops, and by that means put a stop to the entire proceedings. But the greatest difficulty was, to do it canonically, when there were no deans or chapters to elect, and, consequently, no persons to receive a *congé d'elire*, according to former custom. Several expedients were proposed for remedying this difficulty, the most prominent of which are the three following:—

The first plan was that which was proposed by Chancellor Hyde, and was as follows:—"That the proceedings should be by a mandate from the king to any three or four bishops, by way of collation, upon a lapse, instead of the dean and chapter's election. But it was objected, that the supposal of a lapse would impair the king's prerogative more than the collation would advance it, because it would presuppose a power of election *pleno jure*, (*of full right*,) in the deans and chapters, which they have only *de facultate regia*, (*from royal authority*;) nor could they petition for such a license, for most of the deans were dead, some chapters extinguished, and all of them so disturbed that they could not meet in the chapter-house, where such acts generally are to be performed." Such was Chancellor Hyde's plan.

Dr. Barwick proposed, "That his majesty should grant his commission to the bishops of each province respectively, assembled in provincial council or otherwise, as should be most convenient, to elect and consecrate fit persons for the vacant sees, with such dispensative clauses as should be found necessary upon the emergency of the case, (his majesty signifying his pleasure concerning the persons and the sees;) which commission may bear date before the action, and then afterward upon certificate, and petition to have his majesty's ratification and confirmation of the whole process, and the register to be drawn up accordingly by the chief actuary, who may make up his memorials hence, and make up the record there." This was the second plan.

The third way was that proposed by Dr. Bramhall, bishop of Derry. It was the method used in Ireland, where the king has an absolute power of nomination, and, therefore, no way seemed to him so safe as consecrating the persons nominated to void sees in Ireland, and then transferring them to the vacant sees in England; which, he apprehended, would clearly elude all those formalities which seemed to perplex the affair.

To terminate the difficulty, Dr. Wren, bishop of Ely, and Dr. Cosins, bishop of Petersborough, were in favor of the second plan, recom-

mended it to the court, and which was accordingly adopted. (See Neal, Hist. Pur., vol. iv, c. iv, p. 228.) Such were their narrow views as to suppose the essence of Christianity, and the essence of all divine ordinances, depended on the transmission of ecclesiastical power in an unbroken chain from the apostles.

The case of the non-jurors.—In the reign of King William III., and in the year 1689, the divisions among the friends of prelacy ran high, and terminated in that famous schism in the English Church which has scarcely yet been entirely healed. Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, and eight other bishops, viz., Lloyd of Norwich, Turner of Ely, Kenn of Bath and Wells, Frampton of Gloucester, Thomas of Worcester, Lake of Chichester, Cartwright of Chester, and White of Peterborough, deemed it unlawful to take the oath of allegiance to the new king, because they considered James II., though banished from his dominions, their rightful sovereign. In consequence, because they would not acknowledge the title of the new king to the British crown, King William, as supreme head of the church, and as sovereign ecclesiastical judge, deprived them of their sees, and put others in their place. The new bishops were Tillotson, Moore, Patrick, Kidder, Fowler, Cumberland, &c. Several peers, and about four hundred of the parochial clergy, were among the non-jurors. The deposed bishops and clergy formed a new Episcopal church, entirely separated from the established church. They were called *non-jurors* because they refused to swear or take the oath of allegiance to William. They maintained that the church was not dependant on the jurisdiction of the king and parliament, but was subject to the authority of God alone, and empowered to govern itself by its own laws; and that, consequently, the sentence of deprivation pronounced against them by the great council of the nation was destitute of justice and validity; and that it was only by the decree of an ecclesiastical council that a bishop could be deprived. They also maintained that those who were put in their places were unjust possessors of other men's property, and were schismatics in the church; that all who held communion with them were chargeable with schism; and that this schism is a most heinous sin, and that grievous punishment must fall upon their opponents unless they would return to the bosom of the non-juring church, from which they had causelessly departed. (See Mosheim, cent. 17, sec. 11, Part ii, c. ii, No. xxvi. Also New-York Churchman of March 25th, 1837, for an article from the British Critic on this subject.)

Sancroft, while the case was pending, in order to prevent the approaching schism, issued a commission, giving his authority for the consecration of bishops and pastors to the bishops of London, St. Asaphs, and others. It was under this commission that Burnet was consecrated bishop of Salisbury by Compton. Archbishop Sancroft, however, afterward recalled this, and consigned the same powers to Lloyd of Norwich, one of his deprived brethren. A schism was thus formed in the heart of the Anglican Church. There were two distinct communions: the one under the old metropolitan, Sancroft, and the other under the new one, Tillotson. The state of the matter is clearly this: that the non-jurors, according to the primitive church and Scripture, were the regular church. But then the Church of England does not derive her succession through bishops or the clergy, but through

the parliament and the king; and their boast of apostolical succession through bishops is utterly incorrect, when their succession is regal succession through popes and bishops, or prelates; for it is a glaring instance of misnaming to call the English diocesans bishops. They are properly *prelates;* i. e., persons *preferred* or *raised above* the ecclesiastical supervision of the pastors. The case, therefore, of the nonjurors furnishes another instance of a breach in the succession of the English Church, from which all the wisdom and learning of her ablest sons can never clear her.

Miserable indeed must the state of the Christian world be when a bishop cannot be chosen without a royal mandate, and the nominal or farcical election of a dean and chapter; when, for many hundred years after Christ, there was no such thing in the world as a *congé d'elire*, or permission to elect in this manner: and if the validity of all sacerdotal ministrations must depend on an uninterrupted succession from Peter, through prelates, popes, kings, and parliaments! And this is peculiarly strange, in regard to the papacy, when, in a succession of fifty popes, not one pious man sat on the throne; that there had been no popes for some years together, and, at other times, two or three at once; and when there had been between twenty and thirty schisms, one of which continued fifty years, the popes of Rome and Avignon excommunicating each other, and yet conferring orders on their several clergy. It would reduce Christianity, indeed, to a low standard, to require its heavenly character to undergo a genealogical examen through such ancestors as popes and apostate bishops up to Christ its heavenly founder.

6. The Church of England, in admitting the validity of ordinations by presbyters, overturns her assumed succession by bishops only.

(1.) Those who had been ordained in foreign churches in the reign of Mary, were admitted in Elizabeth's reign to their ministerial offices and charges, as well as those ordained in England; and, to legalize this, an act of parliament was passed in the thirteenth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, allowing of *ordination of presbyters without a bishop*, on their subscribing the articles of faith. Both houses of parliament would not probably pass such an act, unless the *principle* of it had been approved of by the most influential divines and churchmen. The thing, however, was disallowed by some bishops in this reign, as well as at the restoration of King Charles I. But what can bishops or clergy do if the parliament undertake to regulate the church; nay, should they even undertake to change altogether the established religion? (Neal, vol. i, p. 237.)

(2.) The recognition of presbyterial ordination as valid was several times made by the English Church in the reception of ministers of the Church of Scotland, which is strictly Presbyterian. The reformation of this church commenced in 1560, and was, at its first organization, a Presbyterian Church. In the year 1610 prelacy was violently introduced, against the sense of the nation; and, in the same year, Spotiswood, Lamb, and Hamilton, presbyters by presbyterian ordination, were consecrated bishops in London by some English prelates, and, on their return home, imparted the episcopal office to a number of others. Archbishop Bancroft consecrated them, without requiring them to be previously ordained as priests; expressly delivering it as his opinion, that

their former Presbyterian ordination was valid. Furthermore, the bishops agreed that the body of the Presbyterian clergy should be considered as regular ministers in the church, on consenting to acknowledge the bishops as their ecclesiastical superiors, without submitting to be reordained; and this arrangement was actually carried into effect. Nor is this all. Many of the clergy and people removed from Scotland to the north of Ireland, where the clergy, who were all Presbyterians, were received as presbyters or priests in the established Church of Ireland without reordination. The Church of Scotland remained episcopal till 1639, when prelacy was abolished and bishops deposed. On this occasion three of these prelates renounced their episcopal orders, were received by the Presbyterian clergy as plain presbyters, and officiated as such while they lived. The rest were either excommunicated from the church, or deprived of their ministerial functions. In the year 1661 episcopacy was again introduced into Scotland, at which time the same plan was agreed on which took place in 1610, though a much smaller number of clergymen submitted to its terms. At the Revolution in 1688, episcopacy was again laid aside and Presbyterianism restored. At this time four hundred episcopal clergymen came into the Presbyterian Church, acknowledged the validity of her orders and ministrations, and were received as ministers. (Miller's Letters, let. vi, p. 146. Neal, vol. ii, p. 82.) From the foregoing we learn that the validity of Presbyterian ordination was acknowledged, at least as late as 1661, by the Church of England, which was more than a hundred years after her organization as a church.

(3.) Our readers may be pleased to see the following. It is a license granted April 6th, 1582, to the Rev. John Morrison, a Presbyterian minister. It was granted by Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury, through Dr. Aubrey, his vicar-general, to the Scotch divine, permitting him to preach throughout his province. "Since you, the said John Morrison, were admitted and ordained to sacred orders and the holy ministry by the imposition of hands, according to the laudable form and rite of the reformed Church of Scotland, we, therefore, as much as lies in us, and as, by right, we may, approving and ratifying the form of your ordination and preferment, done in such manner aforesaid, grant unto you a license and faculty, that in such orders, by you taken, you may, and have power, in any convenient places, in and throughout the whole province of Canterbury, to celebrate divine offices and to minister the sacraments," &c. This is a full testimony, by the highest dignitary of the English Church, that presbyterial ordination is valid. He even calls the form a *laudable* one, and considers Mr. Morrison as authorized not only to preach and celebrate divine offices, but also to administer the sacraments. In later times the archbishop would be pronounced a schismatic, and Mr. Morrison would have to receive a reordination; but the present is not the reformed Church of England precisely.

(4.) The English Church received and corresponded with the reformed churches who held to presbyterial ordination. Several eminent divines of these churches were received into, and obtained benefices in the church and universities. They were received, too, in the precise ecclesiastical character which they held at home, viz.: that of presbyters without any reordination, and, for want of it, laboring under no disability. Modern churchmen, however, have learned to profane

the ordinance of Christ by practising reordination. There is nothing which is more truly sacrilegious; and if the name of *anabaptist* or *rebaptizer* has become a hissing and a by-word, that of reordainer is worthy of tenfold more odium and reproach. Perhaps the most ready and sober way of accounting for this is, that, finding themselves unable to support their own system of ecclesiastical economy, they have fallen on this method of superstition to match the Scriptural arguments of their opponents. If this does not account for the profanation alluded to, we must leave it with others to trace it to its proper source.

King James's sending over divines to the synod of Dort, was an open acknowledgment of the validity of ordination by presbyters; here being a bishop of the Church of England sitting as a private member in a synod of divines, of which a mere presbyter was the president.

(5.) The fifty-fifth canon of the Anglican Church, enacted in 1604, when the Church of Scotland was Presbyterian, requires all her clergy "to pray for the Churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland, as parts of Christ's holy Catholic Church, which is dispersed throughout the world." The authors of this canon considered Presbyterian churches as true churches of Christ. The plan of reordination was reserved for after times, and the invention of it for different persons from Cranmer, Grindal, and Abbot. Besides, was it not the very same authority (the parliament and king) that established the Church of Scotland, as well as the other? The power was precisely the same in the one case as in the other. The principal difference is, that the Scotch Church is much nearer, as to her polity, both to Scripture and the primitive church. The Church of England approaches nearer to Rome, and is a resuscitation of the regal form of government which usurped what had been previously usurped by the prelates from the pastors and bishops of the primitive form of church government. It is also well known that the founders of the English Church corresponded with the principal reformers, as Bucer, Calvin, Melancthon; and held them in high estimation as ministers of Christ.

7. It might be worth while to notice the judgment of bishops and divines of the English Church upon this controversy, which has broken the bonds of brotherly love and charity between that church and all the Protestant churches who have no bishops, or who have not bishops according to their recent doctrine concerning episcopacy; for the peculiar views of high churchmen of the Anglican Church form the most recent system of church polity. Our limits do not permit us to enlarge; we must, therefore, content ourselves with two or three specimens.

(1.) We will quote first from *Synopsis Papismi;* that is, a *Generall View of Papistrie*, by Dr. Willet, a distinguished divine of the Church of England in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to whom the three first editions were dedicated. The next was dedicated to King James, printed in London in 1634. On the subject before us he gives the doctrine of the Church of England as it was held in his day, and as it was distinguished from the doctrines of popery on this point. He says, "Bishops and other ministers do not differ in order, but in office of government." (*Contiev.* v, *Quest.* 3, Ener. 75, p. 266.) He states the Roman Catholic doctrine on this point to be, "That bishops are not only in a higher degree of superiority to other ministers, but they are

as princes of the clergy, and other ministers as subjects, and in all things to be commanded by them; and that bishops are only properly pastors, and that to them only it doth appertain to preach, and that other ministers have no authority, without their license or consent, to preach at all; and that not principally or chiefly, but solely and wholly to them appertaineth the right of consecrating or giving orders." (P. 269.) This is substantially the doctrine of high churchmen, who, in this respect, are true Romanists, except that they substitute the supremacy of the king for that of the pope, as we have already seen. But, in combating this popish doctrine of the successionists, Mr. Willet, in the same page, proceeds to state the true doctrine of the then English Church, since his day exchanged for the popish doctrine. "That every godly and faithful bishop is a successor to the apostles, we deny not, and so are all faithful and godly pastors and ministers; for, in respect of their extraordinary calling, miraculous gifts, and apostleship, the apostles have properly no successors, as Mr. Benbridge, martyr, saith, that he believed not bishops to be the successors of the apostles, for that they be not called as they were, nor have that grace. That, therefore, which the apostles were especially appointed unto, is the thing wherein the apostles were properly succeeded. But that was the preaching of the gospel, as St. Paul saith, *He was sent to preach, not to baptize*, 1 Cor. i, 17. (Isa. lix, 21, is also quoted.) The promise of succession, we see, is in the preaching of the word, which appertaineth as well to other pastors and ministers as unto bishops, as afterward shall be declared. Again, seeing, in the apostles' time, *episcopus* and *presbyter*, a *bishop* and a *priest*, were neither in name nor office distinguished, it followeth, then, that either the apostles assigned no succession while they lived, neither appointed their successors, or that, indifferently, all faithful pastors and preachers of the apostolic faith are the apostles' successors." In the 273d page the following sentiments are expressed, and they are such as are now maintained in substance by the Methodist Episcopal Church; such as were contended for by the fathers of the English and other reformed churches:—"Of the difference between bishops and priests there are three opinions: the *first*, of Aerius, who did hold that all ministers should be equal; and that a bishop was not, neither ought to be, superior to a priest. The second opinion is, the other extreme is of the papists, as we have seen, that would have not only a difference, but a princely pre-eminence of their bishops over the clergy, and that by the word of God; and they urge it to be necessary, that they have no churches which receive not their pontifical hierarchy. The third opinion is between both: that although this distinction of bishops and priests, as it is now received, cannot be directly proved out of Scripture, yet it is very necessary, for the policy of the church, to avoid schisms, and to preserve it in unity. Of this judgment Bishop Jewel, against Harding, showeth Chrysostom, Ambrose, and Jerome to have been. Jerome thus writeth:—'That the apostle teacheth evidently that bishops and priests were the same, but that one afterward was chosen to be set over the rest. It was done to be a remedy against schism.' To this opinion of St. Jerome subscribeth Bishop Jewel and another most reverend prelate of our church, Archbishop Whitgift." He also maintains that such was the doctrine of Augustine; and the Church of England rejected the party of Aerius

and embraced the third system, which is rejected by the recent English Church, but maintained and practised by the Methodist Episcopal Church. Many other quotations, to the same purpose, might be given from Willet.

(2.) Archbishop Usher, in his letter to Dr. Bernard, says, "I have ever declared my opinion to be, that bishop and presbyter differ only in *degree*, and not in order; and, consequently, where bishops cannot be had, the ordination by presbyters standeth valid. Yet the ordination made by such presbyters as have severed themselves from those bishops to whom they have sworn canonical obedience I cannot excuse from being schismatical. I think that churches that have no bishops are defective in their government; yet, for my justifying my communion with them, (which I do love and honor as true members of the church universal,) I do profess, if I were in Holland, I should receive the blessed sacrament at the hands of the Dutch with the like affection as I should from the hands of the French ministers were I at Charenton."

(3.) Bishop Burnet observes—"As for the notion of distinct offices of bishop and presbyter, I confess it is not so clear to me; and, therefore, since I look upon the sacramental actions as the highest of sacred performances, I cannot but acknowledge those who are empowered for them must be of the highest office in the church." (See Vindication of the Church of Scotland, p. 336, as quoted by Neal, vol. ii, p. 387.)

(4.) At the close of King Edward's reign, and for a considerable time after, churchmen, among other things, believed that there were but two orders of clergy authorized by Scripture, viz., bishops and deacons; and, consequently, that bishop and elder were of the same order, though of different ranks or degrees. They, consequently, gave the right hand of fellowship to foreign churches and ministers who had not been ordained by bishops, there being no dispute about reordination in order to any church preferment till the latter end of Elizabeth's reign. In these points our modern churchmen have departed from the doctrine and practice of the founders of the English Church. That all the Protestant Churches of Europe, except the English, together with a great many even of this church, are mistaken on this point, and that the truth lies with the papists and a part of the English Church, and that part of recent origin, looks somewhat unreasonable.

VII. *Defects, or want of apostolical character in the Anglican Church.*

We have now a number of reasons to offer which will go to show, that notwithstanding the pretensions of the English Church in challenging to herself apostolical succession, she is, in many respects, wanting in apostolical character. It is not meant, hereby, that she is not a church of Christ; but the meaning is, that although she boasts much of her descent or pedigree, she has several traits in her character not authorized by Scripture, but contrary thereto; nor found in any of the churches organized by the apostles, or in any of the churches that immediately followed them; and that she is destitute, or very partially possessed, of several Scriptural qualifications of great importance. We do not refer to those peculiar rites or forms by which she is distinguished from other churches, which may vary much to suit time and circumstances, and which do not affect the vitals of Christianity; but we mean leading and important traits of character, that have a serious influence on the lives and conduct of men, and strik-

ingly affect any religious body in the capacity of a church. Nay, more; as her church polity is the peculiar boast of the English Church, she has less cause of boast, on this very score, than any other church in Europe or America, if we except the Roman Catholics, and those ill-governed minor sects who have no regularly organized form of government. We notice the following defects or deficiencies of the Church of England:—

1. We object against her that she is under the entire dominion of a civil power. Both the *kind* and *degree* of power exercised by the parliament over the church are unwarranted by Scripture.

That a *civil* head should govern the Church of Christ, appears to us both unreasonable and unscriptural. It is unreasonable or very unfit that the parliament, which is a civil body, and different in its character from the church, should have the power of regulating the church, which is a society not formed after the kingdoms of this world. That it is unscriptural, who that reads the New Testament can doubt? Can it be found that any primitive church was under the control of a civil legislature? I presume not. Besides, just glance at the component parts of a parliament. A small part are bishops. The peers, or lords temporal, are such by birth or creation. Those created are made by the king. Those of noble blood, as they are called, become lords by lineal descent. Are not these strange methods of creating an ecclesiastical body? As to the commons, they are composed of churchmen, Presbyterians, dissenters, Roman Catholics, and infidels; some of them religious, and some of them wicked men. They are also the representatives of churchmen, Presbyterians, dissenters, Romanists, and infidels; all of whom, in electing, are influenced, more or less, by their peculiar religious or irreligious sentiments. Such is the supreme ecclesiastical legislature of the Anglican Church. Is it possible that such a body of men can be safe legislators for any church? Are they above all apostolic rulers?

Moreover, the *degrèe* of power claimed and exercised by the parliament over the church is enormous, and fenced in by altogether inadequate barriers or guards. It hath, as we have shown, sovereign and uncontrollable authority in ecclesiastical as well as in civil affairs; and to such a degree as to *alter the established religion of the land.* The church, then, can be altered in any manner, and to any extent possible, by the parliament. It can be changed in its doctrines and discipline, in its rites and ceremonies, in the qualifications of its ministers, and, in short, in every thing; so that no church synod can, in any degree, control or prevent the changes, however serious they may be. The civil power, or parliament, can make what laws they please to bind the church; but the church can make no laws to bind either themselves or parliament. The state can render valid the irregular acts of the church, as in the case of Archbishop Parker's ordination. Nor will it be of any avail to say that the king, as head of the church, is bound to preserve the privileges of the church, when the parliament is absolutely omnipotent in changing or annulling any old law and in making any new ones, whether civil or ecclesiastical, so as to affect, or even change, any thing that refers to doctrines, discipline, bishops, priests, deacons, church livings, church membership, preaching, prayers, sacraments, &c.

That the parliament *can* alter or change the Church of England into any possible form there can be no doubt. It is not a mere possibility, for this they actually have done in several instances. The church was changed, under Henry VIII., from popish to Protestant. In the reign of Mary it was again changed to popery. The parliament, under Elizabeth, changed it from popish to Protestant. It was subsequently altered from prelatical to Presbyterian, and from Presbyterian to prelatical again; or, rather, the Church of England assumed, under parliament, in its last change, the regal form of government, for it is not presbyterial, because elders have not the chief rule; nor is it episcopal, because bishops, deriving their authority from elders, and accountable to them for its exercise, are not highest in office; nor is it prelatical, because bishops or prelates have not the chief rule, seeing this belongs to the parliament and king. It is true, they claim to be episcopal, but this is a mistake; for episcopacy proper derives its jurisdiction from the pastors and people. It is even a mistake to call it *prelatical*, as Presbyterians usually denominate the English Church; for the bishops are appointed by the king, and are accountable to him solely, unless the parliament interpose. The prelatical form of government invests bishops with the power of *jurisdiction* and of *conferring orders;* but the English bishops do not possess either of these powers as of right belonging to their distinct order of bishops. We know they *teach* this doctrine, and attempt to practise accordingly, but this is a mere private opinion. It is not the *principle* which governs. The principle places the jurisdiction in the parliament and king, as the sources of ecclesiastical legislation and of executive power respectively; for the bishops had their sees under the immediate authority of the king and parliament. The *regal* is, therefore, the proper ecclesiastical form of the Anglican Church, unless the word *parliamentary* might be deemed better. On this topic, however, we will not dwell. Thus the Church of England has undergone several changes already, and who can tell what changes may yet take place in her constitution in a very short time? Surely such an institution was not reared by the apostles of Christ, who taught that his kingdom was from heaven.

The Church of Scotland, too, as a branch of the British establishment, has gone through several changes. After the Reformation in this country, which commenced in 1560, the titles of archbishop and bishop were introduced in 1572, and bestowed on clergymen ordained members of cathedral churches. By act of 1592, c. cxvi, Presbyterian church government was established by kirk sessions, presbyteries, provincial synods, and general assemblies. By act 1606, c. ii, bishops were restored; but in 1638 presbytery was a second time introduced. By act 1662, c. i, presbytery was again displaced by prelacy; and finally, by acts 1689, c. iii, and 1690. c. v, xxix, presbytery was re-established, and has since continued. (Blackstone, b. i, c. xi, p. 380, note 9.) We have presented these changes in the Church of Scotland as a farther confirmation of the power of parliament in making ecclesiastical changes in national churches. The Scotch Church, however, even as an establishment, is in a far less exceptionable form than the English Church, and, in consequence, Scotland has been less agitated from without, and less affected by political influence, than the English Church. Indeed, North Britain, to a good degree, has preserved the

free exercise of her general assembly, her synods, presbyteries, and sessions, which have proved very beneficial, and promoted her spiritual interests.

2. We object to the Anglican Church, her temporal and spiritual head in the person of the reigning monarch, whether king or queen, and, in case of a minor, the king's council. Here, too, as in the case of the parliament, we object to both the kind and degree of power vested in the British monarch.

(1.) As to the kind of power, we object three things: first, the simple headship; secondly, its being vested in a female; and, thirdly, its exercise by a minor, whether male or female.

The king is the supreme head of the church under Christ. This, we think, is in opposition to the following passages of Scripture:—"And hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be the head of all things to the church;" Eph. i, 22. "And he is the head of the body, the church;" Col. i, 18. The title, *head of the church*, though qualified by the phrase, *under Christ*, is improperly applied to any human being; for, when the apostle says Christ is κεφαλη, *the Head*, it is as much as if he had said Christ, and no other, is head. No civil magistrate, as such, ought to be chief moderator or president in church matters; nor to have such authority as that ecclesiastical persons, without him, can make no church regulations or ceremonies. Church matters ought, ordinarily, to be handled by church officers. The principal direction of them is given, by God's ordinance, to the ministers of religion. As these ought not to meddle with the making of civil laws, so the civil magistrate ought not to meddle with the concerns of the church, so long as they do not intrench upon his civil authority. Nor can we believe that the phrase, *under Christ*, sufficiently qualifies the headship of the king; as we do not see the least trace of Scriptural authority for having any vicegerent for him who is head of all things to the church. To none of the apostles did our Lord give this supremacy, much less did he give it to any layman. It arose from the high pretensions of the pope; and, as Dyer says, *was stripped, by King Henry, with violence from the triple crown*. Indeed, the pope himself claims nothing more than to be the vicegerent of Christ upon earth; and as with the pope, so with the king, the qualifying expressions or words, *vicegerent, under Christ*, and the like, have never yet presented any barrier against the exercise of spiritual tyranny. Nay, on the other hand, there is no other plea ever made use of, under which greater enormities have been committed, than under the cover of this vicegerency or headship. The pope, by virtue of this alone, governed the church and the state with absolute sway; and the English monarchs, by virtue of their headships, have performed the highest acts of the supreme ecclesiastical executive authority, in regulating and ordering every thing pertaining to the church.

(2.) Besides, this power, too, is vested in queens as well as kings. It is needless to delay here by producing argument. That a woman should be supreme head of the church under Christ has no countenance from Scripture, antiquity, or the reason of the thing. Not but that queens may often make as good heads as kings, as was actually the case in Elizabeth and Queen Ann. Is this, too, apostolical? Is this female headship of divine right, and of apostolical succession too?

What authority is there that women, as heads of Christ's church, shall be supreme judges in matters of faith, should order rites and ceremonies, regulate the discipline of the church, have the principal part of ordination in their hands, have the power of suspending and depriving bishops, have the power of calling and directing convocations, and of sanctioning or negativing their decrees, and that they should be the dernier resort, in cases of appeal, in all ecclesiastical matters?

(3.) That a *minor*, too, should be head of the church, can never be sustained as Scriptural or consistent. Nor is this case much mended by the substitute of a council which may be composed of persons but badly calculated to act as a united head of the church under Christ. In this case the difficulties are so numerous, and the thing itself is so far wrong, that it is needless to dwell thereon.

(4.) Moreover, the degree of authority, and the various powers invested in the English monarchs by the supremacy, appear to us quite too large. It is allowed these were given to the crown by parliament, but this was done at a time when the parliament itself was under the regal control; and successive parliaments continued these powers, with a few abatements and some small modifications. Still, the king's power, in our apprehension, is altogether without any proper Scripture warrant. He can exercise authority, in matters of faith and discipline, such as was never given to any succession of men since the world began. Those who sat in Moses's seat made no such pretensions. The pope only, whose successor the English monarch is, can equal him in these matters. His power in making rites and ceremonies, as well as in appointing bishops, and in convoking, restraining, and dissolving convocations or synods, places him before any of the apostles, in point of church authority. No human being, inspired or uninspired, was ever invested from above with such authority; and for a mortal to claim it is an assumption of the most dangerous kind; and for a church to submit to it is to overlook their own privileges and the kingly office of Christ. It is true, the late kings of England have exercised their ecclesiastical powers somewhat sparingly, and the churchmen of the day qualify the king's spiritual prerogative to a considerable degree. Add to this the exigency in which it was first used, may serve as some apology; but that enlightened churchmen would now pass the sentence of exclusion upon all churches that have not bishops, or bishops such as they have, is going beyond all proper bounds of moderation.

(5.) In justification, however, of the king's supremacy, it is said that the power he exercises is only *temporal*, but that the bishops exercise the *spiritual* power. The misfortune with this apology is, that it is utterly unfounded. Where is there any distinction, from Scripture or reason, between a temporal and a spiritual head over Christ's church, which is a spiritual body? Besides, are the regal acts only in reference to temporal matters? Are they not also exercised in spiritual? To be supreme judge in matters of faith, to order rites and ceremonies, to appoint bishops, to convoke, regulate, postpone convocations, &c.,—are these temporal acts? If they be, then there are no spiritual ones, for all must be temporal. In short, this plea of *temporal* head completely overturns the whole fabric. Divines see and know that the spiritual headship of the king is the same as the supremacy of the pope, and, therefore, untenable from Scripture, antiquity, or argument.

By arguing that it is temporal, they say, virtually, that the regal supremacy is all wrong; and that the English Church, in deed and in truth, (which is the case,) is fundamentally wrong in its polity, and at variance with every sound principle. There is, however, an apparent good design in calling this a temporal power. It is probably intended, by divines of the English Church, indirectly to unteach the spiritual headship of the king, and substitute for it the temporal. This is a good intention; how consistent, we say not just now. We will say, however, that the very plea is a clear abdication of the regal ecclesiastical system of Britain; and its opponents need no other evidence to prove to them the unsoundness of the fundamental ecclesiastical polity of the English Church, than that its ablest apologists are compelled to have recourse to an expedient by which they leave their opponents in complete possession of the ground which they maintain.

3. Another departure from apostolical character is, the subjection of the church to the state.

This is an unavoidable consequence, arising from the powers vested in the king and parliament. The church cannot call her convocation without the royal mandate, whatever exigence may occur. When assembled, they are under the king's control; and their enactments are of no authority, unless his majesty give them his assent. Now, we would ask, where is there any Scripture authority for this, or is it any way consonant with reason and Scripture? Did the council of Jerusalem receive any such commission to assemble? Or were they under royal control while employed in their deliberations? Or did they need the emperor's signature, in order that their decrees should be of authority among the Gentiles? Or were the decisions of church judicatories of no account before there were Christian kings to superintend and control their acts? We presume the decisions of ecclesiastical consistories were at least as correct before, as they were after they came under the management of kings, emperors, or popes.

One effect of this want of power in the church or convocation is, that she is too much under the power of worldly-minded and political men, who fashion her after the kingdoms of this world.

Another serious difficulty is, that for want of the power of convening and doing business, the convocation is perfectly powerless of itself. For upwards of one hundred years, the convocation has not been permitted to do any business. At present, serious changes in the polity of the church are about to take place; nevertheless, the king delays or refuses to convene the convocation, or to permit them to do business. But on this topic it is needless to dwell. Churchmen are compelled to acknowledge this defect in their church. What we are surprised at is, that they should manifest a spirit of exclusiveness toward other Protestant churches which have far fewer defects than they themselves have. This, alas! is another proof of the inconsistency of the human race.

4. The appointment of bishops by the crown is replete with many evils. This, surely, cannot be viewed either as apostolical or primitive. In early times, those called bishops were elected by the body of elders over whom they presided, and with the consent of the people whom they served. This is so well defined, and so generally acknowledged, that it cannot be called in question. The appointment of

bishops was not vested in bishops, but in elders. This, too, is fully established from antiquity. In this, then, the Church of England differs widely from Scripture and the apostolical churches. The bishops in these times were elected by the elders, in conjunction with the people. It is true, in some cases the deans and chapters elect in the English Church by *congé d'elire;* but this, as we have shown, is only a mere sham for an election, when the persons nominated by the king must be both elected and consecrated, under pain of premunire; so that, properly, the king *nominates, elects,* and *consecrates;* for what he does by his officers, who *must not* resist his will, he does himself. In short, to use the language of the English law, applied to this case, he *makes* or *creates bishops.* He also makes or creates peers, dukes, &c., though he does not himself go through the ceremonies of mere investiture; so he makes or creates bishops, though others may consecrate them, which consecration is only a part of the outward ceremonial of making them. Election is the principal part of making bishops, and this the king does to all intents and purposes; or, in other words, he sums up all in his mandate to the dean and chapters, or in his letters patent, where there are no deans and chapters, and in his mandate for consecration; thus throwing election to the winds, and authoritatively commanding his servants, the deans, chapters, and bishops, to go through the outward ceremonials of their nominal forms, in reference to his chosen one, and to none other. He that can receive this as Scriptural, apostolical, primitive, or proper, let him receive it; and then he can receive all popery and all inconsistency, and every thing, however absurd, with all readiness.

5. The unnatural alliance of church and state is another defect in the Church of England. This junction is injurious to both. The civil powers are embarrassed with religious tests and ecclesiastical encroachments. The church is loaded with political principles and political ministers in the place of evangelical ones. Thus each receives injury from the alliance. Such was not the form of the Christian church for several centuries after Christ.

6. In comparing the dignitaries of the English Church with the primitive bishops, we see an amazing contrast.

Indeed, it is difficult to draw the comparison between the opulent, unpreaching prelates of the Anglican Church, and the self-denying and humble apostles, whose undoubted successors they claim to be. Between them there are very few common traits of character. The primitive bishops were elected by the free suffrages of the presbyters; but these are immediately appointed by the king, or chosen by a *congé d'elire* from him, as was already shown. Those did not proceed against criminals but with the consent of the presbyters, and upon the testimony of witnesses; these proceed by an act *ex officio,* by which men are obliged to accuse themselves. The primitive bishops had no lordly titles; the latter are called *lords, lords spiritual, his grace, right reverend,* &c. The former had no lay chancellors, commissaries, nor other officials; the latter have such at command. The primitive bishops did not engage in secular affairs; our modern lords spiritual, who have a seat in parliament, differ widely from them. Those were not unpreaching prelates; but these are rarely employed in preaching the gospel. On comparing both we see a vast dissimilarity, and a serious

want of apostolical character in these dignitaries, when compared with the apostles or primitive bishops. It is true, times have changed; but with these changes surely Christianity has not lost all its heavenly temper and tendencies, although its form may appear under different aspects in different circumstances.

7. We ought not to forget, that the worldly and political mould into which the Church of England was cast in her legislative head, the parliament, in her executive head, the king, and in her official head, the bishops, is seen and felt in her ministers in general. Their pride and luxury, before they were put to the blush during the last hundred years by their more circumspect neighbours, were truly alarming. And even still they are, as a body, far from being examples to the flock. Look at their sinecures and those who possess pluralities, and who are, of course, non-residents. The following we quote from Dr. Humphrey's tour respecting Ireland in 1836, as published in the New-York Observer. The tithe system, of which the following is a correct specimen, is a true index of the Christian character of those who can have hearts to live by this species of ecclesiastical and political plunder:—

"In the *first place*, the *revenues* of the Irish Church are enormous. 'Twenty-two bishops,' says a beneficed clergyman, (Metropolitan, vol. iii, p. 397,) 'divide, in rents and fines, £220,000 per annum; that is, they receive an average income, if this estimate be correct, of £10,000, or nearly $50,000.' The same writer estimates the income of the benefices of the Irish Church at £1,500,000, and the average worth of each living at £800, a little short of $4,000. Now, if this is any where near the truth, what monstrous oppression is that which extorts these princely incomes, in part, at least, from a half-clad and starving Catholic tenantry! *Ten thousand pounds* paid to a single bishop, is a sum, no doubt, above the comprehension of many of them; but their priests and political agitators know very well how to make the most of it, and in this way to influence them still more against the Protestants and the Protestant religion.

"In the *second place*, the greater part of this enormous income goes to support pluralists, and other non-resident incumbents, in idleness and luxury. 'Until lately,' says the writer above quoted, 'curates were obliged to work for £60 a year, and, I believe, get no more now than £75; and more than two-thirds of the duty is performed by them.' The following extracts, from authentic tables now before me, will give your readers some idea of these crying abuses:—

'No. 2. Rector not resident; never was a curate; duty done by two curates; tythe £3,000, (nearly $15,000;) Protestant population two hundred and fifty; pay of the two curates £150; glebe and house £300.

'No. 3. Rector not resident; highly beneficed in another country; tythe £800; duty done by one curate at £75; Protestant population fifty; congregation thirty.

'No. 4. Rector not resident; never was a curate; tythe £400; Protestant population ten.

'No. 5. Rector not resident; never was a curate; highly beneficed, and resides on his other living; tythe £1,200; Protestant population sixty; congregation forty; paid for duty £68.

'No. 21. Rector resident, but does no duty; was never a curate;

benefice was resigned to him when he was a young man; duty done by a curate; tythe £1,600.

'Rector non-resident; is also rector of another large benefice, on neither of which did he ever reside; tythe £1,100.'

"I might carry out this list to an indefinite extent, but I forbear. A glance is sufficient. Kind reader, what do you think of it? Do you wonder that the Catholics of Ireland are not converted when such flagrant abuses exist before their eyes, and their deep poverty is taxed to perpetuate them? Suppose the established church should exist there in this attitude three hundred or three thousand years longer; is there the least probability that the people would, through her instrumentality, be brought over to the Protestant faith? Verily, it must require such faith as few Christians have any notion of to expect it.

"In the *third place*, not only are there hundreds of men, resident clergymen, supported by tithes in Ireland, but there are scores of *sinecure* benefices, in every sense of the term. In 1834, as appears from the report of the commissioners of public instruction, the whole number of benefices was about one thousand three hundred and eighty-five. In three hundred and thirty-nine of these the incumbent was non-resident; in two hundred and ten there was no church; and in one hundred and fifty-seven no service was performed by any person whatever, either incumbent or curate. In some of these parishes not a solitary Protestant could be found. In all the one hundred and fifty-seven last mentioned there was not one congregation, and in many others the term congregation was a mere ludicrous misnomer. And yet, till very lately, the whole tithe machinery was brought to bear, with unmitigated severity, upon the Catholic population. For example, in one parish, the Protestant residents are put down at ten, congregation six, tithes £500; in another, population thirty, congregation fifteen, tithes £1000; and in another, population fifteen, congregation five, tithes £500.

"Now some of these parishes contain thousands of Catholics, who, beside supporting their own clergy, are compelled to pay very large salaries to Protestant incumbents, for residing they know not where, and for doing just nothing at all, either by person or by curate. And yet some excellent people in the establishment, acquainted with all these facts, think it very remarkable that the truth has made so little progress in Ireland. They are astonished that so few Catholics have been converted; that under the shining of the true light, ever since the Reformation, the vast majority have continued in darkness until now. Is not the *real* matter of astonishment that any of them have been converted, under the goading, exasperating, and oppressive measures, both political and ecclesiastical, which have constituted the reigning policy of their Protestant masters?"

Now, according to the best calculations, the whole amount of Protestant population does not exceed a *million and a half*, while the Roman Catholics number *six millions and a half*. About one half the Protestants of Ireland are dissenters from the established church. Hence, more than *seven millions*, after *voluntarily* supporting their own clergy, are *compelled*, by law, to pay enormous salaries in behalf of the *seven hundred* and *fifty thousand* churchmen! And this *proportion* does not differ materially from what it has been for nearly these three hundred years.

Let the reader also glance at these ministers following the chase, and pursuing all the follies, not to say many of the vices, of the age. Do they watch over their flocks, and become examples for their imitation? Do they feed them and rule over them for their good, so as to reprove the obstinate and comfort the feeble-minded? Very few of these duties are done. The clergy of this church will certainly suffer in comparison with those of other reformed churches. But how great will the contrast be, if we compare our English and Irish rectors, vicars, and even curates, with the primitive ministers? How absurd their claims to almost exclusive apostolic *succession* among reformed churches, and how much more defective in genuine apostolical *character* than their neighbors, who make no such lofty pretensions!

8. Besides, their people, as might be expected, are very much like their leaders. What profaneness and glaring wickedness almost everywhere prevail among all classes of this communion! And where this is not so much the case, and where morality is inculcated and observed, how great is the ignorance of the doctrines of Christianity, and more especially of experimental religion! Certainly they are far from being truly apostolical, however they may trace their succession as regularly through Rome to Peter, as the Jews could their genealogical descent to Abraham, and claim to be his children. The Scripture requires that Christians should be holy, that they should forsake sin, and live in obedience to Christ's commandments. But this is not the case with the greater portion of this church, for we make our estimate of character from the majority or the greater part. We ought, nay, we are willing and desirous to make all proper allowance for unsound persons that may, for a time, be attached to any great body of men; yet, when we see the majority in this condition, we are forced to conclude that, *as a church*, there is great want of conformity to the spirit and practice of religion.

9. There is another particular in which we think there is an exceedingly great lack of primitive excellence in the English Church; that is, her laxity in, or almost total neglect of, gospel discipline. Her members, in general, are members by birthright or baptism, and are regenerated, according to their generally received views, by baptism. No proper conditions are required of those who come into her pale; but any one who thinks fit may attach himself to her communion, however unqualified he may be to bear the Christian name. Besides, as members of the establishment, there are no proper Christian requirements enjoined and exacted, any more than from others who make no pretensions to religion. Indeed, their church membership has scarcely any thing more sacred in it than citizenship, or to be born in some part of the British dominions. Sin is neither rebuked nor punished in any effectual degree. Drunkards, swearers, Sabbath-breakers, profane and impure persons, are retained in her communion without any adequate censure. Did the primitive church admit of persons of scandalous lives to attach themselves to her society? Or did they permit such to remain in her communion and approach her sacraments? We believe no person can say they did either of these.

That this view of the exercise of discipline is correct, no one acquainted with the Church of England will pretend to deny. Many of her own bishops, ministers, and people, are aware of this. Bishop

Burnet, in his History of the Reformation, speaking of discipline in reference to Elizabeth's reign, under the year 1559, observes,—"As for the canons and rules of the church government, they were not so soon prepared. These came out, some in the year 1571, and more in the year 1597; and a far larger collection of them in the first year of King James's reign. But this matter has yet wanted its chief force; for penitentiary canons have not been set up, and the government of the church is not yet brought into the hands of churchmen; so that, in this point, the reformation of the church wants some part of its finishing, in the government and discipline of it." (Hist. Ref., vol. ii, p. 518.)

Under the year 1553, in the conclusion of King Edward's reign, he inquires,—"Have we of the clergy made the steps which became us, and that were designed in the former age for throwing out abuses, for regulating the courts, and restoring discipline? While we have, for one hundred and fifty years, expressed once a year a faint wish that the primitive discipline were again restored, and yet have not made one step toward it. What a venality of the advowsons to livings do we hear of; and, at best, the disposing of them goes generally by secular regards, by importunities, obligation, or friendship; and, above all, how few of those who labor in the gospel do labor indeed, and give themselves wholly to it! How much of their time and zeal is employed in things that do not deserve it so well as the watching over, the instructing, and the building up their flock in the most holy faith! How few do fast and pray, and study to prepare themselves and their people for the evil day that seems nearer us than the greatest part are willing to apprehend, that so we may, by our intercessions, deliver our church and nation from that which is ready to swallow us up; or, at least, to be so fortified and assisted that we ourselves, and others by what they see in us, may glorify God in that day of visitation." (*Idem*, vol. iii, p. 264.)

In the conclusion of his admirable history, Bishop Burnet remarks,—"The proviso that had passed in Henry VIII.'s time, that continued all the canon law then received in England till a code of ecclesiastical laws was prepared, which, though attempted and well composed, was never settled, has fixed among us gross abuses, beside the dilatory forms of these courts, which make all proceedings in them both slow and chargeable. This has, in a great measure, enervated all church discipline. A faint wish, that is read on Ash-Wednesday, intimates a desire of reviving the ancient discipline; yet no progress has been made to render that more effectual. The exemptions settled by the papal authority do put many parts of this church in a very disjointed state; while in some places the laity, and in many others presbyters, exercise episcopal jurisdiction independent on their bishops, in contradiction to their principles, while they assert a divine right for settling the government of the church in bishops, and yet practise episcopal authority in the virtue of an act of parliament, that provisionally confirmed those papal invasions of the episcopal power, which is plainly that which, in a modern name, is called Erastianism, and is so severely censured by some who yet practise it; since, whatsoever is done under the pretence of law against the divine appointment, can go under no better name than the highest and worst degree of Erastianism." (Burnet, vol. iii, p. 397.)

According to this candid bishop, agreeably to the established polity of the Church of England, there were cases in which *both the laity and presbyters exercised episcopal jurisdiction, independent on their bishops, by virtue of an act of parliament which confirmed this, though it was a papal invasion.* Let this be distinctly remembered, as its application will be presently seen. It is useless to enlarge on the want of gospel discipline in the English Church, since it is acknowledged by their own divines and bishops.

VIII. *Good qualities of the Anglican Church.*

Notwithstanding the various defects of the English established church, enumerated as above, and they are such as are inconsistent with their claims to exclusive apostolicity, there are, nevertheless, many excellent traits to be found in her, of great utility to mankind, and of acknowledged Christian character. And though we have freely, and without ill-will or malice, but with sentiments of respect, pointed out her defects, it is with the greatest cheerfulness that we acknowledge her good qualities, and are willing and desirous to point them out.

1. Her firm opposition to papal tyranny calls for the praise of the world, and all Protestants in particular. The power of the pope had risen to the greatest pitch at the Reformation. The secession and opposition of Luther and the continental reformers gave a mortal wound to papacy. This wound was likely to be healed, had it not been for the timely and firm resistance to popery from the English nation. In almost every age since, and in every great exigency, England has stood as the great bulwark of the Protestant world; and she, and perhaps she alone, could cope with papal tyranny so as to preserve, or rather bring about, that liberty of conscience which now is gaining so much ground in the world. Indeed, the whole Protestant world are, under God, indebted to Britain, and Protestant Britain, for the freedom from papal usurpations which they now possess. It is, however, to be noted, that the dissenting Protestant portion of England have been, and are yet, on the lowest scale of calculation, nothing behind the portion that are attached to the establishment. Be this as it may, Protestant Britain is the palladium of liberty to Protestantism; in a great degree also to Roman Catholicism in time of need; for, when her persecuted clergy fled for protection, they found in England both protection and assistance. And what is the liberty of the United States but British freedom stripped of its encumbrances, and called forth into unrestrained practice in the free institutions of our government!

2. The English Church, to a very considerable extent, has fostered and promoted learning of every kind. Her learned divines and gifted laity have blessed the world with many of the best productions on the subject of divinity and Biblical criticism, as well as on every branch of science and literature. Her early progress, and her continued advancement in promoting knowledge of almost every kind, has produced, and continues to produce, a benefit to the world that future ages will be thankful for and acknowledge, when those party divisions that now refuse to confess it will have no existence in the world. The names of Newton, Tillotson, Watson, Walton, and a host of others, will ever be held in veneration and esteem.

3. Notwithstanding her defects, there have been, and there still

are, many pious people and ministers in her communion; and though the great bulk of her members are very little acquainted with experimental religion, there are still many that love and serve God. And we have reason to believe that the number of pious ministers and people is on the increase; and that she can number many more of this class now than she could sixty or a hundred years ago.

4. Add to this, that in her bosom a great and extensive revival of religion has taken place within these last hundred years. Some of her ministers, with the Rev. John Wesley at their head, prophesied. On many others, also, the Spirit rested. By the labors of both, great has been the work in her midst. And it is a matter of surprise, as well as of thankfulness to God, that the opposition to this blessed renovation from her lukewarm clergy has been so little, rather than that it was such as did really exist.

5. Besides, her *moderation* and *tolerance*, especially in latter times, call for admiration. It is true, the puritans, and various branches of dissenters, have suffered much, and still labor under privations. Yet no other church in her circumstances would, perhaps, be equally indulgent to those who differed from them. Her example in this is acknowledged to be salutary, and, no doubt, will have an extensively beneficial effect on the Christian world. It may be said that the tolerance and moderation of the English nation and church are to be traced to the principles and influence of the puritans, and dissenters, and Methodists. Be this as it may, this effect was accomplished where the English Church had supreme rule; and if we proceed to the immediate instruments, they were those who received their first lessons, at least, in the very cradle of the Church of England.

6. Her vast efforts in the Bible cause ought not to be passed by. Her kings, her lords and commons, her high church dignitaries, her clergy and her people, have conspired together, by a superhuman effort, *to cause* that the Bible will speak to every people under heaven in their own native dialect. She has been singularly foremost and active in bringing about a new pentecost, as to tongues and spiritual influence, that shall continue and extend till the kingdoms of this world shall become the inheritance of Christ. Her liberality and giant efforts, in these respects, must not be envied and overlooked by those who are either unable or unwilling to do as she has done or is now doing.

With the greatest cordiality we acknowledge the excellencies of the English Church, though we deem it our privilege to point out her errors, that we may give reasons to others why the Methodist Episcopal Church feels herself justified in doing as she has done in forming a separate organization in America; and why Wesleyan Methodism in Europe has taken the course which it has done, in so far as it has separated from the English establishment? As to any plea which the Protestant Episcopal Church can make against the Methodist Episcopal Church for separating from her, nothing is more foolish than its bare mention. She had no being when the Methodist Episcopal Church was formed; and for her to talk about schism or separation in such a case is the height of presumption, if not of dementation.

7. A few reflections, however, will be necessary on the character of King Henry, and on some circumstances connected with it. This is the more proper because some Protestants, and almost all Roman Catholics, have transferred to the English Church all the sins of this extraordinary man.

(1.) King Henry certainly possessed a considerable portion of knowledge and learning, especially in divinity; and excelled most princes of that, or any age, in intellectual endowments and attainments. Hence, he wrote a book against Luther; but it is doubtful whether this was his own production. This gave occasion to those excessive flatteries from the pope and his party, which, while it obtained for him the title of *Defender of the Faith*, in a great measure corrupted his temper and disfigured his whole government. When he threw off the pope's yoke, the Reformers, in their turn, offered him all the flatteries they could decently give. This, too, had an injurious effect on this monarch. (See Burnet, vol. iii, p. 206.)

(2.) King Henry was not a little pleased with his title of *Supreme Head of the Church of England*, which, by act of parliament, was joined to the other titles of his crown. He thought that infallibility was to accompany supremacy; and as this, in the popish system, belonged to the pope, he must also have infallibility attached to the crown. Those, therefore, who formerly yielded to the one, he thought ought now to submit to the other. He also turned against the Reformers when he saw their complaisance did not go so far as to acknowledge his infallibility, and for some time seemed fast going over to popery again, so that he was all the time fluctuating in both his opinions and practices; sometimes progressing in reformation, and at other times returning back to his old opinions. (*Idem*, vol. iii, pp. 126, 209.)

(3.) As it regards his divorce, whether he was sincere in pretending to have conscientious scruples with regard to his first marriage, is known to God alone; but whatever his secret motives were, he had the constant tradition of the Roman Church on his side, of which he was a member. This was carefully searched and proved; and no author older than Cajetan could be found in opposition to the current of tradition. And in the disputes of that age with those called heretics, the Romanists always made their appeals to tradition, as the only infallible expounder of Scripture. King Henry, therefore, had the acknowledged standard of the times on his side. (*Idem*, vol. iii, p. 438. Col., No. ii.)

(4.) Bishop Burnet holds the following language, in reference to Henry's breach with the pope:—"There appears to have been a signal train of providence in the whole progress of this matter, that thus ended in a total rupture. The court of Rome, being overawed by the emperor, engaged itself for it at first; but when the pope and the king of France were so entirely united as they knew they were, it seems they were under an infatuation from God to carry their authority so far, at a time in which they saw the king of England had a parliament to support him in his breach with Rome. It was but too visible that the king would have given all up, if the pope would have done him common justice; but when the matter was brought so near a total union, an entire breach followed, in the very time in which it was thought all was made up. Those who favored

the reformation saw all their hopes, as it seemed, blasted; but of a sudden all was revived again. This was an amazing transaction; and how little honor soever this full discovery of all the steps made in it does to King Henry, who retained his inclinations to a great deal of popery to the end of his life, yet it is much to the glory of God's providence that made the persons most concerned to prevent and hinder the breach, to be the very persons that brought it on, and, in a manner, forced it." (*Idem*, vol. iii, p. 112.)

(5.) The same excellent writer makes the following observations on the conduct of Henry, in the part he took in the Reformation:—"But whatever he was, and how great soever his pride, and vanity, and his other faults were, he was a great instrument in the hand of Providence for many good ends. He first opened the door to let light in upon the nation; he delivered it from the yoke of blind and implicit obedience; he put the Scriptures in the hands of the people, and took away the terror they were formerly under by the cruelty of the ecclesiastical courts; he declared this church to be an entire and perfect body within itself, with full authority to decree and regulate all things, without any dependance on any foreign power; and he did so unite the supreme headship over this church to the imperial crown of this realm, that it seemed a just consequence that was made by some in a popish reign, that he who would not aver that this supremacy was in him, did, by that, renounce the crown, of which that title was made so essential a part that they could no more be separated.

"By attacking popery in its strong holds—the monasteries—he destroyed them all, and thus he opened the way to all that came after, even down to our days; so that, while we see the folly and weakness of man in all his personal failings, which were very many and very enormous, we, at the same time, see both the justice and the goodness of God in making him, who was once the pride and glory of popery, become its scourge and destruction; and in directing his pride and passion so as to bring about, under the dread of his unrelenting temper, a change that a milder reign could not have compassed without great convulsions and much confusion. Above all the rest, we ought to adore the goodness of God in rescuing us, by his means, from idolatry and superstition; from the vain and pompous shows in which the worship of God was dressed up so as to vie with heathenism itself, into a simplicity of believing and a purity of worship, conformed to the nature and attributes of God, and the doctrine and example of the Son of God." (*Idem*, vol. iii, p. 210.) The foregoing sentiments are those of sobriety, and in them every sound Protestant will acquiesce, and Romanists cannot give them a confutation.

But it would be altogether improper to disparage the Reformation of the Church of England on account of King Henry's faults. As far as it is agreeable to the word of God it is right, whatever part this monarch may have taken in establishing it; and so far as it is not agreeable to Scripture, or is inconsistent with it, so far it is wrong, whoever may have been actors in it. The unsteady favor which the Church of England received from Henry can no more blemish it, than the vices of those princes that first promoted Christianity can blemish the Christian religion. If the crimes of Clovis, as related

by Gregory of Tours, be compared with the worst crimes of King Henry, we will find more falsehood, more cruelty, in the French than in the English monarch. Nor can we find any hints of Clovis's repentance, nor any restitution of his ill-gotten possessions. And this was the first Christian king of the Franks. While Henry is condemned to inevitable perdition by Romanists, they extol Clovis, a worse man, as a good Catholic and a good Christian. It is true, we can find many things in Henry VIII. worthy of severe reprehension; but, on comparison, we shall find him nothing worse than Pope Paul III., the French king, or German emperor; all three of whom gave as many proofs of their insincerity and want of principle as he manifested. This is necessary to be said of King Henry, that however we may reprehend many parts of his conduct, we ought not to overlook the bad examples he had in the pope himself in intrigue and falsehood; as well as the wrong opinions he had, in early life, imbibed from the Roman doctrines.

(6.) Upon the whole, in the reformation from popery, we may see the watchful care of Providence. When the light seemed almost extinguished in one place, it broke out in another; and when aid and protection seemed shut up in one source, God afforded help from another. In the beginning of King Henry's reign, by the breaking up of the Smacaldic league, by the capture of the Landgrave of Hesse and the Elector of Saxony, and by the *Interim*, the Reformation appeared almost extinguished in Germany. At this time it was advancing in England, which proved a refuge for the persecuted in Germany. And in the year previous to the death of Edward VI., there was a lasting settlement provided for the Reformation in Germany; so that those who fled from England in the reign of Mary found an asylum among the German Protestants. Thus God has provided for his truth in a manner, and by such means, as the wisdom of man could never devise. (*Idem*, vol. iii, p. 264.)

For the Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review.

Art. II.—HISTORICAL VIEW OF UNIVERSALISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY THE REV. F. P. TRACY, OF THE NEW-ENGLAND CONFERENCE.

The doctrine of the ultimate holiness and happiness of the whole human family has been held and taught at different times, and by various individuals, since the days of Origen. It has formed a component part of several systems, and has had some few able defenders, but no considerable portion of the nominal Christian Church has, at any time, avowed faith in it; and among those who have believed it, there has been more difference of opinion as to the means by which the event is to be brought about, the true principles on which the doctrine should be founded, and the time when all men shall partake of the benefit, than has existed on any other point of theology whatever.

But notwithstanding these differences, it has still, through a thousand metamorphoses, retained its being. Rising, like the phenix,

from the ashes of its former destruction, it has found for itself a new mode of existence and defence when the older has failed it.

In Europe, the doctrine has been received by some sects of the Anabaptists, and to a considerable extent by the English Unitarians; and has also received countenance from several minor parties of theologians in various communions.

The first person who publicly taught this sentiment in the United States was Dr. George De Benneville, who, after having suffered various evils in Europe on account of his tenets, came to America about 1741, and preached occasionally until his death, in 1793. His residence was in Berks county, Pennsylvania; and his field of ministerial labor in the western part of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia.

During the latter part of the labors of De Benneville, i. e., subsequent to 1754, it is supposed that Richard Clarke, rector of St. Philip's, Charleston, S. C., preached the doctrine of universal restoration. He was connected with this church until 1759, when he returned to England. He was considered a man of talents and industry, and published several works, which, however, do not seem to have secured for him a very lasting fame.

The only work in defence of the sentiment which had been published in America before 1770, was an edition of Seigvolk's Everlasting Gospel. This was issued from a press in Germantown, Pa., in 1753. Who the publisher was is not known; probably, however, one of the Mennonites, whose principal congregation was at Germantown, and who were, in a certain sense, Restorationists.

The treatise was probably written early in the 17th century, but the author, at this time, is utterly unknown; history not having deigned so much as to notice him.

This is about all that can be said of the existence of Universalism under any of its forms in this country prior to 1770. Perhaps other traces of it might be found, but it was a subject very little thought of among the people. There was too little of a disposition to change among the puritanic fathers of those days to admit of an apostacy which the easier morals of later days have rendered feasible, and have, in fact, produced.

In the year 1770 John Murray, who had for some time been a preacher of universal restoration in England, landed at a place called Cranberry Inlet, in New Jersey, and preached his first sermon in America in a chapel built by one Mr. Potter, an inhabitant of that place. Mr. Murray soon visited New-York and Philadelphia, and some other towns in the vicinity; and in 1772 made his first tour to New-England, and preached in Newport and Providence. He went south, however, to spend the winter, but returned again in the spring; and, preaching at various places on his way, arrived at Boston Oct. 26, 1773, where he proclaimed his new doctrine in what was called the Factory, in Tremont-street. He pushed forward in this journey as far as Portsmouth, New-Hampshire.

Having passed the ensuing winter in the south, he came back to New-England in the spring of 1774; and after spending the major part of the time, until autumn, in Boston, he, in November of the same year, visited the town of Gloucester, when, with considerable opposition, he publicly taught his sentiments until he was appointed

a chaplain in the army, then quartered at Cambridge. Ill health in a short time compelled him to leave the field, and he returned to Gloucester, and there remained afterward as a public teacher of universal restoration until his removal to Boston in 1793, where he died in the year 1815. Under his auspices the first Restorationist society in America was formed in Gloucester, on the 1st of January, 1779; and the first church belonging to this sect was erected in the same place in 1780.

While the changes named in this sketch were passing over Mr. Murray, others rose up to engage in defending the same doctrine of ultimate restoration. Nearly at the time of Mr. Murray's arrival in this country, Adam Streeter, a minister of the Baptist Church, apostatized from that faith, and commenced preaching Restorationism. Caleb Rich, also, about 1771, after being expelled from the Baptist church in Warwick, Mass., commenced publishing the same doctrine; and his preaching soon after, in the town of Jaffrey, N. H., resulted in proselyting to the faith Thomas Barnes, who soon became himself a preacher of the same gospel. Mr. Rich was ordained by Mr. Streeter about 1780. Of the ordination of Mr. Barnes we have no account. These men, though they came into the field *after* Mr. Murray, were not indebted to him for their doctrine, as the two former, at least, had not heard of him when they began their public labors.

Another principal pillar in the edifice was Elhanan Winchester. He was, at first, a free-will Baptist, and preached their doctrine in Brookline, Mass. In the autumn of 1774, he went to South Carolina, and did not visit New-England again until 1779. During his residence in South Carolina he procured and read Seigvolk's Everlasting Gospel, which so far undermined his orthodoxy as to lead him to a partial faith in the doctrine of the author. He does not appear to have been fully converted, however, until the latter part of January, 1781, when, after having read "Stonehouse on the Restitution of All Things," and spent a month in secret research, he declared himself to his friends a confirmed believer in the universal salvation of men.

It will be remarked that this avowal was made in Philadelphia, to which place he returned, after visiting the north, in the year 1780. There is one thing of which Mr. Winchester was guilty, which is inexcusable in any man; the designed conversion of others to a sentiment which the speculator dares not venture himself upon, either because he lacks confidence in its truth, or fears the loss of reputation or wealth by a full and frank avowal. The author of the Modern History of Universalism, in relation to this affair, thus significantly expresses himself:—"Thus converting others, and half a convert himself, he arrived at Philadelphia on the 7th of October," (p. 341.) For a man to convert others with design, when he himself is but *half a convert*, is not only a strong indication of an imbecile mind, but it proves too fully that the guilty man places but slight value on the truth, and cares but little whether men are deceived by his efforts or not. Indeed, there is good evidence, (Mod. Hist. Univer., p. 343,) that after Mr. Winchester was fully convinced of the truth of the tenet that all will be saved, he wished to keep it close, and not to have it mentioned to his disadvantage; and

even then he pledged himself not to preach what he believed to be the gospel, nor to introduce it in private conversation, unless he was attacked or requested. Valiant defender of the truth, who, for the sake of a support and influence, would cloak his real sentiments, and not even mention them to his friends! Such a man deserves the scorn of every honest spirit!

Notwithstanding the care of Mr. Winchester and his friends, the thing was noised abroad; and, despite of his attempts at concealment, in April, 1781, he was obliged by the popular voice to avow his real sentiments, and he was, in consequence, excluded from the house he had possessed or retained by his duplicity. On the 22d of the same month he preached his doctrine "*plainly for the first time*," in the hall of the Pennsylvania University; and he soon gathered round him a society somewhat respectable, as to its numbers and character. (Mod. Hist. Univers., pp. 348–9.) He remained with this congregation until 1787, when he sailed for England, where he remained until 1794. He fled from England to avoid the tyranny of his wife, who declared, both in word and practice, that "she must be a devil and govern." This needless and shameful flight only gives farther evidence of the weakness of the man's mind, and of an indecision of character which marked, but too legibly, his whole course. Mr. Winchester, on his arrival in this country from England, commenced his public labors again principally in New-England, and continued to preach in various places for some time, though not with that success which had formerly marked his course. He closed his career, and his body was committed to the dust, in Hartford, Conn., in 1797.

In the year 1785 a Convention of Universalists was called. It met at Oxford, Mass., on the 14th of September of that year.* (Mod. Hist. Univers., p. 364.) Mr. Winchester was chosen moderator, and Daniel Fisk clerk. This convention decided that their sect should be called the "Independent Christian Universalists." They also adopted certain articles of agreement, styled the "Charter of Compact." In this charter they agree to receive Christ as their master, and his word and spirit as their guide; and after various other provisions and declarations, we find the following:— "We will, as much as possible, avoid vain jangling and unnecessary disputation." How fully and constantly the sect have adhered to this article, let the files of their Trumpet and Magazine, their Star in the East, their Religious Inquirer, and other papers, as well as the record of their endless controversies, testify. All will prove that there is no sect in the United States so entirely given up to "jangling" and "disputation" as these same Universalists.

The meeting at Oxford resulted in the establishment of the "General Convention of Universalists," which, since that time, has held

* It is a fact somewhat interesting, that while the Universalists were holding their jubilee in New-Haven, just fifty years after the convention at Oxford, the Methodists were occupying the Universalist church in Oxford with almost constant meetings. A great revival, at that time, spread through the town; and many, who had long been Universalists, experienced religion, and became members of the church of Christ. Thus, like the new verdure, fresher and more vigorous, God causes the truth to spring up upon the very soil which the fires of error have desolated.

an annual session. This convention appears to have the general oversight of the societies, and provides for the prosperity of the cause; while each society retains, within itself, all authority in its own special affairs. At the meeting of the convention, in 1803, the following profession of faith was adopted, viz.:—

"Art. 1. We believe that the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, contain a revelation of the character of God; and of the duty, interest, and final destination of all mankind.

"Art. 2. We believe that there is one God, whose nature is love, revealed in one Lord Jesus Christ, by one Holy Spirit of grace, who will finally restore the whole human family to holiness and happiness.

"Art. 3. We believe that holiness and true happiness are inseparably connected, and that believers ought to be careful to maintain order and practise good works; for these things are good and profitable unto all men."*

It is, perhaps, unnecessary to particularize in this sketch the various doings of the convention from year to year, as they bear but very little relation to Universalism as a system of theology.

The next movement of considerable importance was the formation of the "Massachusetts Association of Universal Restorationists," which took place in the year 1831, on the 16th of August, at Mendon, Mass. The convention was attended by Rev. Paul Dean, David Pickering, Charles Hudson, Adin Ballou, Lyman Maynard, Nathaniel Wright, Philemon R. Russel, Seth Chandler, and several laymen; and they unanimously adopted the following preamble and resolutions, viz.:—

"Forasmuch as there has been, of late years, a GREAT departure from the sentiments of the first Universalist preachers in this country by a majority of the General Convention, the leaders of which do now arrogate to themselves the name of Universalists; and whereas we believe with Murray, Winchester, Chauncey, and the ancient authors who have written upon this subject, that REGENERATION, A GENERAL JUDGMENT, FUTURE REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, to be followed by the final restoration of all mankind to holiness and happiness, are fundamental articles of Christian faith, and that the modern sentiments of No Future accountability, connected with Materialism, are unfriendly to pure religion and subversive of the best interest of society; and whereas our adherence to the doctrines on which the General Convention was first established, instead of producing fair, manly controversy, has procured for us contumely, exclusion from ecclesiastical councils, and final expulsion, and this without proof of any offence on our part against the rules of the order or laws of Christ: it is therefore—

"*Resolved*, That we hereby form ourselves into a religious community for the defence and promulgation of the doctrines of revelation in their original purity, and the promotion of our own improvement,—to be known by the name of the Massachusetts Association of Universal Restorationists.

* These articles of faith were drafted by Rev. Walter Ferris, who was a firm believer in the doctrine of limited future punishment. This fact is sufficiently indicative of the intention of the articles, and shows, most conclusively, that they who afterward denied the doctrine of limited future punishment, departed from the system agreed to by the General Convention of 1803.

"*Resolved*, That the annual meetings of this body be holden in Boston on the first Wednesday and following Thursday in January.

Signed, "CHAS. HUDSON, *President.*
"NATH. WRIGHT, *Secretary.*"

On the 17th of September, 1831, the Trumpet, the organ of the Ultra-Universalists, as they now very properly began to be denominated, came out with an article entitled "The New Sect," in which sophistry and evasion were mingled with the bitterest reproaches against the Restoration Convention and the gentlemen composing it. This was replied to by Rev. Adin Ballou, in two articles of nearly seven columns of the Independent Messenger, a paper then printed at Mendon, and in the interest of the Restoration party. The warfare was carried on for some time with considerable zeal and skill, and with no little acrimony; until, tired of contention, the parties desisted from farther attempts upon each other's reputation.*

The Restorationists, doubtless, had all of justice and right upon their side, and were perfectly consistent and praiseworthy in the formation of their association; while the members of the General Convention cannot be too much censured for their attempts to crush the system which they themselves formerly advocated, while, at the same time, they professed not to have departed from the principles of the Convention of 1803. At the present time the Universalist body is divided into two principal parties, viz.: the Ultra-Universalists, who, following Hosea Ballou, deny the doctrine of punishment after death, &c.; and the Universal Restorationists, who hold to a general judgment, and a limited punishment beyond the grave. The former class is much the most numerous, and includes the larger part of all the societies in America.

The latter community can lay claim to a morality and respectability in their communion of which the other class is generally devoid. It is a fact, too, somewhat interesting, that between the Restorationists and New-England Unitarians there is but a slight difference of sentiment; and both these bodies may, without any great revolution, in the course of a few years be made one.

Universalism has increased considerably in this country since its introduction by Murray. There is not, however, probably a very general organization of churches by this sect. The friends of the system, with some exceptions, are gathered into legal societies, in which the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper are not administered, nor any thing like church discipline executed. There are, however, in some of the principal towns and cities, churches organized, and the ordinances of the church are attended to.

Under such circumstances it is very difficult to determine the num-

* It is to this controversy that we are indebted for the means of determining who are Universalists, a question that has sometimes been difficult to solve. The General Convention held its annual session for 1831 in September, one month after the movement at Mendon. Hosea Ballou presided. The Convention was holden at Barre, Vt. Among other proceedings, the following resolution, drafted by Thos. Whittemore, was adopted:—

"*Resolved*, That we consider all persons to be Universalists who believe in the final reconciliation of all men to holiness and happiness."

This was, doubtless, designed to conciliate the Restorationists, while it legitimatized Ultraism. Whatever it might have been designed for, it is invaluable; as it marks so legibly, and distinguishes so clearly, Universalists from all others.

ber of Universalists with exactness. They state that they have six hundred and fifty-three societies, two hundred and forty-four meeting-houses, and three hundred and seventeen preachers. In this they are, doubtless, correct. They claim, in addition, that the number of persons connected with them amounts to five hundred thousand. This may be a fair estimate, and it may not. There are, doubtless, many who attend worship among them who are not Universalists in sentiment; and we think it unfair for them to class all persons in their congregations with themselves, while all other sects claim only those who are within the pale of the church, and enjoy its privileges as actual members.

Having thus sketched the secular history of Universalism, we proceed to notice the several treatises on the subject which have appeared in this country. The first, as we have before said, was Seigvolk's Everlasting Gospel, which appeared in 1753, at Germantown, Pa.

The works, also, of Stonehouse have been read in this country somewhat extensively, though, it is believed, in an English edition.

The writings of Elhanan Winchester, particularly his "Dialogues on Universal Restoration," and his "Lectures on the Prophecies," were, at one time, widely circulated, and assisted much toward establishing the sentiments he entertained in the United States; but they have long since ceased to be text-books, and the mantle of oblivion will soon cover them.

Of American productions in favor of this system, the work of Dr. Joseph Young, of New-York, who, in 1793, published a treatise entitled "Calvinism and Universalism Contrasted," claims precedence in the order of time. This same author also wrote a treatise, in which he attempted to refute the physical system of Sir Isaac Newton. Probably one work was written with as much wisdom, and proved quite as successful, as the other. Indeed it would seem, from the statements of the Modern History of Universalism, (page 381,) that the warmth with which the first work was written was its principal recommendation.

The next book claiming our notice is a posthumous publication from the pen of the Rev. Dr. Joseph Huntington, of Coventry, Conn., which was issued from the press of Samuel Green in New-London, in 1796. It was entitled "Calvinism Improved, or the Gospel Illustrated as a System of Real Grace, issuing in the Salvation of All Men." The precise time when this work was written is not known. The author, as appears from the Introduction, intended to publish it soon after its composition, but finally, as the date of the publication shows, he concluded to defer it; and, in the latter part of his days, as those who knew him assure me, he preached the same Calvinistic doctrine which had marked his earlier ministration. He was not even suspected of holding the tenets of his book until after his death, when, in the examination of his papers, the manuscript was found. A Restorationist in the neighborhood earnestly besought the privilege of publishing the book. For a time he was refused, until Mrs. Huntington, overcome by his representations, at last consented; but such was her view of the dangerous tendency of the work, that, with the assistance of her friends, she afterward collected and burned all the copies she could possibly obtain. The design of

Dr. Huntington probably was, that the work should never appear; but his name, by the importunity of a misguided man, has been branded with the effects of his work. He attempts to show in his book simply this: that the decree of election embraces all men, and, consequently, all will be saved. The book probably never had a great influence, and will never be called from its resting-place into use. It is a dry work, wearying us by its prolixity, as well as by its uninteresting style.

The book of Dr. Huntington was reviewed, in a short time after its publication, by Rev. Nathan Strong, of Hartford, Conn., in a treatise entitled, "The Doctrine of Eternal Misery reconcileable with the Benevolence of God, and a Truth plainly asserted in the Scriptures."

This was, in its turn, subjected to the ordeal of criticism by Rev. Dan Foster, A. M., of Charlestown, N. H. His book bore the name of "A Critical and Candid Examination of a late publication, entitled, The Doctrine of Eternal Misery reconcileable with the Infinite Benevolence of God."

From what can be learned of the review and reply, they are neither of them of high merit. Both have long since gone out of notice.

Another author, more eminent than those above named, has also contributed his mite to the support of the system. Dr. Charles Chauncey, at the time pastor of the First Congregational Church in Boston, about the year 1757, wrote a work in defence of the doctrine of Universal Restoration. He did not dare to publish it, however, for some time. Like Murray before him, he felt the weight of the motive which a good salary, an easy situation, and a large circle of friends afforded; and these he would not sacrifice for the truth. He published, however, in 1782, a pamphlet, the object of which was to sound the public on the subject, so as to ascertain whether it would be prudent to affix his name to his larger work.

Dr. Samuel Mather, of Boston, and Dr. Gordon, of Roxbury, both attacked the pamphlet, and the whole tide of public feeling turned against it. This settled the question in the mind of Chauncey, and he determined not to send out his work in his own name, nor from an American press. But still, the loss of so great a literary labor seemed too much, and, accordingly, the doctor sent his work to London, where it appeared anonymously in 1784. The younger President Edwards came out with a reply, entitled, "The Salvation of All Men Strictly Examined," &c. This is the ablest of all the early works against Universalism. It is unanswered and unanswerable, and forms a most valuable addition to the library of the theological student.

There seems to have been a period of some years, just subsequent to 1786, in which few if any authors favored the world with the result of their lucubrations upon this subject. In latter times, however, many books have been published on all sides of the question, and the doctrine is undergoing, with many, a most thorough investigation.

Hosea Ballou stands at the head of modern Universalist authors by general consent. He has written a "Treatise on the Atonement," several volumes of sermons, and, lately, "An Examination of the

Doctrine of Future Retribution." These, with many fugitive pieces and some smaller works, form the sum of his productions.

"As a writer, Mr. Ballou cannot lay claim to even ordinary merit. There is a looseness and want of depth and chasteness about his style, an appearance of sophistry and evasion in his arguments, and a tedious and even disgusting repetition of the same illustrations, especially those of the family relation and the history of Joseph, which will secure for all his productions a place in oblivion almost as soon as his head is pillowed in death; and it is a matter of astonishment that even now works of so little merit in any view can exert so great an influence.

Thomas Whittemore, principal editor of the Trumpet and Universalist Magazine, stands next on the list of Universalist writers. His principal works are, "The Ancient and Modern Histories of Universalism," and "Notes on the Parables." Neither of these works ranks high. The first is doubtless the best; and even this does not attract a very general notice.

"Balfour's Inquiries," perhaps, claim attention next. These, as well as his answer to Hudson, seem, of late, to have gone into disrepute. They are, among books, what Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, heroes of the time of Richard II., were among generals: powerful without strength, influential without merit; and, in their illiteracy, the guiding spirits of a blinded host.

The before-named are Ultra-Universalist authors. The Universal Restorationist sentiment has found lately, in Charles Hudson, its principal defender. He wrote, a few years since, the treatise to which Mr. Balfour replied. Of the character of this work we are not able to speak definitely, having had no opportunity of perusing it.

Besides the books already named which have been published against this system, there are others of modern date. Rev. Bernard Whitman has given to the world a treatise, entitled, "Letters to a Universalist," which is well written; and presents the argument against Ultra-Universalism in such a form, and with such force, as to render it truly valuable. Mr. Whitman was probably a Restorationist, though a clergyman of the Unitarian Church; but he has, nevertheless, struck a blow at Ultraism from which it cannot soon recover. The principal treatises, however, against this error, as well as the strongest arguments in its favor, are to be found in the records of the public controversies which have taken place. Of these there have been several. One was carried on about ten years since, in the Trumpet and Universalist Magazine, between Rev. O. Scott, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Thomas Whittemore, editor of the Trumpet. This was kept up until the columns were unceremoniously closed against Mr. Scott, and it, of course, was broken off before the parties had finished their work. Mr. Whittemore afterward had an oral discussion with Rev. Mr. Braman, of Danvers. This took place in 1833. The report does no honor to either party. The speeches on both sides were full of the most contemptible nonsense and quibbling; and well was it for common sense, so beleaguered by these clerical wranglers, when the sun went down and the discussion ended.

In the autumn of 1827 a public disputation took place in the town of Springfield, Mass., between Rev. T. Merritt, of the Methodist

Episcopal Church, and Lucius R. Paige. Their discussion was carried on by lectures and rejoinders, which were read in the Methodist Episcopal Church. It was on all hands acknowledged that Universalism was worsted in this contest. Indeed, it has never since then been able to sustain itself in that region until within a short time. Of late one weak society has been formed, a few miles from the place of dispute.

Between Rev. Luther Lee, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Rev. Mr. Morse, a Universalist, another discussion took place in the state of New-York, a year or two since. The whole has since been published by Mr. Lee.

Rev. Ezra Styles Ely has engaged with Rev. Abel C. Thomas, and Rev. Mr. Breckenridge with the same person. The matter of these various disputations given to the world, forms the most valuble resource from which the oppugners or the defenders of Universalism can draw their arguments. They remain, too, and ever will remain, imperishable records of the weakness of error, and of the power of truth and the triumph of sound theology, over sophistry, bigotry, and delusion.

Of course Universalists do not, and will not, admit all this. Even as they fly from the field, they raise on the lance's point the armor of a fallen foe, whose dead body they stripped in their retreat, and triumphantly point to it as the most indubitable evidence that they have come off conquerors, and more than conquerors, from the field of strife. But let them, we say, substantiate their claim by remaining upon that field, and showing themselves able to keep it; not by shouting victory in the confusion of retreat.

Our next work is to look into the history of Universalism as a system of theology, and to ascertain what changes have taken place in it, if any; and how those changes stand related to Christian theology.

Four different theories have been advanced and defended since the introduction of Universalism into this country. These, in the hands of different persons, have been subjected to a thousand modifications and modes of defence, the history of which cannot be given in this short essay. We confine ourselves, therefore, to the principal features of the heresy.

Murray, the father of American Restorationism, held to the proper divinity of Christ, the doctrine of atonement, spiritual regeneration, a general judgment, and the existence of both happiness and misery after death. But, while Mr. Murray admitted these doctrines, he connected with them some most singular tenets. A follower of Relly, like him, he contended, not that Christ suffered *instead* of us, but that we were so *united* with Christ as actually to be punished for our sins in his sufferings—that we suffered in his sufferings, or that his sufferings were ours.

He claimed, that if we were so connected with the first Adam as to sin in him, so we were so united with the second Adam as to suffer in him the penal consequences of our guilt. In establishing the fact of this union, the following, among other passages of Scripture, were relied on, viz.: "For we are members of his body, and of his flesh, and of his bones;" Eph. v, 3. "For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being

many, are one body, so also is Christ;" 1 Cor. xii, 12. "So we, being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another;" Rom. xii, 5. "I am crucified with Christ," &c.; Gal. ii, 20. As he claimed that the penalty of the law for all sin had been inflicted on us in the person of Christ, so he maintained that there could be, henceforward, no penal suffering for sin, but that all the evils coming upon the sinner are the natural effects of his acts, and are not at all measured by the moral nature of those acts. The misery, therefore, which he believed the wicked would suffer in the next world would not be a punishment, but rather the natural effect of their blindness and unbelief; so that, as soon as they believed, they would be received into heaven. The other doctrines named as helping to compose Mr. Murray's system, it is believed, he held as they are generally taught and understood.

Mr. Winchester, who had learned his Universalism from Seigvolk and Stonehouse instead of Relly, did not receive this doctrine of union and its consequences, but in all other particulars he agreed with Murray. Winchester believed that sinners might receive the penal consequences of their sins even now; that they would thus be punished in the coming world; and that the duration and measure of their pain would be in exact proportion to the demerit of the transgression. This penalty he believed to be inflicted by the will of God on account of sins already committed, and he held, in consequence, that the suffering would terminate, not when the sinner repented or believed, but when he had been punished during the period claimed by justice.

The difference, then, between Murray and Winchester, was this: Murray held that we were so united with Christ as to be punished in him; Winchester denied such a union. Murray taught that sin procures no punishment, but only some natural evils following upon that kind of action; Winchester believed that sin has its proper punishment in this and the future world. Murray limited misery in the future state by the blindness of the sufferer, and claimed that the pain ceased when the creature willed; Winchester limited it by the desert of the sinner, and insisted that it ended when God willed. Such were the points of their disagreement. It never caused, however, as we can learn, any disruption of feeling or effort, though it must be acknowledged that the systems differ very materially from each other.

These distinctions were the only ones known in the early days of Universalism in this country. But change, which sweeps over all, was to make its influence visible on these systems of doctrine; and Universalists, ceasing to be distinguished as followers of Winchester on the one hand, or of Murray on the other, were to assume new denominations and sentiments.

A heresy which has one principle fundamental to the system, may always be known by the constant changes which take place in the defence, the explanation, or the illustration of that principle. Truth is unchanging; and though there may be additions to the means of defence, and sometimes, perhaps, a slight difference in the arguments, in general all the reasons and facts which sustain the true assumption will remain the same—as changeless as the truth they establish. The argument once formed, and applied aright, is

incapable of refutation, and of course will need no new fashioning. But no valid argument can be brought to defend an error, and, therefore, one after another as they are brought they will be exploded; and unless the principle be given up, others must be created to supply the vacancy.

So it has been with Universalism. Its own friends were not satisfied with either the system of Murray or of Winchester. The arguments did not convince them, or, evidently, they would still be urged; and, in fine, there seemed, after years of examination, but a small portion of either theory which was worthy the name of truth. The principle that all will finally be holy and happy was not given up. This, to those who believed it, seemed a doctrine too glorious and heart-cheering to renounce; and it was still retained as a cherished idol.

What might have been anticipated took place. One by one the doctrines taught by the fathers of Universalism were consigned to the record of exploded propositions, and new hypotheses took their place.

The doctrines of the Trinity, the Atonement, Depravity, and Regeneration, as they are generally understood, ceased to be taught, and soon to be believed; and the whole body of Universalists became Unitarians. All this, however, was not the work of a moment. Years were spent in bringing about the change; but the work, though slowly, was effectually performed, and the old systems silently sunk into general disrepute, from which, among Universalists, they were never to rise again.

Here, then, we find the third system. It differs from the theories of Murray and Winchester by denying the doctrines of the Trinity, the Atonement, Regeneration, and others depending on these, and by maintaining the Unitarian notions upon these several points. It agrees with the old theories in asserting the doctrine of a general judgment and limited future punishment.

Of this last class are the modern Restorationists, in connection with the Massachusetts Universal Restorationist Association. There are also, it is believed, a considerable number of this faith in the fellowship of the General Convention of Universalists; and it is probable that the larger part of the Unitarian body in New-England are likewise strongly tinctured by the doctrine, if not entirely satisfied with it.

But the most considerable departure from ancient opinions remains to be noticed.

About the year 1818, Hosea Ballou, of Boston, and Edward Turner, of Charlestown, published, by agreement, a series of letters in the "Gospel Visitant," on the subject of future punishment. Turner defended the doctrine of the Restorationists; and Ballou, in opposition to him, maintained that there would be no suffering of any kind for any man after death.

This was a new sentiment, which the world never heard soberly defended until then, and its novelty excited attention. It was just the thing desired; and before it could be known if the doctrine was defensible, multitudes had staked their every eternal hope upon it.

There were some singular features about this controversy which deserve notice. Mr. Ballou declares, that when he sat down to

defend his proposition he was *not satisfied that it was true.* He had some thought that it might be, but he was not sure. He claims, that when he wrote his "Notes on the Parables" and the "Treatise on the Atonement," he had left entirely the doctrine of penal suffering; and was convinced that if suffering should take place in the future world it would be because men would be sinful there.

This he gave up during the discussion, and "became entirely satisfied that the Scriptures begin and end the history of sin in flesh and blood, and that, beyond this mortal existence, the Bible teaches no other sentient state but that which is called by the blessed name of life and immortality." (Mod. Hist. Univers., p. 337.)

How long this system had been in preparation we are unable to say. Probably, however, not long, as Mr. Ballou (who, doubtless, was the first man in the world who ever thought of it) tells us that he himself was not confirmed in the sentiment until this controversy took place. But whatever was the date of its origin, it is certain that in a few years after the discussion the great majority of the Universalists had become Ultra. So congenial was it with the feelings of unsanctified nature, that hundreds readily embraced it who before had believed in future punishment; and very many who had professed to be infidels, as well as those who neither professed nor believed any thing, also ranged themselves under its banners and became its defenders.

The system of Ultra-Universalism differs very materially from Universal Restorationism, and it may be proper to mark out more definitely the points of disagreement.

Ultra-Universalists teach that the first moment of consciousness after death will be one of supreme holiness and happiness, which will be without end.

Restorationists, on the contrary, hold that, in the case of millions, the first moment of consciousness will be one of suffering, and that this will continue for an unknown limited period.

Ultraists claim that the resurrection is but the putting on of immortality and blessedness upon the souls of all men. Restorationists that it is the bestowment of unsexual, indestructible, and immortal bodies, perfectly adapted to that state of existence, which bodies are to be the instruments of souls, as our bodies are here, and that these bodies will be given alike to the just and the unjust.

Ultraists teach that there will be no judgment after death. Restorationists that there will be a most strict and impartial judgment passed upon all men, in which the righteous will be justified and the wicked condemned.

The former class maintain that there is no connection between this and the future existence; that neither will vice, virtue, suffering, nor enjoyment in this state benefit or injure us in that; but that we shall be in that state in every respect as though this had not been.

The latter claim that there is a direct and sensible connection of the two states; that the virtue and suffering of this state procure their actual reward, and the vice its positive punishment, in the eternal world.

Ultraists hold that the benefits of Christ's mission are all confined to this present world. Restorationists believe that the effects of that mediation will be experienced in an incomprehensible importance

in the world to come; that, in the unknown ages of futurity, Christ shall be the great deliverer of perishing spirits.

The former teach, that *sin is its own immediate adequate punishment.* The latter avow that it is not, but that its heaviest punishment is often very remote, and forms no part of the sin.

All sin, say the first, proceeds from the body, or is caused by the animal propensities, which alone are depraved and unholy. All sin, say the latter, proceeds from the soul or heart, and is the product of the will, in which the depravity of our natures inheres.

Ultraists believe that man never sins, except when the animal overcomes the spiritual man; so that the sinner is more unfortunate than guilty. Restorationists claim, that under such conditions, man never sins, as it cannot be wrong to do what cannot be avoided; but that he always sins voluntarily, knowing the act to be wrong, and being able to abstain from the specific wickedness of which he is guilty.

Ultraists believe, farther, that man can attain to perfect moral virtue only in the absence of temptation. Restorationists, that temptation may call forth and strengthen the moral virtues, so as to be made a means of attaining to holiness. The former class hold that faith, repentance, and moral discipline, appertain only to the present state. The latter, that they are extended to the next. Lastly, Ultra-Universalists believe that man, considered as a rational soul, is *essentially divine,* being the offspring of God by direct generative emanation. While Restorationists teach that man's nature, so far from being divine, is inferior to that of angels, and that instead of proceeding from God by generative emanation, it is a creation by the power of his word, in the same sense as is the human body.

Such, then, are the differences between these two classes of modern Universalists, and such are the doctrines they hold and teach.

This is not the place to discuss the merits of the theories which have passed before us, or to reason for or against them; but a few reflections in conclusion may be, perhaps, admissible.

The first difficulty which meets us is this: Universalism does not appear to have been received by the founder of Christianity. The earliest date which the Restorationism of the present time can show, is 1800. And under *any* form, it did not exist until the days of Origen, in the third century. If the *present* system of Restorationism, therefore, be the true doctrine of the Bible, we are under the necessity of believing that the world never had the truth until 37 years ago; or if the *oldest* form of the doctrine be admitted as the proper one, not only must the moderns acknowledge that their present views are incorrect, but they must admit also, that for more than two hundred years after Christ, the whole world was wrapped in heathenish darkness and ignorance. But if these difficulties make against Restorationism, what will be said of Ultraism? There has been, indeed, an attempt made, to show that the doctrine of no future punishment was held by the Gnostics, who, the writer said, were "the immediate successors of the apostles," and, as he probably supposed, were therefore possessed of the true doctrine, (Univer. Mag. of May 28, 1831.) But the idea that Ultra-Universalism is a Scripture doctrine, and yet that its first adherents were the Gnostics, is about as absurd as to talk of an episcopal succession through Pope Joan.

If the system cannot be suspended upon this peg of antiquity, it must fall into the year 1818, or thereabouts, and claim Hosea Ballou for its author; and then how gracefully will it stand out to receive our homage as the doctrine of the apostles, and, more than all, of Jesus Christ; and with what strict propriety Mr. Ballou can claim more honor from us and from posterity than Martin Luther himself, since he only substituted one error for another, while Mr. Ballou has dug out of the ruins of eighteen centuries the lost truth, and restored it again to a deceived and suffering world, saving them thereby from their delusion and misery, and bringing to light before them life and immortality. The very modern style of this system is evidence against it; for though we are not disposed to plead prescription, it can hardly be supposed that God, ever good and watchful over the interests of his creatures, would have allowed them to remain in ignorance of the truth so universally and so long.

There is another fact which has already been alluded to, which ought not to be forgotten. It is the vast multiplicity of changes in the systems founded on this one proposition, All men will finally be holy and happy. Origen, the German Anabaptists, the Libertines of Holland, the English Unitarians, the Rellyan and the Winchesterian Restorationists, the Modern Restorationists, and the Ultra-Universalists, who have as bodies, or in part, embraced the doctrine, have all done so on different grounds, and defended themselves by different arguments.

We certainly may be allowed to ask, why is this? Does the truth require such change? or is this rather an error, which can never be successfully defended, and therefore constantly calls for new experiments? We certainly incline to the latter opinion, and see not how we can do otherwise. A difficulty growing out of these changes, turns much to the account of Universalism. One never knows what to refute. He may begin with a theory which has had volumes written to illustrate and defend it; but, before his refutation is completed, the system may undergo some new metamorphosis, and his labor is lost.

The time, however, we think is coming, when all possible changes will have been passed through, and when each having received a proper condemnation, the whole system of absurdity and error will go into merited oblivion.

But this will not take place as yet. For a little season this heresy will lift up itself on high. For a season its friends will rejoice in the midst of their triumph. Perhaps the flood of fire will roll over all the churches, withering and destroying every green thing. But other days shall follow those of trial. Humbled before God by the prevalence of error, hardened for the warfare by the miseries of persecution, having a piety purified from every corruption by the necessity of the times, and armed by Heaven for the holy work, the children of the Lord shall bestir themselves—shall put on strength—and the truth shall be made glorious in the eyes of all men; while error, hurled from the throne of its power, shall sink into the pit from whence it came up, and men shall rejoice together, that the destroyer of the Lord's heritage has perished for ever.

ART. III.—*The Elements of Political Economy.* By FRANCIS WAYLAND, D. D. President of Brown University, and Professor of Moral Philosophy. New-York: Leavitt, Lord, and Co., 1837. 1 vol., 8vo., pp. 472.

By Professor HOLDICH, of the Wesleyan University.

OUR design in this article is to draw the attention of our readers to this important branch of science. Into mere matters of abstract science, it is not the intention of this work very extensively to enter. Its department is of rather a different character. But there are some sciences so intimately connected with the happiness and with the morals of mankind; so closely allied to the interests of religion, and the advancement of the divine purposes on earth, that we should be justly chargeable with criminal neglect as public journalists, should we pass over them in silence. Such we conceive to be the case in regard to the science of Political Economy; and if we can only succeed in conveying to our reader the impressions on our own mind in relation to it, he will admit that it is every way worthy of his attention. Let it be remembered, therefore, that our object is only to excite inquiry, and lead to investigation: we write for the uninitiated, not for the adept. If the latter find but little in this article to interest or entertain him, our expectations will not be disappointed.

But what is Political Economy? The word *economy* is compounded of two Greek words, οἶκος, a house, and νομος, law, and therefore signifies the law of the household, or domestic management. It is used altogether in reference to the production, consumption, and distribution of wealth. The epithet, *political*, extends the application of economy to the entire body politic—the whole community. Political economy, therefore, is the science of public wealth, and treats upon the production, consumption, and distribution of wealth, among the entire community.

But what is wealth? We answer, every thing material that has exchangeable value; every thing that contributes to the comfort, the happiness, the improvement, or convenience of human beings, and for which men are willing to give value in return. It has been the mistake of some, to consider wealth as consisting only of money. But money is only an item of wealth, and is valuable just in proportion to its utility. The farmer knows that his horses and ploughs are a part of his wealth, as much as the money in his bureau; and the merchant knows that the cash in his till, and the goods upon his shelves, are alike parts of his wealth. This will prepare us in part to appreciate the assertion, that Political Economy is connected with human happiness; since, upon its being correctly understood, and followed out in practice, depend, in a great degree, the elements of our physical happiness, and the means of our intellectual and moral improvement. How it affects our religious interests, we shall see more clearly hereafter.

From what has been already said, we may see, to some extent, the immense importance of this science to the statesman. Statesmen are the guardians of the public prosperity, and they generally assume more or less the office of directing and encouraging public production. If, then, they do not understand the laws of production, if they be ignorant of the true sources and means of creating wealth,

or, in other words, if they be ignorant of the principles of Political Economy, how shall they know what measures to adopt? How can they understand the true interests of the country? How shall they know when to encourage, or when to repress, any peculiar modes of production; whether it would be safe to do either; or, if it would, what are the most effectual means for gaining the end? A statesman, ignorant of Political Economy, is like an empiric in medicine, who knows nothing of the science of physiology. If he prescribe remedies for his patient, he does it altogether in the dark, and at hazard. Ignorant of the laws of our animal constitution, he may administer stimulants, where we need sedatives; or he may prescribe depletion, when we need a tonic; and at the very time when he designs to restore the health of the patient, he may be dealing death-blows to his constitution. Such is precisely the relation of the incompetent statesman to the economic* condition of the country. And yet, I greatly fear, that if every statesman who is defective in this matter were to resign his seat, we should have no small number of vacancies to fill.

Hence we see again, that Political Economy is a science which ought to be generally diffused throughout the land. We have no civil officers by hereditary right. They must be found among the people at large. And as every man is eligible to office, every one ought to furnish himself with the requisite qualifications, or else renounce all claim to such privileges. The man who suffers himself to be put in office who is destitute of the knowledge proper to his station, sacrifices the interests of his country to a criminal selfishness. If this be not *knavery*, we leave others to find a better name for it.

But farther, civil officers are but the selected agents of the people: the people, therefore, in respect to them, are the principal. Now, in all such relations, it is requisite that the principal have at least some general knowledge of the subject on which he requires the assistance of an agent. If he have not, he can neither trust his own judgment in the selection of his agent, nor exercise a judicious supervision of his doings. This is the case in civil affairs more than in any other department of agencies. The skill and knowledge of the lawyer and the physician are more within reach of our examination. The mode of treatment is submitted directly to our personal scrutiny; prescription and result are more obviously connected; cause and effect are open to investigation. In legislation it is not so. Here, causes and effects are wider apart; there are more intervening agencies; the effects of a certain measure are so blended with other measures, and certain results so liable to be assigned to false causes, that it requires much greater stretch of thought, and breadth of survey, to take in and comprehend the whole. Hence arise the ridiculous notions about legislative capacity to encourage domestic industry; the constant harpings upon the balance of trade; the uses and value of money; all of which, and many other points, are so frequently the subjects of demagogue declamation, and which have so imposing an appearance to the

* I must beg indulgence for using this word in an unauthorized sense. But I know no other that conveys the precise meaning.

minds of the ignorant. Were the knowledge of this science more widely diffused, we should not see men so often elevated to office for merely popular blandishments, for a certain glare and tinsel of character, nor yet for the possession of mere military or professional talents. Nor would our truly competent statesmen so often feel themselves compelled to truckle to popular prejudice and clamour, and enact laws at variance with the true interests of the nation, because the people will have them. Ignorance is the bane of a republic, and the fruitful mother of all commotions and disasters.

But what has the science of national wealth to do with our moral and religious condition? "Much every way." It is universally admitted, I believe, that comfort in life, and easy circumstances, are favorable to good morals. That in proportion to the facilities of subsistence, and the multiplication of the comforts of domestic life, and the improvement of the social state, the temptations to certain kinds of vice are diminished. Hence we generally, not to say invariably, see a thriving community in a healthful moral condition, and comparatively ready to attend to the claims of piety. On the other hand, poverty, wretchedness, and vice, generally go together; and a community of such persons is almost inaccessible to religious influence. It is perfectly natural to draw our conclusion as to the moral state of a village or hamlet, from its external appearance. Where every thing seems to smile in prosperity, where neatness, comfort, and good taste prevail, we expect to find a virtuous and happy people. Where we see much physical misery, we expect a proportionate moral and social degradation. Such is the established connection in our thoughts; and it is founded as well on principles of sound philosophy, as on the basis of Christian truth. I do not deny that there may be occasional exceptions; but this would not overturn a general law, nor disprove the general tendencies of which we speak. The exceptions may be always otherwise accounted for.

The connection between national wealth and national religion is not less obvious and intimate. We have already said that competency is favorable to morality; and, by withdrawing temptations to vice, and leaving the mind free from many distressing anxieties, it lays the heart more open to religious truth; and the mind is more at liberty to reflect upon a future world, when the claims of the present become less urgent. It was the judicious prayer of the wise son of Jakeh, "Give me neither poverty nor riches; feed me with food convenient for me; lest I be full and deny thee, and say, who is the Lord? Or lest I be poor, and steal, and take the name of my God in vain;" Prov. xxx, 8, 9. Now, Political Economy has for its object the general diffusion of competency and comfort. It directs us in the most profitable employment of industry and capital, and natural agencies. It teaches how to render the labor of the operative most productive, and it tends to make the wealth of the capitalist the encouragement and the reward of the industrious. Its tendency is to equalize the blessings of fortune, or at least to multiply the means of human comfort, happiness, and improvement, and more generally to diffuse them.

Again, it shows the connection which exists among the various

classes of society; the dependance and influence of each upon the other; the appropriate spheres of action and particular utility of the several branches of industry, agriculture, commerce, and manufactures; and the necessity of the several compartments into which these are subdivided, as, the science or theory, the use or application, and the labor or execution. Thus it loosens the prejudices with which the different classes view each other; it multiplies the human sympathies; it tightens the bands of the social compact. Now all this has an indirect connection with religion. It encourages the social influences which are most favorable to piety, and fosters those dispositions of the heart, in which no small share of piety consists. Thus we have additional evidence that Christianity is in accordance with man's temporal welfare, and that the laws of our physical and of our spiritual happiness are the emanations of the same benevolent mind.

How this subject is connected with the operation and extension of the Christian church, may be easily seen. According to the provisions of the gospel, the diffusion of religion is to be by human instrumentality; this demands human means, commensurate with the extent of the undertaking; and these means are the product of human industry and capital. The support of religious and benevolent societies, the publication of Bibles, tracts, and other books, the sending abroad of missionaries, and the employment of the various religious or benevolent agencies at home; in short, the whole material machinery of Christianity, are the result of a right application of these principles. In proportion as a nation is more abundant in the production of these materials, or of the means whereby to acquire them, in the same proportion she will be able to do more for the cause of Christ. For it is very clear that a nation may go to the extent of her means in these undertakings, but can never go beyond them. Great Britain and the United States are prolific in the works of piety and benevolence, because they are abundantly productive in the means. Enlarge their productive agency, or give it a better direction, and make it more available, and with the same force of religious principle, they will make still greater exertions in the cause of truth.

Political Economy, moreover, corrects many of the errors into which we are apt to fall in regard to missionary and other religious operations.

For instance, the enemies of religion say, that "by collecting so much money for these purposes, and sending it abroad, you help to empoverish our own land:" and this the Christian, perhaps, admits, but regards it as a sacrifice on our part to be submitted to for the sake of piety. The principle of the Christian shows his benevolence; but it is altogether gratuitous, and founded in error. Of all the money collected by the Christian churches for religious purposes, how much of it goes out of the country? Certainly a very small part. How then is it employed? Why, in printing books at home, making paper, founding type, building offices for agencies, paying the salaries and supporting the families of home agents, printers, clerks, porters, and laborers of various descriptions. How many hundreds, might I not say thousands, of persons are, directly or indirectly, supported in whole or in part by the Ame-

rican Bible Society, Sunday School Union, and by the Book Concern of the Methodist Episcopal Church? Very little of the money goes out of the country, except the mere salaries of the missionaries; and possibly these are not paid in money, but in drafts on some foreign house; or, it may be, a considerable portion of it is paid in articles of our own manufacture, which serve to encourage our own industry.

But, says the objector, "if you do not send the money, you send its value in something else, and this amounts to the same thing." Observe, the Christian religion necessarily embraces all the elements of civilization, teaches the arts, and provides for the wants of civilized life. It has been long ago demonstrated, that Christianity and civilization are inseparable. Now let us hear what the celebrated Political Economist, M. Say, teaches, though without any intended reference to this subject. "The position of a nation, in respect of its neighbors, is analogous to the relation of one of its provinces to the others, or of a country to the town; *it has an interest in its prosperity, being sure to profit by their opulence.* The government of the United States, therefore, acted most wisely in their attempt, about the year 1802, to civilize their savage neighbors, the Creek Indians. The design was to introduce habits of industry among them, and make them producers, capable of carrying on a barter with the States of the Union; for there is nothing to be got by dealing with a people that have nothing to pay." (*Say's Political Economy*, p. 82. Philadelphia, 1832.) Now, it is no matter whether he was correct or not, as to the "*design*" of the United States in civilizing the Indians; since it is the *result* that we are looking at. And as little does it matter, whether the nations civilized be beyond the Rocky Mountains or the Atlantic Ocean; since the effect of opening a trade with them amounts to the same thing. If a nation can raise what we want, and we can raise what they want, the advantage of trading together is mutual; but the advantage to us of trading with them becomes greater as they become more wealthy, i. e., in proportion as they raise more products, and have more means to purchase our materials. The advantage is twofold: they yield us a larger supply of what we want, and thus multiply our comforts; and they take a larger quantity of our products, and thereby encourage our industry.

Now Christianity necessarily produces civilization, increases the wants and physical happiness of men, and enlarges their productive agency. If, therefore, in sending the gospel to a pagan country we do all this, we create a market, a vent, for our own commodities. We send them books, missionaries, schools, clothing, utensils, machinery; and we receive in return, tea, coffee, sugar, ivory, logwood, mahogany, furs, yams, or whatever else may be the productions of the country. All know that the immense trade in silk had its origin in missionary labor; and the facilities for obtaining African products are greater, through the Christian colonies on her coasts, than they ever were before.

But the objector says again, "may we not make greater gains out of these people in their savage state?" Not unless wrong and injustice, cheating and knavery, are good policy. If we are satisfied with fair trade, we shall find it more profitable to trade with them when civilized, than while savage, for the reason before given; they will

have, on the one hand, more wants; and, on the other, more to buy with. Moreover, there is no risk in asserting, that to trade fairly with a civilized nation, is vastly more profitable than all the cheating or overreaching that can be practised on barbarians. The trade with Great Britain is a source of greater profit, and supplies us with more comforts, than all the trade carried on with all savage nations put together.

It will be understood, I hope, that I am not urging a motive to missionary exertion, but only removing an objection frequently brought against it. It shows, that while immense good is done abroad, no serious injury is felt at home.

It has been common among a certain class to defend luxury and profusion, on the ground that they contribute to the support of the poor. Nay, we have sometimes known clerical dignitaries, of whose intelligence we should have expected better things, assume the same ground.

Let us again hear the teachings of the Political Economist already quoted, and whose voice may, perhaps, have the greater force with some, because it was not from any religious predilection that he advanced these sentiments.

"Vanity may take pride in idle expense, but will ever be held in no less contempt by the wise, on account of its pernicious effects, than it has been all along for the motives by which it is actuated.

"These conclusions of theory have been confirmed by experience. Misery is the inseparable companion of luxury. The man of wealth and ostentation squanders upon costly trinkets, sumptuous repasts, magnificent mansions, dogs, horses, and mistresses, a portion of value, which, vested in productive occupation, would enable a multitude of willing laborers, whom his extravagance now consigns to idleness and misery, to provide themselves with warm clothing, nourishing food, and household conveniences. The gold buckles of the rich man leave the poor one without shoes to his feet; and the laborer will want a shirt to his back, while his rich neighbor glitters in velvet and embroidery." (*Say's Political Economy*, pages 369, 370. Philadelphia, 1832.)

The truth is, that whatever we expend upon one kind of production, takes from us just so much means of encouraging another kind; and the demand for any class of articles turns labor to their production. The man who spends his money in fine houses, furniture, equipage, and jewellery, has so much the less to spend on really useful and improving objects. If the demand for the latter were increased, and the demand for the former lessened, they who make a livelihood by the one, must devote themselves to the production of the other. It would, therefore, only be a change of employments. Instead of gaining a livelihood by fabricating articles which do no one any good, he would accomplish the end, by making such as add to the convenience, the comfort, or improvement of society.

Nor is this all. The larger the portion of labor devoted to any kind of production, the greater will be the quantity produced, and then the price is proportionably lowered. Hence a greater amount of them will be brought within reach of a larger portion of society, and in the same ratio, the means of happiness and improvement will be multiplied and extended. Hence we see the truth of Say's observation, "the

gold buckles of the rich man leave the poor one without shoes to his feet." For the more there is made of superfluities, the less will be made of other things; the higher will be the price, and the farther will they be from the reach of the poorer classes. If all those things which are of no service to mankind were discontinued, who can estimate the advantages that would result? The necessaries, the conveniences, the comforts, and improvements of life, would be multiplied in number, increased in quantity, and reduced in price. Living would be cheaper, labor more available, books more plentiful, the arts and sciences more accessible, education more thorough and more general, and virtue, happiness, and religion, proportionably more advanced.

Thus we have an additional fact, that the inductions of Political Economy, and the teachings of Christianity, though proceeding by different routes, arrive eventually at the same end.

There is another point in Political Economy, bearing an intimate relation to the diffusion of Christianity, which is now exciting much attention among the devotees of the science. We allude to the freedom of international commerce. There is something, it seems to us, on a *primâ facie* view of this subject, that strikes the mind with a good deal of force. When we observe how admirably the wise Author of nature, and benevolent Parent of man, has adjusted the interests of the human family; how he has made the abundance of one portion to supply the deficiency of another; how one part of the globe is dependant on another: when we see how freedom of intercourse between nations promotes national friendship and good understanding, expands the human sympathies, and facilitates the extension of science, and, above all, of the means of salvation; I say, when we see all this, who would not regret that the interests of nations should abridge this intercourse by shackles on trade? Who would not desire that trade should be free as the winds, and expansive as the ocean? How, then, does this science respond to the philanthropy of the Christian heart, and to the apparent indications of nature's arrangements?

When the world was a little more short-sighted than it is now, the principle was adopted, that what one nation gains another loses, and that the enriching of one was the empoverishment of the other. Hence the different nations set their wits to work to turn the balance always in their own favor, not perceiving that if all nations were to act on this principle, there could be no trade at all. This was the occasion of protective duties, bounties, drawbacks, and the various other modes by which commerce has been fettered and restricted. To this same policy, in its direct or indirect bearings, is to be referred most of the international wars which have deluged Europe and America with blood, and squandered immense treasures, for the last hundred years. But a more ample induction of facts, and a more thorough investigation of the subject, have now demonstrated that this whole system was founded in error; that free trade is equally for the advantage of all nations, and that governments have performed the ridiculous part of wasting blood, and treasure, and life, for the sake of upholding a system at variance with their own interests, as well as the interests of all mankind. This view was incontrovertibly established by Adam Smith, in his Wealth of Nations, and by all the most celebrated Economists since, particularly by M. Say, the most popular and powerful writer

on this science which Europe has produced. Such, too, are the views now taken by the majority of the most distinguished European statesmen, and which are gaining daily accessions of strength both in Europe and in America.

Here, then, we have another proof of the harmony which exists among all the laws of the universe, and we see how clearly every thing seems to be a part of one great whole, bearing the most certain indications of unity of design, and all signifying their emanation from one glorious, all-pervading Intelligence.

This much we have written, in order to show the bearing of this science upon the interests of mankind. And surely, if it be found to have so intimate a connection with human virtue, intelligence, and happiness; if it exercise so great an influence on the condition and prospects of Christianity, and upon the eternal destiny of nations; if it so clearly exhibit the harmony of the divine economy, and the consenting voice of the laws of man's physical, intellectual, social, and spiritual nature; then is it not well deserving the attention of the pious mind, and must not a correct pursuit of it tend to improve alike the understanding and the heart? We wonder, therefore, that it has hitherto received so little attention from Christians, and especially from Christian ministers; a class of men remarkable for their benevolence and for their interest in every thing tributary to human welfare. Perhaps, however, this has been owing in part to the fact, that the science has too often been treated without any reference to its religious bearings, and the pious mind would not discover its religious or moral tendencies, because their attention was not specifically turned to them. If such be the fact, it only shows the necessity of having the sciences taught by religious men, in order to the full effect of either religion or science upon the world. How much, then, should we rejoice in the present prospects of education! Religion is becoming more and more familiar with our seats of literature; the voice of piety is now heard in our halls of instruction; God speaks to us in Revelation, and the consenting echo of all nature is gathered in reply; science becomes in reality the handmaid of piety, and both unite their influences to dignify and bless the family of man.

A statement of a few of the opinions which very generally prevailed even among intelligent persons, before the principles of political economy were developed and established, will confirm our assertions as to the importance of this science. For instance, it was the custom of Henry IV., of France, to grant edicts to his courtiers, favorites, and mistresses, laying tolls upon particular branches of trade for their exclusive benefit. To the count of Soissons he made a grant of fifteen pence a pound upon every bale of goods exported; though it was prevented from going into execution by the wisdom and energy of the duke of Sully. The king's defence of these modes of supporting his friends was, that *it cost him nothing!* (Memoirs of Sully, book 16, vol. 3, p. 162. Philadelphia, 1817.) M. Say tells us, that when Louis XIV. was advised to be more liberal in his charities, he replied, that royalty dispenses charity by profuse expenditure; a principle, by the way, that others besides kings have been ridiculous enough to maintain. The same author tells us, that Voltaire justified the expenses of the same extravagant monarch, on the ground that they served only to circulate money

in the community. And it is an argument frequently urged in England, that the taxes drawn from the people to pay the interest of the national debt, and supply the prodigality of the government, are no loss to the nation, because it all goes back again into the pockets of the people. Among ourselves there are errors not less glaring and absurd. Such is the notion that money alone is wealth, and that the wealth of a nation depends upon the amount of specie it contains. Hence also the notion that Congress can prevent the efflux, and encourage the influx of specie, merely by protective or prohibitory duties. We often hear it said, that if protective duties raise the prices of articles upon the consumer, those whose products are not so protected must raise their prices in proportion to the increased expense of living, and that then they gain in one way what they lose in another. Thus, if the farmer must pay more for his dry goods, groceries, and utensils, that he must sell his produce at a price proportionate; just as if the relative intensity of supply and demand had nothing to do with the fixing of the price; that is, as if it were a matter altogether at his own option. It is perfectly obvious, that by forcing industry and capital into channels to which we are not adapted, we can produce less of those things to whose production we are adapted. Of course, as the amount produced is lessened, the price will rise. Now, whenever the price rises beyond a certain mark, other nations will begin to supply us cheaper than we can produce. This has been the case the past year with bread-stuffs. So we have been paying an exorbitant price for our cloths and calicoes, just for the privilege of paying an exorbitant price for our bread! But we do not wish to anticipate what properly belongs to another part of this review: we only wished to point out some of the errors into which the nation is betrayed by an ignorance of the science in question, and to demonstrate the necessity of a more general attention to its doctrines.

From what has been said, it is no wonder that Political Economy should become a subject of investigation and inquiry in this country. Our attention has been drawn to it by the prominence it has gained in Europe; by the imposing and illustrious names arrayed in its cause; by its introduction into the most distinguished of their colleges and universities; and by the changes of theory it has produced among many, if not most of her leading statesmen. It has been *forced* upon our attention by the peculiar situation in which we have found our own country placed. We have recently had, and still have, some singular contradictions among us; an abundant supply of circulating medium, and yet all things raised to the highest prices; a country of immense territory and thin population, admirably adapted to the production of all kinds of agricultural produce, importing grain from the little island of England; the fuel of our own country requiring protective duties, to prevent competition from abroad; and now the whole country in a state of bankruptcy; while it is boastingly said, there never was as much money in the country before! "These are," indeed, "the days for the study of Political Economy." For such contradictions could never have taken place, had there not been somewhere, and in some way, a palpable violation of the laws of this science.

Political Economy can hardly be considered as past its infancy in the United States. Our most distinguished writers have only within

a few years begun to turn their attention to it. The first paper on the subject in the North American Review, appeared, I believe, in 1821; and is a review of a work on Political Economy published the previous year by David Raymond, Esq., counsellor at law, Baltimore. The author tells us it was written because he had nothing else to do, a fact which we might have gathered from some parts of the work without being told it; though in other parts, particularly on the balance of trade, we find some remarks worthy of attention. In 1826, Dr. Cooper, of Columbia College, Georgia, published a work on this science; and this was followed by another in Boston, in 1828, by Willard Phillips. In 1835, Professor Newman, of Bowdoin College, gave to the public the lectures which he had delivered on this subject to his classes. These works all possess their respective merits, but none of them seemed so far to come up to the views and wants of the American public as to be adopted as the basis of the science in our several collegiate institutions who have introduced this into their list of studies. For the want of a suitable American work we have been dependant on foreigners, and the works of Smith and Say have generally been in use. The inconvenience that would arise from this any one may perceive. Their works are adapted to foreign and older countries; their illustrations are not always familiar, and, therefore, want palpability; they treat upon many subjects in which we have little or no interest; and they omit others of primary importance to our country. Hence, an American text-book on Political Economy has always been a desideratum. This want, we think, has been well supplied by the work now before us, from the justly celebrated Dr. Wayland, President of Brown University.

Dr. Wayland's work, we think, will be found decidedly preferable, as a class-book in our country, to any other now extant. In his doctrines he is substantially the same as Smith, the father of the science; adopting, however, the improvements of Say. But he has the advantage over them both, to an American student, in the superior adaptation of his work to the condition and wants of our nation, and in the greater simplicity and clearness of his arrangement, and familiarity of his illustrations. His reasoning is lucid and forcible, and his style perspicuous and compact, well adapted to the purpose of a class-book; though, to the general reader, it may seem rather dry and uninteresting. We do not, however, consider the work without its defects; and of these, in the proper places, we may take a passing notice.

Our author divides his subject into four parts, viz.: Production, Exchange, Distribution, and Consumption. In making Exchange the subject of a distinct division, instead of including it, as is generally done, under Production, we think he has shown his wisdom; for exchange, although it increases the value of products, does not actually produce any thing, and therefore cannot, with propriety, be included under the head of Production. Besides, it is so important a process in economic affairs, and embraces such a variety of topics and principles, as justly to entitle it to a place by itself. The announcement of this division is preceded by some introductory remarks, explanatory of certain terms employed in the work.

On the subject of Production, Dr. Wayland treats, in the first

chapter, on capital:—its nature and forms; its changes and increase; productive and unproductive capital, fixed and circulating; and of money as an item of capital.

The second chapter treats on Industry:—the objects and forms of industry; the modes by which its productiveness is increased, viz., by the use of natural agents and by the division of labor; and the effects of the increased productiveness of industry.

On the different forms of human industry, we submit to the consideration of the reader the following extract from the work:—

"From what has been said, it is evident that the industry of which man is susceptible is capable of assuming three different forms, namely: Industry of *discovery or investigation;* Industry of *application or invention;* and Industry of *operation.*

"1. *Industry of Discovery or Investigation.* Under this class of laborers are to be comprehended those who discover the laws of nature, and those who make them known to mankind after they have been discovered. Newton labored in this department when he discovered the laws of gravitation, optics, and of the motions of the heavenly bodies; Franklin when he discovered the laws of electricity; and Sir Humphrey Davy when he discovered the alkaline bases, and the laws of their combination. The labor of each of these men is also of the same kind, when they made known these laws to the public. The labor of those who are called *philosophers* belongs to this class.

"2. *Industry of Invention or Application.* It is very rarely that a simple law can be of any use, without some adjustment by which we may avail ourselves of its advantages. Hence, a very important department of human industry is that which teaches us how to make the application of the principle so as to accomplish a particular purpose. Newton performed this labor when he invented the telescope; Hadley when, by means of the quadrant, he applied the laws of light to the measurement of angles; Franklin when he invented the conductor, or lightning-rod; Sir Humphrey Davy when he invented the safety-lamp; and Fulton when he invented that modification of the steam engine by which vessels may be propelled through the water.

"Under this class, I think, may also be comprehended professional labor, generally. The business of the clergyman is to teach us in what manner we may avail ourselves of the *moral laws* of the Creator. The lawyer teaches us how to avail ourselves of the laws of that *civil society* of which we are the members. The physician teaches us how to obey the *physiological laws* under which we are created, so that we may be relieved from sickness or preserved in health.

"3. To the third class of human industry belong all those who *put forth the physical effort* necessary, in order to create the values desired. They are the laborers who produce those changes, either in elementary form, in aggregate form, or in place, of which we have already spoken, and they compose by far the most numerous class of society.

"It may here be remarked, that two of these forms of labor are frequently performed by the same person. For instance, he who discovers a law sometimes also teaches us how to apply it. Thus,

as we have already shown, Sir Isaac Newton, Franklin, and Sir Humphrey Davy, were all of them both discoverers and inventors; that is, they performed both the first and the second kinds of industry. Thus, the second and third are also frequently united; that is, the individual who labors at a particular operation also invents some machine by which a particular process in that operation is improved. Thus, Sir Richard Arkwright, a mechanic, invented the spinning machinery now in common use; and, in general, many of our most important inventions have been made by operative laborers. And there can be no doubt that, if a knowledge of the laws of nature were more generally diffused throughout this class of society, the progress of invention would be inconceivably more rapid. I know of nothing which would promise more for the general improvement of the useful arts, than a wider diffusion of the knowledge of principles among those whose business it is to employ those principles in their daily practice."

The above extract will serve to show the pertinacity and familiarity of our author's illustrations. It may also convey an impression of the beautiful harmony which exists in the social fabric, and the dependance of the several departments of human industry on each other. The farmer cannot say to the philosopher, "I have no need of thee," nor the philosopher to the farmer, "I have no need of thee." Without the labors of the one the farmer could not plough; and without the labors of the other the philosopher could not eat. True, the labor of the philosopher is not *directly* productive; but its productiveness is not less important because it is indirect. In fact, if all mankind were direct producers, i. e., operatives, we should be no better off than if all were philosophers; i. e., indirect producers. For, from the want of science to give direction to human industry, it would not be half as productive, and, consequently, the earth would not maintain more than half its present number of inhabitants, and that half would be miserably provided for. Or, to speak more accurately, without science men would be mere savages; having for tools and machinery nothing but our teeth and finger nails, and for our provision the spontaneous gifts of nature. All beyond these are the results of science. To what extent, therefore, the sciences ought to be cultivated, depends precisely on how far it is desirable to elevate society above the savage state. We admit that some branches of science are not as obviously tributary to production as others, as, for instance, the languages and belles lettres; but the proper office of these is to expand and discipline the mind, and thus to assist, first in acquiring, and then in imparting the others. If these, therefore, were abandoned, the others would fall into decay, and all would deteriorate together. Thus, polite literature adds not only to the refined enjoyments of society, but deserves to hold a place among the useful branches, as the more directly productive are sometimes called.

Hence, we conclude that every member of the community is adapted to some particular purpose; and he is most useful to society who diligently applies himself to that purpose to which he is best adapted, and most successfully pursues it.

We should be glad to transfer to our pages the remarks on the effects on industry of natural agents, the employment of machinery,

and the division of labor; not, however, because there is any thing new on these points, for they have all been exhausted by previous writers; but because they present the subjects in a clear and distinct form, and would be entertaining to our readers. We must, however, refer them to the work itself. Meantime we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of quoting a paragraph from the chapter on the effects of the increased productiveness of human labor:—

"The result of *industry* applied to *capital* is *product, value*, or *the means of gratifying human desire.* The result of *increased* productiveness of human industry is, with the same labor, *increased* product, value, or means of gratifying human desire. That is, in general, increased productiveness is equivalent to increased means of human happiness. This simple statement would seem sufficient to explain the whole subject. In order, however, to obviate any objections that may arise, we will proceed to show its practical operation by several illustrations.

"Take the case of a single individual. Suppose a man, by the same amount of labor that he spent last year, to be able this year to create twice as much value. Suppose that a farmer has twice as large a harvest; that is, that his instrument is twice as good this year as it was last year. The result is, he will be able to satisfy the desire which that product gratifies twice as abundantly as he did last year. He will have more to exchange with other producers, and hence he will be able to gratify other desires more abundantly. He will be able to make exchanges which were before out of his power; hence, he will be able to add to his mode of living new means of happiness. And, on the other hand, as he is able to make exchanges with others with whom it was before impossible, others, in return, are able to avail themselves of his product, or means of happiness, who were before unable to do so. Hence, he is not only happier himself, but the very means by which he becomes so renders him the instrument of greater happiness to others. Hence, it is a benefit to a whole neighborhood for a single member of it to become rich. In other words, increased productiveness in one branch of labor increases productiveness in every branch of labor."

Chapter the third treats on the laws which govern the application of labor to capital. The following principles are here laid down:— 1. Industry will be applied to capital as every man enjoys the advantages of his labor and capital; i. e., as every man may gain all he can, and as every man may use his own as he will. 2. Labor will be applied to capital as every man suffers the inconveniences of idleness. 3. The greater the ratio of capital to labor, the greater the stimulus to labor. 4. Industry will be applied to capital in proportion to the intellectual condition of a people.

On the second of these heads our author shows the effects of poor laws, in which his conclusions are in accordance with the most enlightened policy of the present day. He proves that they are inconsistent with the economy of the Creator, with the interests of the beneficiary, and the wealth of society; and that the only correct principles are, that "if a man be reduced, by indolence or prodigality, to such extreme penury that he is in danger of perishing, *he be relieved through the medium of labor;* that is, that he be furnished with work and be remunerated with the proceeds;" and "that those

who are able only in part to earn their subsistence, be provided for to the amount of that deficiency only:" and "that there should be no common funds for the support of the poor."

We believe that a deviation from these principles must do mischief, and that most of the pauper systems are liable to this charge. They take away the motives to industry and frugality; they destroy a generous and manly spirit of independence; they breed an unwholesome state of feeling between the rich and poor; the rich give grudgingly, and the poor receive without gratitude; they are adverse to the right of property. They offer a premium to indolence and prodigality, and necessarily multiply the number of unproductive claimants. Such have been the effects of the Poor Laws of Great Britain; and such, it is to be feared, is the tendency of many of our own charitable societies. It is notorious that multitudes are idle and thriftless in summer because they believe these societies will support them in winter. Many, too, devote themselves to employments already overstocked with labor, and scarcely affording a sufficient, or perhaps only an uncertain subsistence, rather than betake themselves to such as would be a real benefit to the community; and when their means fail, call upon those to support them who were before suffering for the want of their service in some other form. Of this we had an instance in New-York last winter, when the seamstresses and tailoresses called upon the public for charity. The stopping of the factories during the existing pressure will furnish a multitude of similar cases. If the individuals thus thrown out of employment had been satisfied to receive, with their board, from a dollar to a dollar and a half per week in respectable private families, they would not only have been in a better condition, but they would be a great blessing to the community. So we had to pay an enormous price for domestic assistance or go without it, just for the pleasure of paying more for the support of those whose pride or indolence induced them to seek a precarious or inadequate subsistence elsewhere.

These remarks, however, do not apply to the support of the aged and the infirm, or to widows and orphans who cannot maintain themselves. They only apply to that injudicious administration of charitable societies which relieves all, merely because they are poor, without discrimination, and without any application of stimulus to industry and frugality.

The last section of this chapter, on the laws which govern the application of labor to capital; is on the effect of protective duties; a subject deeply interesting to the United States. Our author here goes with Smith and Say, or, rather, goes beyond them; for, while they admit the propriety of protection in certain cases, Dr. Wayland denies it without qualification. In this we think he is more consistent than they; for the exceptions they make cover, in fact, the whole ground, and effectually overturn their entire theory. On this point our author's views are clear and comprehensive, and his reasoning direct, cogent, and, in our estimation, unanswerable.

He has succeeded fully, we think, in establishing the following points:—

1. Protection is only needed in behalf of such articles as could not be made without protection. That is, labor and capital would be better remunerated by some other mode of investment. Hence,—

2. Protective duties draw off labor and capital from more profitable investments, and cause them to take a direction that is less profitable.

3. Every cent paid in the form of protective duties, is so much drawn from the pockets of the consumers, while it is a greater loss to the country than if the same amount were paid as a direct bounty to the producer of the protected articles.

4. That this can be no addition to a nation's wealth, because what one party gains, another loses; and by how much industry is stimulated in one form, by just so much it is depressed in other forms.

5. That, as protective duties raise the price of articles, there will be a smaller quantity demanded, and consequently produced. Hence there will be a more scanty provision for human wants.

6. That urging production in those branches to which we are not adapted, lessens the amount produced in those branches to which we are adapted.

7. That protective duties necessarily raise the prices of every thing, and thereby serve to injure our foreign market. Consequently, we shall have less wherewith to purchase from abroad such things as we require.

8. That so far from encouraging our own industry, protective duties have just the opposite effect: because, while they encourage it in only one form, they depress it in many forms.

9. That as the increase of profit by protective duties draws capital and industry into these branches, so competition tends to lower the profits; and as increased expenses of living raise the prices of other things not protected, this still farther tends to bring the profits of protected and unprotected branches to an equality. Hence the protective duties must be increased, or else a reaction, stagnation, consequent bankruptcies, and derangements will follow.

These are the principal points established by our author. We rather regret, however, that he has not given them all the illustration and support of which they are susceptible. For instance, it can be shown, that from the time an undue portion of industry and capital were devoted to manufactures, agriculture has been less productive. Let any one take the trouble to examine, and he will find, that from the year 1806 to 1816, the average amount of flour annually exported was 930,240 barrels, and of wheat 120,854 bushels. From 1820 to 1830, the average amount of the former was only 909,877 barrels, and of the latter 19,838 bushels; making a decrease of 20,363 barrels of flour, and of wheat 101,016 bushels annually. But it should be remembered, that as the population, i. e., the industry, had increased nearly two-thirds in that period, there ought to have been a proportionate increase of exportation; instead of which the exportation of flour was greatly diminished; and that of wheat almost annihilated. Moreover, during the past year, the United States did not produce wheat enough for her own consumption! It is in vain to tell us, that the failure of the crops made importation necessary. That, it is true, was the proximate, but not the original cause. Did our agricultural production now bear the same proportion to the population that it did previously, we should have had only to suspend exportation. These facts serve to illustrate several of the foregoing positions, particularly the fourth, sixth, and eighth.

The remainder of this section is devoted to the consideration of some of the arguments urged in favor of the protective system. Here we cannot follow him minutely. Yet we feel compelled to state one of his positions, because it is a reply to the most popular view of the case, and because it is the point in which Dr. Wayland goes beyond his precursors in this theory. The argument is that of the necessity of protecting certain kinds of manufactures in their infancy, which promise a handsome remuneration after they shall have become sufficiently established to do without protection.

In answer to this it is shown,—

1. That protection cannot hasten the period at which such manufactures can be profitably established, since *this must depend on the accumulation of capital and labor*, by which we may successfully compete with foreign production.

2. That as protective duties, instead of increasing, really retard the accumulation of capital, so they postpone the period at which such branches could be profitably undertaken.

3. That unless things are left to their natural course, it can never be known at what period any branch can be profitably undertaken, or whether at all or not.

We have now followed Dr. Wayland through his principal arguments in favor of the liberal system. So far as he has gone, we think him, in the main, satisfactory and conclusive. Yet we cannot but regret that he has omitted several points of no small importance. He has said nothing in reply to the argument founded on the balance of trade; nor has he once named this subject in his work. He has said nothing in reply to the supposed necessity of protecting manufactures in order to be prepared for war; nor on the crude notions about the importation and exportation of specie. True, some of these points are adverted to in other parts of the work. But as they are all closely connected with the protective system, it was necessary to notice them in this place; nor can we help considering their omission as a serious defect in a text-book, where we expect to find every thing of importance, whether of argument or objection.

Moreover, it seems to us that it would have been well to be more particular in guarding the theory against misapprehension. There are several particulars not sufficiently taken into view generally by writers on political economy; or, at least, on which the defenders of the restrictive system are in error.

For instance, it is important to keep in mind, that opposing protective duties is not opposing manufactures; but only such manufactures as cannot be carried on without protection. It, of course, leaves out of view a great variety of manufacturing branches, which may be pursued alike to the advantage of individuals and of the nation; and would, in fact, leave untouched many others that now enjoy protection; or only require them to be conducted on more economical principles. So that we should still have as many manufactures as would occupy profitably our capital and industry.

Again, it should be remembered, that, after all, the only sound principle in public economy, as well as in private, is to buy what can be bought cheaper than made; and make what can be made cheaper than bought. It is on this principle that the hatter buys his coats,

and the tailor his hats; that the shoemaker buys wheat, and the farmer shoes. If each were to undertake to make all he wanted, they would all be ruined. By a division of labor, their industry and capital are more productive, and their wealth is increased. It is precisely the same in regard to nations. The true policy, therefore, is for each nation to buy or to make only as it can do either to best advantage. The cost will always indicate when it would be profitable for a nation to do either the one or the other.

Again, it is important to keep in view that the protection of one class is equally adverse to the interests of *all* classes that do not enjoy the same privilege. Now, it has been the error of Political Economists to consider the Protective System as opposed only, or chiefly, to the agricultural interest. But this is a narrow view of the case. Protective duties are equally against all who enjoy no protection: it raises the profits of the protected branches above the profit of *all* branches *not protected*. For the makers of unprotected goods have to contend in the market for labor with those who, of course, can outbid them, because their profits are raised unnaturally high by the duties, and yet they have not the same opportunity of raising their prices; since, before their profits are raised to an equality with the profits of the protected articles, they must, infallibly, from the nature of things, be undersold by foreigners. Of this we have had an illustration the past year, in the importation of foreign grain. The next thing we shall hear of, probably, will be, that our farmers and unprotected mechanics will claim protection too. Indeed, it has already commenced. In the state of Maine the legislature have recently granted a bounty on the production of wheat; and it is gravely suggested to do the same thing in other states. So Congress forces industry and capital into manufacturing investments, by duties, and the states force it back again to agriculture by bounties; the interpretation of which is, that we pay ten dollars a yard for cloth that we might get for five, for the special privilege of paying twelve dollars a barrel for flour, that we might get for six.

We have spent more time upon this part of our subject than we at first intended. But these views are important, because they accord with other principles on which our objections to the excessive encouragement of manufactures are founded. And, moreover, it was necessary to see the ground on which the liberal system is sustained, in order to discover the harmony that prevails among all the diversified interests of the nation. If it be proved that the excessive encouragement of manufactures is actually injurious to national wealth and industry, it will readily occur to the mind of the reader, that it is not less opposed to all her other interests. The nature of manufacturing pursuits must be deleterious to a community. They tend to injure the morals, the health, and the domestic qualifications of the operatives. They produce a roving, unsettled disposition, and are thus injurious to good habits. The females are unfitted by physical condition, as well as by ignorance of domestic affairs, to be either wives, mothers, or housekeepers. It interferes most deplorably with the comfort, happiness, and improvement of society at large. By the scarcity of domestic assistance it occasions, our domestic wants are but half supplied; our wives obliged to spend their time in the kitchen,

when their services are wanted elsewhere; our children are left to themselves, their minds and manners, as well as persons, neglected, or they are sent to incompetent schools, where they learn more evil than good, because their mothers cannot attend to them; and the fathers are obliged to perform various trivial offices, by which time is consumed that might be much more profitably employed both to themselves and others. The scarcity of labor is the constant cry of the country; and the serious distress it occasions is felt by all, but appreciated in its extensive bearings only by a few. It is felt universally in the manufacturing states, and it exerts a disastrous influence upon the whole routine of domestic and social life, and upon the mental, moral, and religious interests of the community.

We have dwelt so long on this part of our subject, on account of its great importance, its extensive relations, and especially the attention it has excited in this country. Instead of saying less, we should be inclined to say much more, did we think the present occasion would justify it. We fear, however, that we should exhaust the patience of the reader. Meanwhile the remainder of the volume claims our notice, for at least a few passing remarks.

In book second, the author treats on Exchange. He exhibits the laws of the social state which render exchange necessary; and sets forth the general doctrines of exchange. In this book, too, is naturally included the interesting subject of money as a medium of exchange. On this branch there is, I believe, nothing new. It is only a repetition of what we find in Say and others on the same subject. In fact, no addition was necessary, and it was susceptible of no improvement.

But the chapter on banks and paper currency the reader will find worthy of serious attention. Of the several works on banking which we have seen, none can be compared with this. For perspicuity and simplicity of language and arrangement; for soundness of thought; and, we may add, for candor in his statements; we think Dr. Wayland has no rival in this point. He has curtailed the facts, indeed, of Smith and Say; but he has supplied their place by more valuable matter. He has given whatever was important from other writers, and superadded much that is original, and especially valuable; because it enables the mere tyro to understand the subject as he never could by the most laborious study of our former text-books. We have here clearly set forth the necessity, the nature, and utility of banks; the sources of their profits; the advantages and disadvantages of a paper circulation; and the agency of government in respect to the currency. This whole subject is treated coolly and practically; and we think, to all who are not biased by some favorite theory, it will be found altogether satisfactory.

As, however, banking is of such general interest and of such great importance, it may not be uninteresting to take a brief view of the nature of its operations. In this we shall only lay down some of the principal features, and refer those to our author who desire to obtain a more intimate acquaintance with the subject.

1. Banks make the specie go farther. For every hard dollar in its vaults a bank can issue two, three, or perhaps four dollars in notes. Hence, with specie in the country amounting to some thirty-

three millions, we have a circulation amounting to upwards of one hundred millions. The solvency of a bank does not depend upon the amount of specie it contains, but on its general capital.

2. The currency furnished by banks is more economical and convenient than specie.

1. It is more economical, because there is less loss of value by the destruction of bank paper than by the destruction of gold and silver; and by substituting paper, the precious metals may be used in values of another form.

2. It is more convenient, because it is more portable, less liable to robbery and destruction in transportation, and much less expensive.

3. Banks afford a convenient medium through which merchants may collect their distant debts. What would be the risk, loss of time, and cost, of receiving debts by the transmission of specie; and how much specie would be kept out of circulation by the act of transportation, or in various ways lost or destroyed? Now the whole business of exchange can be done through the banks "by a dash of the pen," and almost without risk or expense.

4. Banks afford a convenient place in which merchants and others can deposite their surplus funds without withdrawing their money from circulation. If there were no banks, every person must keep on hand as much specie as would meet his current demands; and this would render it dead stock, and so much loss to the community, beside increasing the temptation to robbery and house-breaking. Now he can place it in the bank, where provision is made for its security. Besides, while in the bank it can be kept in trade by the directors; and it is not dead stock, as it would be in private hands.

5. Banks afford great facilities to industry by discounting notes and making loans. A person has on hand a note for a thousand dollars, due in three months. Meanwhile he is in immediate want of funds. He takes his note to the bank and gets the cash, *minus* the interest for the time it has to run; viz., three months. Or, a mechanic or merchant has skill and industry, but wants capital. The bank, on his furnishing adequate security, will advance the capital on loan. The bank, therefore, performs the functions of a loan-office.

6. The advantage of banks as loan-offices over individuals is, that they collect into one place the scattered surplus funds of the community, and, by doing business on a larger scale, can do it with less expense; i. e., with less consumption of time and labor. And, moreover, as the bank directors are selected for their skill in financial affairs, and their knowledge of the pecuniary condition of their neighborhood, they generally know whom to trust and what security to demand. Many private persons place their surplus funds in the banks to be loaned by the directors, whereby the community is benefited, who would be afraid to loan it on their own judgment. Thus widows and minors, and persons unskilled in finances, can buy bank stock, who would be incompetent to manage their own loans.

7. Banks save a great deal of time, and labor, and friction of coin, by the facilities they afford in making payments between individuals. If payments had to be made in specie, how much would it cost a merchant, in time and labor, to count over and minutely examine

fifty thousand dollars? And suppose all the payments in a large commercial city had to go through this process, how much dead loss would it occasion? Now, a merchant gives a check upon his banker, and the specified amount is transferred from one to the other by an entry in the books of the bank, while not a dollar of the money is fingered.

Thus, banks come under the general and important principle of the division of labor. A hundred persons find it cheaper to employ a bank to transact their money affairs for them than to do it themselves, and it costs the nation less. The individuals profit by the knowledge and skill which are acquired by those who devote themselves to a single branch of business, just as in all other cases.

These are some of the leading advantages of the banking system. By applying them and looking at their bearings, the reader will see how it is that the system has such an influence on national prosperity. Every one will see that they adjust the amount of the currency to a nation's demands; they economize capital; they collect the idle funds together and turn them to profitable account; they save time and labor; they furnish facilities to industry by loans and discounting; and, in all these ways, stimulate national production.

Hence, it is not surprising that nations enjoying great commercial prosperity should have early felt the need of those facilities which banks afford. The ancients, as we are informed, found some accommodation in bills of exchange; but only a very small part of that supplied by banks. In that period, however, they could be more easily dispensed with, on account of the greater proportion which the amount of precious metals in use bore to the demands of trade. That the proportion was greater than now is evident from the fact, that while the quantity of silver and gold in the world is now ten times greater, its value is only three times depreciated. Were there no greater demands for it now than then, it would have sunk to one-tenth of its former value; but the wonderful expansion of trade has prevented its sinking lower than to one-third. The demand, therefore, has increased faster than the supply, in the ratio of ten to three. Now there was no method, as far as we see, of meeting this increased demand but by the institution of banks. Hence, in all countries distinguished for commerce, opulence, and general comfort and enjoyment, banks have been instituted and paper money used. They seem to be inseparably connected with a high degree of commercial prosperity, and great productiveness of human industry. We may cite as evidences, on the one hand, England, Scotland, and the United States, who use a paper currency; and, on the other, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, who have only a specie circulation, and are proverbially poor and degraded. France seems to occupy a middle ground; for the institution of her bank gave a wonderful impulse to trade and industry,* which are now fettered and restricted, if our information be correct, by the want of a sufficient circulation.

The consequences of abolishing paper money may be very easily gathered from what has been said. Its first effect would be to raise the value of money just in proportion as it would diminish the quan-

* See Stoddard on the Banking Institutions of Europe and America.

tity. Suppose our specie to be one-third the amount of our circulation: let bank notes be banished, and the value of money will rise, or the prices of all other things will fall, just two-thirds. The effect on existing contracts would be deplorable. If a person had paid two-thirds of the purchase money on any property, it would then only sell for the remainder. Of course he would lose what was already paid. If a person had previously borrowed a thousand dollars, he would have to pay what would be equivalent to three thousand; since one thousand would go as far, and be as difficult to procure, as three thousand were at the time of the loan.

But what would be the effect of limiting bank notes to a given sum, say of twenty dollars? This measure evidently could not create silver and gold. It could only draw from the banks the specie necessary to replace the notes that would be called in. Now, to substitute specie for all the notes under twenty dollars, would require more specie than the country contains. Thus the banks, being bereft of their specie, which forms the basis of their circulation, would be obliged to close business. The result, therefore, so far as I can see, would be the same as prohibiting bank notes altogether. The same objection, however, would not exist, I apprehend, against prohibiting notes under three, or perhaps five dollars. True, it might create a little inconvenience at first, but it would be more than repaid by the advantages resulting. The principal of these would be the greater steadiness it would give to money prices, by an increase of the amount of specie in circulation. The fluctuations in the money market could not be as sudden or as violent if there were such an addition made to the permanent currency.

"But banks," we are told, "have been abused." And so has every other human advantage. But it is worthy of observation, that the benefits of banking are necessary and inevitable; the evils and abuses are only contingent and avoidable. Let them, therefore, be placed under such legislative restriction as shall guard, as far as possible, against the evils; and for the rest we must trust to the capacity and integrity of the directors, just as we confide in men in all other kinds of business.

"But banks," says another, "should be on the credit of the government." Then they will most assuredly be abused. When did governments ever conduct pecuniary affairs with as much economy and security as individuals? All government transactions are necessarily expensive; and as the risk encountered would not affect the rulers individually and personally, the security would be thereby diminished. It is well known, that as long as the Bank of France was in private hands, it continued to prosper. In 1718 the king took the bank into his own hands, and it was thenceforward carried on by government. In two years it exploded, and came near overwhelming the throne in its ruin. Such was the issue of governmental banking. On the contrary, the Bank of England, which has always been managed by a company under a charter from the king, has remained, notwithstanding the vicissitudes and embarrassments through which it has passed, and the burdens thrown upon it by a government immensely in debt, in successful operation to this day, and is likely to continue so while the government itself shall endure.

But we hasten to a conclusion. The third book is devoted to the

subject of Distribution. It exhibits the mode in which the profits of production are distributed among the several producers.

Book IV. treats on Consumption, including that of individuals and that of the public. Individual consumption is a most important part of the subject, since all are consumers, though all may not be producers. Besides, on the proper regulation and direction of this matter among individuals depend the accumulation of wealth and increase of comfort in the nation. It is to little purpose that production be in a flourishing condition, if there be a wasteful and prodigal consumption universally prevalent. For it is much easier to consume value than to create it; and one man may destroy more than ten can produce.

But do not let us mistake on this point. Economy does not consist in consuming as little as possible, any more than in consuming recklessly and to no purpose. If the former were economy, savages would be the most economical people in the world. One essential distinction between the savage and the civilized state is, that the latter has more wants, together with greater means of satisfying them. We hear, indeed, a great many changes rung upon the hackneyed phrase, "Man wants but little here below;" but, for the most part, this is little better than mawkish sentimentalism. This is not the way the Scriptures teach. They urge contentment with our lot, and patient submission to privation; not on the ground that privation is no evil, but because the will of God is supreme, and we must acquiesce in his appointments. Contentment on any other ground is not a Christian virtue. That is the best human condition in which there is the largest amount of *rational* wants, with the highest capacity wisely to gratify them.

What, then, is economy? It is simply the judicious regulation of consumption, or extracting the largest amount of advantage and enjoyment out of a given amount of expenditure. It does not consist in the amount spent, but in the manner of spending it. It consists in making a given sum go as far as possible.

The rules of economy have reference to two branches of the subject; viz., productive consumption and unproductive. In the former, value is destroyed in one shape, and reproduced with increase in another. Thus, value in the shape of horns is destroyed by the comb-maker, and reproduced in the shape of combs. In the latter the object is only the gratification of desire, or the satisfaction of human wants. This includes all domestic and personal expenses of every kind.

Economy in either of these modes of consumption is to be governed by substantially the same rules. It is to be remembered in both cases that the expenditure is always to be proportioned to our means, and is to be so disposed of as to bring the largest return of utility. Upon this subject Dr. Wayland has some very important observations, to which we cordially direct the attention of our readers.

It is surprising that there should be so much lack of wisdom in a matter of such every day and universal necessity as that of individual and domestic expenditure. For instance, it is a sound rule in economy that the value of every object be fully extracted; or, in other words, that nothing be wasted. Now, let a person walk along

the streets of our cities on a winter's morning, and observe the coal-ashes that are placed on the pavement for the carts; and he will find that nearly one-fifth, or perhaps more, of what was paid for fuel is thrown away. A coal-sieve that would cost a dollar would save, in one year, perhaps several times its value in cinders. Again, in families that burn candles, the last inch of candle is almost uniformly wasted. In England, I suppose, a *save-all* is as essential an article of domestic use as a fire-shovel. By this means the candle ends are burned in the kitchen. No less indispensable is the *soap-box*, in which all the fragments too small to be used are deposited, until they become numerous enough to make, when boiled together, a large lump. And who can tell how much value is destroyed simply by the habit of taking on the plate more than is eaten? The remnants are, generally, thrown away. If it be a private family, the owner loses it; if it be a public house, the boarders pay for it; because the price of boarding is in proportion to the consumption. Small as this may seem to some, it is, in reality, a detestable and wicked practice. No family that are guilty of such criminal waste can be called economical, even if they go without shoes to their feet, and dress in coats of homespun; or send their children to cheap schools, or employ cheap physicians.

Another important principle, and especially to persons of small means, is to buy nothing that is not necessary. Every thing unnecessary is dear, whatever the price may be. We are to take necessity, however, in a liberal sense, to include what possesses solid advantage in enjoyment or improvement. There are many persons and families who deny themselves household conveniences and important benefits on account of the expense, who yet spend more than their cost in things unnecessary; it may be in mere trifles and knick-knacks. Such people cannot enjoy the comforts and decencies proper to their circumstances, merely because they cannot keep in mind that a hundred cents make a dollar. It is, after all, the little outlays that make great holes in small incomes. If every penny were spent to the best advantage, it would make, in the course of a year, a vast difference in the amount of domestic or personal enjoyment, comfort, and happiness.

We shall mention but one more rule: it is, that articles of the best quality are usually most economical in the end. Many persons do not know how it is that they spend so much, when they buy the cheapest things they can get, and yet are neither as decent nor comfortable as their neighbors in the same circumstances. They make a great mistake. Parsimony is not economy. Dr. Wayland observes, "It is a given amount of utility we want, and not the mere form in which it happens to reside. It is cheaper to purchase a dollar's worth of utility for a dollar, than half a dollar's worth for seventy-five cents." If a cloth, at four dollars the yard, wear eight months, and one at six wear twelve, the latter is the more economical; for, though the wear of the cloth is the same, you save in the making and trimmings.

We may, however, notice one exception to the rule above given. It is, when an article of the best quality is in the newest fashion. In this case you must distinguish between what you pay for the quality and what you pay for the fashion. Fashion must, necessa-

rily, be very expensive; for, on account of its capriciousness, its demands could not be supplied but at a high rate of remuneration. An article in great demand this week may, next week, become dead stock. The patrons of fashion must, of course, pay a price that will cover these risks and losses. Hence we often pay more for the fashion of an article than for its quality; and hence, also, the difference in the prices of articles after the fashion has changed. Things of the best quality are cheapest, therefore, only when you pay for the quality alone; and the cheapest of all are those of the best quality when gone out of fashion; for the maker probably realized his profit on them while in the fashion, and he can often afford to sell them afterward for less than the cost.

On the employment of domestic labor Dr. Wayland observes,—

"Economy directs, that in a household we should purchase as much labor as we need, and of the kind that we need, but no more than we need."

The same principle applies here as in the other case, viz., that the best kind is usually cheapest in the end. It would be a great mistake to refuse five dollars a month to an economical and capable domestic, and then give four to one who would waste, and break, and spoil more than would pay the difference; to say nothing of the vexation and disagreements that would follow. We are always to compare the price with the utility, and remember that that is most economical which gives us the best return for our money.

Again, as it is poor economy to hire more labor than we need, it is about equally so to hire less; for, in the latter case, the work must be left undone or we must do it ourselves. The question, then, to be decided is, whether it be worth doing; and if so, *is our own labor as valuable in that form as in any other?* It would certainly be great folly to leave undone what is worth a dollar and a half for the sake of doing what we might hire another to do for a dollar. Men generally have sagacity enough to perceive this, and hence a man's employment is considered an indication of the value he sets upon his time. Yet there are some people who are too penurious to be economical.

But it is time for us to point out what we conceive to be defects in this treatise.

Dr. Wayland has omitted a doctrine of no small importance in this science, which, we believe, the elder Say was the first to point out; viz., the distinction between the real and the relative variation of price. Real variation is occasioned by a saving in the costs of production; relative is that variation which takes place while the costs of production continue the same. Thus, if ten men could make five pairs of boots in a day, and sell them at six dollars a pair, if any means were invented by which the same cost would produce ten pairs, the price might fall to three dollars. The effect would be, that while the boot-maker would be just as well off as he was before, the community would be much better provided for. The article, being cheaper, would be brought within reach of a larger portion of society; more would be consumed, and comfort would be extended. In this case, therefore, while the producer is not injured, the community is benefited to the full extent of the saving in productive agency. This is real variation. But, as in relative

variation, if the boot-maker have one hundred pairs on hand, which fall, without any saving in the cost of production, from six dollars to three, he will sustain a heavy loss. Again, if a farmer can raise thirty bushels of wheat to the acre, and sell it at seventy-five cents a bushel, if the same land and labor will produce only fifteen, it will occasion a real increase of price. He ought, in that case, to get one dollar and fifty cents, in order to be as well off as before. The country, therefore, would be all this the poorer and worse provided for. But it is found that a falling off of production never remunerates the producer by an *equivalent* rise of price; i. e., when the quantity produced is diminished by one half, though the price must rise, yet it never doubles. The producer, therefore, must lose, first, by a diminution of his receipts; and, secondly, by the rise of other prices, occasioned by the increased expenses of living. The community, also, will be injured, by a diminution in the quantity and an increase of price.

We look upon these principles as of great importance, as they serve to exhibit the mischievous effects of raising the prices upon consumers. These effects are, to diminish the amount of consumption, to abridge the means of comfort, and, perhaps, even of subsistence, and by this means to bring some to premature death. For as, in the best state of things, there must be some who can only just make out to live, and others only just live comfortably, when the means are removed farther off by one degree, the former class must die, and the latter fall into their place. Thus the tendency of society will be downwards. On the other hand, when prices fall through increased productiveness, the effects are just opposite. Those who barely lived before are made comfortable; the merely comfortable begin to possess conveniences and superfluities; the resources of the rich are increased, by which they can extend greater aid to the indigent and industrious; and the whole face of society wears a thriving and happy aspect.

But where the fall of price is but relatively to other products, without any saving in the costs of production, these benefits do not follow; because the producer loses, by the fall of the price, all that the consumer gains. Thus the one balances the other, and the community, therefore, are no gainers.

We did wish to supply some remarks which our author has omitted, in relation to the balance of trade. For instance, it is often said that, "if our importations be greater than our exportations, we must become poorer." This is about as wise as to say that if, for eight hundred dollars, I purchase what is worth, to me, twelve hundred, I suffer loss. Evidently, if a nation can, with exports worth forty millions, import to the amount of fifty millions, she has made a profit to the extent of the difference. "But, perhaps, she has to send out specie to pay for it." If so, it is because that is the most profitable way of paying for it. The specie must have been made or earned, I suppose, before it could be sent out, and so we have its value left in some other form. "But the country will be drained of specie." Well, then, the interest of money will rise, and that, *provided trade be not crippled, nor public confidence shaken*, will cause an influx from abroad. Men will not keep money in Europe at five per cent. interest if they can invest it here at seven. But, then, the

influx of specie will not depend on its scarcity alone, but chiefly on the facilities and profits of investment. "But we shall be in the pay of foreigners." Just as much as you are in the rich man's pay, of whom you borrow a thousand dollars to carry on business. "But if the nation pay more than it receives, it will certainly become empoverished." Not always; for the improvement made by the excess may more than counterbalance the outlay. Thus a person may lay out several hundred dollars upon his house or farm more than his income, and be all the richer for it. But having already extended our remarks so far, we must forbear.

But the greatest objection we feel to Dr. Wayland's work, is the little prominence which it gives to agriculture. We, of course, did not look for an agricultural treatise; but, then, a source of production so important, and so peculiarly adapted to our country, deserved to hold a very prominent place in an American text-book on Political Economy. Yet Dr. Wayland says almost nothing on it; and some things which he has said do not indicate the most profound acquaintance with the subject. Thus, for instance, he observes, "the produce of a soil, when new, is generally greater than ever afterwards." But this is true only where agriculture is in a bad condition. The old lands of England are as productive as the new lands of Michigan or Illinois. Again, "the soil (of rich new lands) never needing manure, requires but small investments of capital." There is no land which never needs manure. Constant exhaustion without renovation, must, in the course of time, destroy the productive power of any soil, however rich at first. As illustrations of both positions, there are lands in England, originally of great fertility, so perfectly exhausted, that they were thrown out into common as useless; and yet, by scientific culture, they have been reclaimed, and rendered more productive than ever, yielding of wheat, of the best quality, fifty bushels to the acre. Such is the case on Mr. Coke's estate, at Holkham Hall, in Norfolk. It is observed, also, in our own country, that where the farmers have access to fish manure, the poorest soil is made equal to the richest. This is thought by some an extraordinary fact. But the same effect may be produced on any land, by applying a manure adapted to the soil. But it requires skill and science to discover such manures and their application. Hence the importance of science, as well as capital, in agriculture.

It seems strange to us, that a subject possessing so many claims to notice as this, should receive so little attention in our country. When we consider the nature of its employments, with their influence upon the health, morals, and intelligence of a people; the importance of the products it furnishes; the peculiar adaptation of this source of wealth to our country, arising from our extent of surface, variety of soil, climate, and productions, thin population, and, compared with many other nations, deficiency of capital for manufacturing purposes;—when we consider these things, it seems strange that it should have been so much neglected by those who control the minds of the nation, and, by influencing opinion, direct their conduct. It seems really to be the object of the nation—for what are the acts of government but an expression of the nation's will?—to direct science, capital, and industry, into any channels rather than those of agriculture. Congress

protects manufactures by duties, and makes appropriations for exploring expeditions, to extend and facilitate commerce; meanwhile, what is done for agriculture? Our mother earth seems abandoned of her ungrateful children, and is almost left to throw out her bounty spontaneously, or, afflicted by our neglect, withhold her accustomed favors. The consequence is, what we have more than once alluded to, a deficiency of agricultural productions. We have not, during the past year, raised grain enough in our immense territory for the use of our own population, small as it is, while the little island of Britain can raise enough for her teeming swarms, and spare some for her neighbors. There was something deeply sarcastic in the reply of Rothschild to his agent Joseph, in New-York. In the mania of last year's speculation, when the nation was to get suddenly rich without production, Joseph advised Rothschild to invest a considerable amount in real estate in this country, promising him a large return. The reply was short and pithy: "I don't think much of a country that has to import her bread." The banker had sagacity enough to divine the result.

Now, it seems to us, an American text-book on Political Economy ought to make this subject decidedly conspicuous. True, it could not exhibit the different modes of tillage; but still it might throw a good deal of light upon the resources of agriculture. It might exhibit its capabilities; the necessity and application of science to agriculture; the value of its products compared with other products; it might even suggest the most profitable kinds of products; it could exhibit the modes in which government might foster agriculture; not, indeed, by duties or bounties, but by premiums for new inventions and discoveries; by the institution of pattern or model farms;* and by the diffusion of information and science on rural affairs. Moreover, by drawing his illustrations copiously from this department, he might contrive to convey, indirectly, a great deal of useful knowledge concerning it. A text-book on Political Economy, presenting agriculture with due prominence and in its proper bearings, is, in our view, still a desideratum among us.

Notwithstanding these defects, however, we consider Dr. Wayland's work decidedly superior to any other; and as such, we can cheerfully recommend it to the readers of this magazine. If they feel inclined to make themselves acquainted with a science whose principles are

* The suggestion of a pattern farm seems never to have received the attention which it deserves. The project is simply this: that government shall institute a farm under the management of a competent agent, a well-educated and scientific agriculturist, on which experiments shall be made to ascertain the most successful modes of tillage. Here all kinds of agricultural implements, new inventions, discoveries, different kinds of manures, modes of culture, breeds of cattle, qualities of soil, products of every kind, and all other matters belonging to agriculture on a liberal scale would be tested, and exhibited for the benefit of the public. Such an establishment should possess every possible convenience and utility, and be in every respect, as far as possible, "a pattern farm." For ourselves, we know of no measure by which government could give such a stimulus to the national agriculture, nor any mode in which it could more profitably or judiciously employ a portion of its surplus funds. It is in this way that the agriculture of Great Britain has been raised to such a pitch of excellence, with this difference, that there such experiments have been made by individuals. In this country, where agricultural capital is so limited in individuals, it must be done by government if it be done at all.

at the foundation of national prosperity and individual comfort; a science so closely connected with religion, morals, intelligence, and happiness; a science which tends, as much as any other, to illustrate the wisdom, benevolence, and unity of the divine administration, they will have cause to rejoice in the facilities afforded them by Dr. Wayland.

For the Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review.

Art. IV.—SUPERIORITY OF REVEALED TO NATURAL RELIGION.

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Revelation is, unquestionably, of paramount importance. Nor is its importance superseded by any production of man's invention. Whenever man, with all his wisdom, aided by the light of science and the erudition and literature of preceding ages, has attempted to devise a plan by which a fallen world might be saved, he has made an entire failure. Human reason proved inadequate to the task. Revelation, whose author is God, can alone furnish man with all that information necessary for fallen beings to know in order to be saved. A revelation replete with such information, should be held in high estimation by every son and daughter of Adam. We design, in the following pages, to give a summary view of the superiority of that system so clearly unfolded in the Scriptures, to what is generally denominated "natural religion." As this term is commonly used equivocally, it becomes necessary to define before we proceed.

Some understand by the term, natural religion, those truths revealed in the Scriptures which, when once discovered and understood, may be clearly shown to have a foundation in the nature and relations of things, and which unprejudiced reason will approve when fairly presented to the mind; and accordingly very fair schemes of natural religion have been drawn up by Paley, and other Christian philosophers, embracing nearly the whole of revelation. In this view, natural religion is not so called because it was originally discovered by reason merely, but because, when once understood, it is what the reason of mankind properly exercised approves as based in truth and nature. Others take the term in a more limited sense, to signify that knowledge of God, his attributes and perfections, which, with the light of revelation, may be obtained from the works of nature. Others, again, take natural religion to mean, that religion which is discoverable by the exercise of reason without any higher assistance. This last definition we consider correct. The two preceding define not what is obtained from reason, but from revelation.

Having then defined natural religion to be that system which is discovered by unassisted reason, we are now led to inquire to what extent this religion has prevailed? History, as well as observation, teaches the melancholy fact, that its prevalence has not been circumscribed to one nation or country. Its abetters have not been few. Sages of antiquity, and renowned philosophers of former times, have not only embraced it as the way of salvation, but it has found ad-

herents in modern times. But are the unassisted faculties of man adequate to lead him to a proper knowledge of the will and law of God, of true happiness, and of his future destination? We answer unhesitatingly, No! This is evident to every individual who will reflect on the endless differences and inconsistencies which prevailed among the most celebrated heathen philosophers, some of whom taught gross immoralities, which aided very little in rectifying the notions, and reforming the lives of mankind.

This fact is farther corroborated in the gross ignorance which extensively prevailed at the time of which we are now speaking, respecting the most important truths of revelation. Respecting the nature and worship of God, the creation of the world, the origin of evil, and the cause of the depravity and misery which actually exist among mankind, any method by which a reconciliation could be effected between God and man,—the supreme felicity of man, the certainty of future rewards and punishments, and the resurrection of the body;—of all these they were either profoundly ignorant, or their notions were confused and imperfect. Indeed, how could it have been otherwise, while they were ignorant or destitute of divine revelation? It may be asserted, as undeniably true, that, aside from the word of God, sufficient light on the above points cannot be obtained. It is the Bible alone which reveals the sublime truths so essential to man's salvation. Of these, to give due credit, human reason could have but a very inadequate conception.

Who that has taken but a cursory view of the history of the world, has not been forcibly impressed with the unremitting efforts which have been made to exalt and eulogize human reason? The days of polite literature, so called, seem to have been replete with panegyrics and encomiums on this faculty of man, while entire ignorance prevailed respecting its power and province. No wonder the most distinguished sages of antiquity frankly acknowledged and confessed the uncertainty of its researches. Natural religion was prevalent in the days of Christ; and, during the scholastic ages, it seems nearly to have taken the place of all other religions. Its multifarious and bewildering speculations have reached our times, and men of talents and erudition have set aside the light of revelation for its glimmerings and uncertainties. But, that we may more clearly discover the superiority of revealed to natural religion, we will examine some points in which their dissimilarity is strikingly manifested. Truth will shine increasingly bright when contrasted with error. The lustre and utility of revelation will more forcibly impress our minds when contrasted with the impotency of human reason.

1. The first point we shall adduce to elucidate the subject is, that revelation gives us clear and correct views of the being and perfections of God; while unassisted reason, whenever it has attempted it, has not only failed, but exhibited its entire weakness and incompetency to do it. As it respects the proofs of the genuineness, authenticity, credibility, and inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, we shall say but little directly; though it is apparent to every candid inquirer that we have every evidence of their truth and divinity which can be reasonably expected or desired. We shall proceed,

then, on the supposition that the Bible is what it purports to be, viz.: *a revelation of God's will to man.*

To possess correct knowledge of the Supreme Being, so far as he has been pleased to reveal himself to us, is of paramount importance. This has generally been acknowledged in ancient as well as modern times. The question, then, is this, viz.: Is the Bible the only source of correct information on the subject? We answer, It is. We need no farther proof of this than the fact that all, in whatever nation, country, or period, who have labored to obtain this knowledge by rational induction, whether drawn from the works of nature or metaphysical principles, have utterly failed. But it may be inquired, Cannot the being and attributes of God be demonstrated from the works of creation, which are so impressively spread out before us? We answer in the negative, aside from revelation. It is true, with the light of revelation shining upon them they speak forth their divine Original; but without it, in this respect they would leave us in awful darkness. We admit that all nations have been disposed to have their gods of veneration and worship; and, rather than to have no gods, no objects were considered too mean or insignificant to be worshipped. On this account some have chosen to define man a *religious*, rather than a *rational* animal. But the character of the "only true God" has never been understood but where the Bible has made it known.

Many of the most learned heathen philosophers entertained the most confused notions of the true character of God, while others rejected the idea of a Supreme Being altogether. Hiero, the tyrant of Syracuse, once asked the philosopher and poet, Simonides, that important question, What is God? The prudent philosopher required a day's time to consider it; the next day he asked two; and so on increasing in the same proportion. Hiero, weary of procrastination, required the reason of this delay. "Because," said the philosopher, "the more I reflect on it the farther the subject appears from my comprehension." Socrates, who was properly denominated the hero of the pagan world, in regard to moral virtues, though he expresses a belief in the one only God, eternal, invisible Creator of the universe, and Supreme Director and Arbiter of all events, yet he dare not give public testimony to these great truths. At times he expresses doubts of the existence of such a Being. All the true light received on this important doctrine, in this distinguished age of philosophy, was unquestionably received from traditional notices, handed down from previous ages. The Greek philosophy rejected the idea of a God as Creator of all things. The Ionic, Pythagoric, Platonic, and Stoic schools all agree in asserting the eternity of matter. They taught that matter was eternally coexistent with God. That matter was created out of nothing seems never to have entered their minds. *Reason* never informed them that *God created all things.*

Suppose a person, whose powers of ratiocination are improved to the utmost pitch of human capacity, but who has received no idea of the existence or attributes of God from revelation, tradition, or inspiration; how is he to convince himself that God is? and whence is he to learn what God is? That of which, as yet, he knows nothing cannot be a subject of his thoughts, his reasonings, or his con-

versation. He could get no idea of immateriality from matter, neither could one's self suggest the idea of spirit. For what knowledge the heathens had of a Supreme Intelligence, they were not indebted to unassisted reason, but to revelation, though unwilling to acknowledge it. Cicero declares that "a pure mind, thinking, intelligent, and pure from body, was altogether inconceivable." We may say, with another celebrated author, "Every thing about us being finite, we could have none but finite ideas; and it would be an act of omnipotence to stretch them to infinite."

The above facts undeniably show the insufficiency of human reason in tracing the existence and attributes of God. But there is, as we have already intimated, a higher source from whence we may obtain this information. The doctrine of one supreme, all-wise, and uncontrollable Providence, shines from the sacred pages with unexampled lustre. It may be traced on every page. Thus the superiority of that religion unfolded in the Scriptures is discoverable to reason with all its boastings.

2. As human reason is not sufficient to trace the existence and attributes of God, so it is not adequate to ascertain the true character of man,—the provisions of the gospel for his final restoration to the divine image,—his true and proper immortality. That man is a fallen, unholy, and depraved being, seems never to have been a part of those creeds so justly entitled the productions of reason. And, strange as it may appear, the doctrine of human depravity was not only discarded by philosophers and moralists during the dark ages, and when science was in its incipiency, but most of the moral systems of modern times have failed in recognising this important truth. They are based on the hypothesis that man, though fallen, is capable, without relying exclusively on revelation, of ascertaining the true standard of moral rectitude, and the only rule by which mankind are to be governed in their duties to God and man. Among the numerous systems which may be enumerated are those of Cudworth, Clark, and Price, who labored to resolve virtue into agreement with eternal fitnesses of things;—of Adam Smith, Dr. Brown, Dr. Hutcheson, Dr. Dwight, and Bishop Butler, who, notwithstanding the penetration of a discriminative intellect, a superfluous refinement of metaphysical abstraction, and with the elegance of a scholar's erudition and a poet's fancy, have erred in substituting human nature in its present state in the place of revelation, as a standard of moral rectitude. Dr. Wardlaw, in his valuable work entitled "Christian Ethics," has ably reviewed these systems with others, to which my readers are referred.

But while reason, with all its boastings, fails in unfolding the true character of fallen beings, revelation is very explicit on this point. The inspired penmen seem to have dipped their pens in "color's native well" while portraying the true character of man. Here man is "painted to the life."

But, admitting the fact that man is what the Scriptures represent him to be, how could reason have made a development of a sure way by which he might be reconciled to God? How God could be "just, and yet the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus," could never be ascertained only by the light of revelation. Here the mystery is explained. Here the provisions of the gospel are clearly unfolded.

"We think we can show you, that without the revelations of Scripture, the goodness of God would have been very doubtfully adumbrated or shadowed forth in nature; and that, without those revelations of his mercy to guilty man, we should have known nothing." It is true, indeed, that many who have acquired instruction from the book of God, guided by its light, can go to nature and providence and find in them many proofs both of his goodness and mercy. But consider how partially they view the subjects presented to them. They take only one single class of the phenomena on which they profess to construct their system. They look, for instance, only at what are obviously the beauties of nature, and do not regard its apparent deformities. They look upon the shining sun, but they forget to look upon the devastating storm. They look at life in its enjoyments, but they forget to look at its miseries. They consider man in his pleasures, but they overlook him in agony, and disease, and death. They look at certain wonderful provisions by which God supplies the wants of his creatures, but they dwell not on those seeming contradictions which the administration of the affairs of the world is continually presenting. Now we, with our Scriptures, can account for all this. We can harmonize all these phenomena, reconcile their existence with the divine character, and rejoice that the Lord is good; but, without revelation, this could not be done. But if, without revelation, our views of the divine goodness in exercising mercy, which implies pity for those who have reduced themselves to a state of misery by sin, would have been thus obscured and doubtful—then of mercy, which implies pardon for the guilty, we should have known nothing. Without this book, where should we go to find a single word to support the hope that God would forgive the sins of his creatures? Certain it is that nature, so called, indicates nothing of this in any of her works. Nor is it indicated by that course of human events which passes before us. If God be favorable to the guilty, he must either waive his just rights altogether, or find some means to satisfy them without the actual punishment of the offender. In either case it is a matter to be determined by himself, and can only be known by us when he is pleased to reveal it. We should, therefore, untaught by this sacred volume, be so unacquainted with the things of God as to be ignorant of what he would do with the guilty. Take the question, "What must I do to be saved?" Universal nature furnishes no reply; the oracle is completely silent; nor can our trembling spirits hear a single accent of mercy, encouraging grace, till revelation directs us to Calvary, and calls on us to "behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world."*

If, therefore, reason is insufficient to discover the grand scheme of salvation so unequivocally unfolded in the Scriptures, so it is equally inadequate to ascertain other important truths of which the Bible furnishes an account; as, how we became sinners, and how we can cease to be such; that our spirits are immortal, and that there is a state of existence for the soul when separated from the body; that there will be a resurrection of the dead, a final judgment, and a state of eternal rewards and punishments; on all these points

* See Rev. Richard Watson's sermon entitled "Divinity of Christianity."

reason could furnish no satisfactory information whatever; and, without revelation, we must remain entirely ignorant of them.

Who, by studying the philosophy of Epicurus, Plato, Zeno, and Aristotle, has ever become acquainted with the great truths of the Bible? Indeed, their subtle disquisitions, their blending physics, metaphysics, and ethics together, and treating them dialectically, their absurd subtleties, and endless distinctions without differences, only served to perplex the mind without leading it nearer the great fountain of truth. Dr. Samuel Clark, though a great advocate for natural religion, when speaking of the heathen philosophers, says, "Some professed open immorality; others, by subtle distinctions, patronized particular vices. The better sort of them, who were the most celebrated, discoursed with the greater reason, yet with much uncertainty and doubtfulness, concerning things of the highest importance;—*the providence of God in governing the world, the immortality of the soul, and a future judgment.*" Many modern philosophers were no better. Just so far as they rejected revelation they became sensual and immoral. The Bible, then, teaches us what reason has never been able to do. Here its superiority is clearly demonstrated.

3. Again, the superior claims of the Christian religion are strikingly manifest in its admirable adaptation to the capacities of men. The various schemes of religion which have no higher authority than human reason seem to be wanting in *simplicity* and *adaptation*. They seem better suited to another race of beings than for sinful man. The Platonists held that all things happened according to the divine providence; and yet they inform us that "God, fortune, and opportunity govern all the affairs of men." The followers of Aristotle, who formed the peripatetic school, held that virtue consisted, in the mean, between two extremes; but what these extremes exactly were was undefinable. The Stoical school inculcated the principle, that the best rule of life consisted in living according to nature; but what they always meant by following nature is not easy to conceive. The doctrines of those contentious sects, the Realists and Nominalists, were equally absurd and inexplicable. Indeed, the whole of the scholastic ages, a period of a thousand years, seem to have been devoted to idle theories, vain speculations, and hair-splitting subtleties. What a religion for fallen man! But, with the dark ages, the absurd speculations of reason did not pass away. Subsequently, and even in our own times, men have been found who make religion consist in the vagaries of a distorted brain, and in the absurdities of a false philosophy. But, conceding the fact that the learned had a clear understanding of the mystical and sophisticated theories, yet they were far from the comprehension of the illiterate. In heathen countries the philosophers always derided the religion of the vulgar, while the vulgar understood nothing of the religion of the philosophers. Among those systems now extant which set aside revelation for reason, may be reckoned that of Socinus, denominated the Socinian system.* The true features of this system may be seen in a work entitled,

* It is true, Socinians do not reject the Bible nominally, but they reject all that it reveals as essential to man's salvation.

"Errors of Socinianism," which my readers may peruse with much profit. But how unlike every other system, in this respect, is that revealed in the Scriptures? Here the doctrine of the unity of God; a distinction of persons in the Godhead; the creation and conservation of all things by God; a general and particular providence; a divine law fixing the distinctions of right and wrong; the fall and corruption, the guilt and danger of man; the doctrine of atonement through the voluntary and vicarious sufferings of the seed of the woman; the necessity of penitence and faith in that atonement, in order to forgiveness; the accountability of man; the obligation and efficacy of prayer; the doctrine of direct influence; practical righteousness; the immortality of the soul; the resurrection of the body, and a heavenly and unfading inheritance;—are clearly unfolded and brought down to the capacity of all.

That there are mysteries connected with revealed religion we admit; but this concession detracts nothing from its simplicity. "We cannot comprehend the common operations of nature; and if we ascend to higher departments of science—even to science of demonstration itself, the mathematics—we shall find that mysteries exist there."

"Mysteries in the Christian religion, instead of being suspected, should rather be regarded as a proof of its divine origin; for, if nothing more were contained in the New Testament than we previously knew, or nothing more than we could easily comprehend, we might justly doubt if it came from God, and whether it was not rather a work of man's device."

"Though some of the truths revealed in the Scriptures are mysterious, yet the tendency of the most exalted of its mysteries is practical. If, for instance, we cannot explain the influence of the Spirit, happy will it be for us, nevertheless, if we *experience* that the 'fruits of the Spirit are love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance.'"*

In the Bible we are taught that God has revealed the most sublime truths "even unto babes"—to those, not the "wise and prudent" of this world, who are willing to learn at the feet of their Master. Indeed, all that is essential to man's salvation may be comprehended by the weakest intellect. Who, then, will set aside this heavenly light for the glimmerings of reason?

4. Revealed religion exhibits clearly its superiority in the spirituality of its worship. The worship of other religions is extremely gross and sensual. To say nothing of the worship of those ignorant nations given to the grossest idolatry and superstition, let us, for a moment, examine the worship of those who, though unenlightened by revelation, have stood high in intellectual refinement and erudition.

The most enlightened of the heathen and philosophic world were extremely ignorant of divine worship. "They worshipped they knew not what." It is true, they had their temples, their altars, and their images. Their temples were filled with splendid decorations and embellishments. Some of them had stated seasons of worshipping at the shrines of their imaginary deities. But their worship

* See "Horne's Introduction," p. 53.

consisted, chiefly, in symbolical pageantry and lifeless ceremonies. There was nothing *spiritual* in it; nothing that was calculated to elevate or tranquilize the mind. It was a mere exterior parade, empty and powerless. Under such worship their minds became more sensual, and their moral natures exhibited a constant deterioration. This will not appear strange, when we consider that their gods were of the most profligate and demoralizing character.

It is said, by good authority, that some of the most enlightened heathen philosophers "worshipped" a class of spirits which were thought superior to the soul of man, but inferior to those intelligences which animated the sun, the moon, and the planets; and to whom were committed the government of the world, particular nations, &c. Though they were generally invisible, they were not supposed to be pure, disembodied spirits, but to have some kind of ethereal vehicle. They were of various orders, and, according to the situation over which they presided, had different names. Hence, the Greek and Roman poets talk of satyrs, dryads, nymphs, fawns, &c. These different orders of intelligences, which, though worshipped as gods or demigods, were yet believed to partake of human passions and appetites, led to the deification of departed heroes and other eminent benefactors of the human race; and from this latter probably arose the belief of natural and tutelar gods, as well as the practice of worshipping these gods through the medium of statues cut into a human figure.*

Nor is this ignorance of true worship to be attributed to a want of intellectual cultivation. During a large proportion of the period of the oriental and Grecian philosophy, science had, in many respects, attained to as high a state of perfection as it had at any subsequent age. Rhetoric, eloquence, poetry, and some of the other branches, were studied with a success which has scarcely since been surpassed. But, with all their erudition, their faculties, aside from revelation, have never taught them the nature and object of true worship. There was nothing in any system of heathen mythology from which they could obtain this information. And, whenever reason has taken the place of revelation, the proper knowledge of true worship has been wanting.†

The Bible, alone, unfolds to us the character of divine worship. Said the Saviour to the woman of Samaria, "God is a spirit; and they who worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." Here the Divine Being is presented, not a god in human form, but the maker and upholder of all things; the only being worthy of man's affections. Here we are taught to worship and adore this Being "in spirit and in truth." It is true, we do not here behold the trappings and ostentation of heathen worship, but we can mark the simplicity and *spirituality of that* in which thousands have taken sweet delight. With the sacred volume before us, unfolding the glories of immortality, we will continue to contemplate the character of our Infinite Preserver and Benefactor; our feet shall tread His "holy courts," and our private meditations of Him shall be

* See "Warburton's Divine Legation."

† We are informed by Hesiod and Varro that the Greeks and Romans, though they made high claims to literature, and eulogized unassisted reason, yet worshipped no less than *thirty thousand deities*. How awfully corrupting to the mind!

sweet; so, by these delightful exercises, our minds shall become tranquilized, devout, and spiritual, and ultimately prepared to join the "blood-washed company" in the "better land."

5. The superiority of revealed religion is again observable in its universal tendency to inspire and promote a spirit of benevolence. Here Christianity stands forth in its unrivalled glory. Where shall we look for the fountain of those streams of benevolence which are now pouring forth their healthful and resuscitating influences, and which are destined to renew and fertilize the moral world, except in Christianity? Benevolence is the very genius of the Christian religion. This is the soil in which it "lives, moves, and has its being." Look at the first abettors of the gospel. They were feeble, yet *holy* men. In their public addresses we do not discover the charms of eloquence, or the refinement of erudition. Abundant labors and extensive philanthropy were their prominent characteristics. They were content with nothing but the salvation of the world. In their hands the "heavenly treasure," though in "earthen vessels," triumphed over all opposition. It went forth from "conquering to conquer." This treasure is still committed to the hands of a few undaunted and energetic men, who are resolved on conquering the world to Christ. This host of fearless sentinels, stationed on the outposts of the moral world, will soon witness the last contest, and hear the victory shout, "Alleluia, the Lord God omnipotent reigneth!"

But where, and when, has the religion of reason created in the heart the spirit and feelings of benevolence? When has it taught man the duties he owes to God and his fellow-creatures? When has it produced in the heart a lively interest in those benevolent enterprises designed for the melioration of our race? When has it inspired that burning desire in the soul for the salvation of the world? We answer, Never! Examine the history of heathen philosophy, and what do you behold? Do you there find the characters of those philanthropic men,—such as Howard, Wilberforce, &c., whose labors were indefatigable in promoting the welfare and happiness of their species? Socrates, it is true, labored to benefit the youth of Athens, but his object seemed to be rather to correct certain errors of life, than to change and renew the heart. But whatever genuine benevolence he possessed, he was unquestionably indebted to revelation* for it, and *not* to reason. But how few of the philosophers felt *any* interest in the reformation of their pupils? Indeed, many of them taught the grossest inconsistencies, while their conduct was strikingly immoral. Such a man as Howard will stand like an imperishable monument as the benefactor of his race when renowned sages of antiquity, whose names throw a lustre around the history of philosophy, shall have been consigned to oblivion.

No sooner did the benign influence of Christianity begin to move the hearts of men, than the spirit of benevolence was manifest. Such were the feelings of those under its influence at the day of pentecost, that they "sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all *men* as every man had need." St. Paul gave orders that the poor be remembered, and that collections be made for them, &c. (1 Cor. xvi, 1.)

* He may have received some traditional notices of revelation.

Relinquishing the delights and splendor of vanity, they voluntarily renounced their possessions for the relief of their indigent brethren; but the renunciations, unlike those of the heathen philosophers, were not sacrifices of sensuality at the shrine of pride; they proceeded from the purest motives, and were performed with the sublimest views. Thus has the gospel taught men to feel for suffering humanity and human wo. Every country where the gospel is not known and its principles diffused, the poor are neglected and forgotten. All travellers who have visited the ruins of the celebrated cities of Greece and Rome, have been greatly solicitous to copy the inscriptions found on fragments of columns, and other relics of public buildings. They have found among the ruins the remains of amphitheatres, temples, palaces, mausoleums, and triumphal arches; but no fragments have yet been found, with an inscription, telling us that that relic belonged to a hospital, or to any institution for the supply of human want, or the removal of human misery. The Christian religion, like its Author, speaks in tones of tenderness and mercy. It stands ready to supply the wants of men, and to alleviate human suffering and misery in all its forms.

6. Lastly, its superiority is demonstrated in the effects it has produced in changing and subduing the heart, and in restoring the moral world to its original purity. Every system of man's invention, however powerful and admirable its adaptation, has proved utterly inadequate to subdue the obdurate will, and curb the violent passions of men. Genius, learning, philosophy, and wit have been resorted to in vain. In the Grecian schools, where the sciences were cultivated, and philosophy attained to the summit of its glory, men lived in the indulgence of unbridled passions, corrupt propensities, and in the commission of almost all imaginable crimes. There was nothing in the philosophy of the schools that was calculated to destroy the spirit of avarice, rancor, ostentation, and pride. Men seemed to be propelled forward by the natural impulses of a corrupt nature in their plans and enterprises. Hence we find bickerings, strife, injustice, litigations, &c., existing among the most virtuous and refined. But, if we turn our attention from the Grecian schools, where shall we look to behold man, by human efforts, brought under a proper discipline; his heart changed and renewed, and brought to feel his responsibilities as an intellectual, social, and immortal being? Such a view in the nature of the case cannot be expected. "There is no other name given under heaven among men, whereby we can be saved."

The gospel is the divine method for man's recovery; and, whatever the wise men of this world, in the plenitude of their philosophical loftiness, may think or say respecting it, it has been found hitherto, and it will be found henceforward, that "the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God stronger than men." "After that, in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God, by the 'foolishness of preaching,' to save them that believe." In the moral revolutions which it effected on characters of all descriptions, the gospel proved itself, before the eyes of all men, to be "the power of God unto salvation." The salvation wrought by it was not a thing secret and future; it was present and visible. The preachers of the cross could point to the many trophies of its power; and, enumerating

all the varieties of unrighteous, impure, and profligate character, could say—"Such were some of you; but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of God." "Ye were once darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord."

And the "foolishness" of the cross is still the destined means by which the progressive regeneration of the world is to be effected. What has philosophy done? Where her triumphs? Where her trophies? Where the hearts she has renewed? Where the characters that have experienced her converting and transforming power? Where are the tribes which she has "turned from darkness unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God?" Her conquests are all prospective; her triumphs all promissory; her vauntings all of what is yet to be done. To no one thing more appropriately and emphatically than to the boastings of human philosophy, is the poet's line applicable:—

"Man never *is*, but always *to be bless'd*."

But the gospel can point to the past as well as to the future. It has done much: and it is not to its shame, but to the shame of its professed believers, that its achievements have as yet been so limited. Had Christians felt as they ought their obligations to the God of grace, they would have done more, and given more, and prayed more: yes, much more; and "the word of the Lord would have run" faster and farther, and been more abundantly "glorified." Even as it is,—wherever the gospel makes its way,—wherever the word of the Lord takes effect, it shows itself as it did of old, to be still "the power of God unto salvation." It can still point everywhere to the subjects of its subduing and regenerating influence. It can point to hearts of which the enmity has been slain, and which have been devoted in holy consecration to God,—"hearts of stone" that have become "hearts of flesh;" it can point to the licentious, whose vileness has been purified; to the cruel, whose ferocity has been tamed; to blasphemers, that have learned to pray; to drunkards, noted for sobriety; to liars, that are men of truth; and thieves, that "restore fourfold;" to the proud, humbled to the "meekness and gentleness of Christ;" to oppressors, that have laid aside their "rod of iron," and "broken every yoke;" to extortioners, that have ceased to "grind the faces of the poor," and are distinguished for justice and generosity; to sinners of every description and of every grade, that have relinquished the ways of evil, and are "living soberly, righteously, and godly." In the heathen world, idolatry, with all its attendant fooleries, impurities, atrocities, and bacchanalian revelries, gives way before it; and "the gods that have not made the heavens and the earth, perish from off the earth and from under those heavens."* Thus has the gospel triumphed!

This heavenly catholicon is destined to restore the moral world to its original purity, if the predictions of ancient prophets are to be fulfilled. According to those predictions, "the benevolent purposes of the Almighty, in relation to our world, are to be accomplished; war is to cease its desolating ravages, and its instruments to be trans-

* See Wardlaw's Christian Ethics, page 307.

formed into ploughshares and pruning-hooks; selfishness, avarice, injustice, oppression, slavery, and revenge are to be extirpated from the earth; the tribes of mankind are to be united in the bonds of affection and righteousness, and praise spring forth before all nations; the various ranks of society are to be brought into harmonious association, and united in the bond of universal love; the heathen world is to be enlightened, and the Christian world cemented in one grand and harmonious union; the landscape of the earth is to be adorned with new beauties, and the 'wilderness made to bud and blossom as the rose;' 'the kingdoms of this world are to become the kingdoms of our Lord and his Messiah,' 'the whole earth filled with his glory,' and his sceptre swayed over the nations throughout all succeeding ages." If such a work is to be wrought, surely nothing but the Christian religion can effect it. Human reason would fail here. Lord, hasten the universal triumph of the cross!

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Art. V.—OUR COUNTRY.

There is a feature in Christianity which seems to have been overlooked by most writers on morals and religion. That it is a *remedial* system is admitted on all hands. But what is it to remedy? Manifestly, human nature. They are not the works of God which it proposes to remedy. These are all perfect. It is not the state of the physical world which Christianity proposes to remedy—unless it be by that awful and sublime process which is to produce a new material universe, after the general conflagration, for the future residence of the saints.

It is, then, the moral nature of man that Christianity proposes to remedy. It finds this disordered, and prescribes a remedy for the disorder. It does not, indeed, profess to create new faculties, either of body or mind; but it finds the understanding dark, and proposes to enlighten it; it finds the conscience asleep, and arouses it to action, that it may do its office. The affections of the heart, the desires of the soul, are fixed on wrong objects, or thrown out to the blast of every wind. These are taken in hand by this kind restorer of human nature, purified from their grossness and defilement, drawn off from forbidden objects, and placed where they may repose with tranquillity, and perform their functions without either remorse or distraction. All this is done by the remedial influence of that Christianity which has come down from heaven to renovate man, and to "make all this new."

This is no new thought. It has been proclaimed a thousand times; and would to God that it might be more generally realized by those *for* whom the provision has been made.

It was said that this divine remedy is for man. It is designed to fit him for his station; to qualify him to "act well his part" in that relation he sustains in the creation, whether as a lord over inferior animals, as a cultivator of the soil, a merchant or a mechanic, as a subject of the government of God, as a citizen of the world, as a

subject or citizen of a particular country, as a husband, father, or son, as a magistrate, or as one who is bound to obey the laws. In whatever respect he is unfitted to sustain himself in any of these relations, or to discharge the duties arising out of them, Christianity comes in as a restorer, proposing a remedy for his defects, and imparting, by means of its internal energies and its external instructions, capabilities and qualifications to enable man to fulfil his high destiny.

We mean to apply these remarks to the subject indicated at the head of this article, and thereby bring into view that feature of this religion which seems to have been, in some measure, overlooked by Christian moralists. Christianity, then, does not propose what form of civil government shall exist among men. It has existed and flourished under all possible forms. When it first made its entrance into our world, imbodied in the person of its adorable Author, it found mankind under a monarchy of the most absolute character. It did not make war upon this monarchy. The structure of the civil government, whether as displayed in the person of Herod, whose jurisdiction was confined to the land of Judea, or in the person of Cesar, whose jurisdiction was of almost unlimited extent, it left to itself, simply teaching the people to "render to God the things that are God's, and to Cesar the things that are Cesar's." This divine maxim, which fell from the lips of the Founder of Christianity, comprehended every thing; every duty, civil and religious. It found a government existing, and commanded its disciples to conform to its requisitions, so far as they could without abridging the rights of God; which, indeed, always have had, and always must have, a prior claim upon the homage of mankind.

The apostles, who were the authorized expounders of the doctrines and precepts of Christianity, living under a similar government, but in the hands of a tyrant of the most atrocious character, inculcated obedience "to the powers that be." They did not intermeddle with the civil powers any farther than to exact obedience from their followers to the constituted authorities of the land. Read over the Evangelists, the Acts, and the apostolic Epistles, and if you can find any officious intermeddling with the affairs of state, we will then allow that we have but imperfectly understood this divine system of religion.

But, while it left all these things to be regulated and managed by those to whom they belonged, they did not fail to attack the *vices* of all, whether high or low, whether in or out of office; whether the delinquent wielded a sceptre, wore the ermine, brandished a sword, or occupied a less conspicuous station, or mingled with those in the more humble walks of life. Here Christianity knew no compromise, took no bribes, held no parley; but openly, boldly, and with an honesty of purpose which would not be turned aside for any earthly consideration, rebuked, entreated, and instructed all.

We see, therefore, that in this respect, also, the system presented its *remedial* character to the consideration of mankind. It did not, indeed, propose to alter or modify the civil government of the country. It expressed no preference to a monarchy, an aristocracy, or a republic. It knew perfectly well that it could live and flourish under either the one or the other, provided the administration were in the hands of men who "feared God and gave glory to his name."

Instead, therefore, of undertaking to prescribe of what character the civil government should be, the public teachers of Christianity sought to bring all men, the ruler and the ruled, under the reforming influence of their religion; knowing, full well, that if its remedial effects were felt in the heart and expressed in the life, no unjust laws would emanate from the throne or the senate, nor would any cruel acts of administration issue from the bench of the magistrate. If all men were brought under the influence of a religion which teaches mankind to "do justly, love mercy, and to walk humbly with their God," there would be no tyranny exhibited in the conduct of civil magistrates, no unjust and oppressive laws enacted by the legislature, no more than there would be resistance or rebellion on the part of the subjects or citizens. All would be bound together as a band of brothers, and actuated in their several relations by the reciprocal laws of justice, truth, and equity. This is the *remedial* character of Christianity. While it teaches its disciples to "submit themselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake," to honor the magistrate as "God's minister, sent to them for good," and "to render honor to whom honor is due," it proclaims, in tones of thunder, the just judgments of God "against evil doers" of every description; rebuking sin, though in respectful language, whether in *high or low places*. To the obstinate violaters of God's law it denounces wo and death, in terms that cannot be misunderstood; declaring to one and all, that "except they repent, they shall all likewise perish." Nor is this all. It reveals and enforces, by the most solemn and awful sanctions, laws suited to all conditions and ranks of men. To these laws implicit obedience is demanded. Duty is thus inculcated upon all. "Fear God, honor the king,"—that is, the civil magistrate,—and "love the brotherhood," comprehends the whole duty it requires of man.

But suppose it finds mankind in a state of rebellion against God, against the laws of their country, and infringing upon the rights of each other, what does it propose to do? Does it propose to remodel the government? Not at all. Here it comes in its *remedial* character. Instead of seeking to change the laws of God, or to subvert the government of the country, or to annihilate the rights of individuals, it aims its blow at the rebellious *hearts* of men, seeks to change *them*, to subvert the false principles by which they are governed, and to restore them to the possession of their individual rights and privileges. This is its sovereign remedy, and it seeks none other. It knows, all its advocates who understand its principles know, that if this remedy can be applied to the heart and life, those other evils which arise solely out of this radical evil, this heart-sin, this hereditary disease, will be removed, just as naturally and as necessarily as the leaves will fade and die when the tree is plucked up by the roots. Let the governor and the governed thus feel the remedial influence of this sovereign antidote for the ills of human nature, and each one will "do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with God;" and when this is done, it is a matter of indifference who is the ruler, what the nominal character of the government, or by what party the administration is carried forward. Neither justice, mercy, nor humility can work any ill to our neighbor.

These general remarks admit of a particular application to our

own government. This is *our* country, and *we love it.* We love it not only because we were born in it, and have, therefore, received it as an inheritance from our fathers, but we love it more especially because we think we have one of the most happy, just, and equitable forms of government in the world, or that the world ever saw. This may be prejudice. If it be, it is a prejudice of a pardonable character. It is a natural one. Is it not, in fact, commendable? Is not that man to be commended who loves his country—the country which gave him birth—nurtured him—and which now protects him in all his rights and privileges—natural, civil, and religious? We hope, at least, that this feeling of the heart, prompted as it is by those impulses which are coeval with our earliest recollections, will meet with a hearty response from every one who may read these pages.

Shall this government stand? Shall our institutions, civil and religious, under which we have so greatly prospered thus far, be handed down to posterity unimpaired? Shall that constitution, the noblest monument of human wisdom, withstand the shocks of its assailants? Shall it be preserved as the palladium of our liberties and as the great "landmark" for future statesmen; the polar star to guide the national ship in the midst of the storms and tempests which may arise out of the conflicts of parties, and the rushing of human passions and prejudices? These are questions which every American patriot ought to put to himself. Nor let the Christian think that he ought to love his country less because he is required to love his God more.

It has frequently been observed that this government is an *experiment.* It is, indeed, an experiment upon a large scale. The fate of millions is involved in the issue. Not merely of those now living in this country, enjoying all the untold blessings guarantied to them under the constitution which binds, limits, and controls the action of the supreme legislature of the Union, but also of generations unborn in this and in other lands. And who can be indifferent in respect to the success of an experiment pregnant with good or evil of such an incalculable amount?

There are many reasons why it is called an *experiment.* It had no archetype; no precedent in the history of the world. The world, indeed, had seen the patriarchal, the monarchical, aristocratical, and the democratical forms of government alternately rise and fall; but until the American Revolution had effected the emancipation of these colonies from the dominion of the mother country, the world never saw a *representative* government in which the power of legislation was delegated by the mass to the hands of a few, chosen for that purpose by the united voice of the people. Rome, to be sure, had its senate; but this was neither checked in its legislative action by a constitution, nor were its proceedings balanced by an upper and lower house. Hence the almost perpetual vacillation from a republic to a monarchy; from military despotism to the anarchy of popular uproar and confusion. And what were the governments of Greece? Were they not so many petty, turbulent democracies, in the deliberations of which neither the voice of wisdom nor experience could be heard whenever the popular frenzy was wrought up by the harangues of artful demagogues? Those wild democracies,

often more tyrannical, and always more whimsical than an absolute monarchy, formed no fit precedent for the frame-work of the American confederacy. Here is an aristocracy of power, created, for the time being, by the people themselves; during which time the latter have agreed to surrender up a portion of their liberties into the hands of a few; reserving, however, to themselves the right of reclaiming this delegated power whenever they shall think it has been abused, and of putting it into the hands of others. This is the *experiment.*

Here are *wheels within the wheel.* Here are the several state governments, moving each in its own sphere, while the outer wheel of the general government throws itself around them all, and protects them without interfering with any. If these are so balanced and managed that each one can turn upon its own axis without interfering with its fellow, and at the same time keep within its destined sphere of action, so as not to clog the wheels of the general government, by the blessing of a munificent Providence the whole machinery may go on harmoniously, without interruption; and, if kept in proper order, may not wear out under the influence of its own friction. We say this is the *experiment.* The strength of the system is yet to be tested. Its durability must depend, not simply on the theory of the government, but upon the wisdom, the integrity, and devotedness to the interests of their fellow-citizens, of those who are appointed to manage the system.

For this we have some fears. And, though we do not wish to be set down as croakers, nor classed among the prophets of evil tidings, we cannot avoid the duty—so we feel it—of noticing some things which, we fear, forebode disastrous consequences. The mentioning of these is the chief object of this article; and, in doing this, we shall keep in view the principle with which we commenced, namely, that our Christianity—for we desire to sustain the character of Christian patriots, and not to take the hue of any political party—is a *remedial* system; that it intermeddles not with the forms of civil governments, but aims simply to make good citizens and subjects under every form where its disciples may dwell.

1. The first thing we would notice, as an evil to be deprecated, is the fatal influence of what has been called *Lynch law.* Ever since the scene of the Vicksburgh massacre, in which the majesty of law was set at defiance, and the honor of the magistrate merged in the virulent spirit of a mob, we have felt for the honor of our country and the safety of its inhabitants. Had, indeed, the civil authorities of the state frowned upon those deeds of atrocity, and expressed its voice of reprobation against the disgraceful acts of that inhuman butchery, we might hope that a repetition of such deeds of violence need not be feared. This, however, so far as we have heard, has never been done.

Let it not be thought that we offer a palliative, much less a plea of justification, for the desperate conduct of those villains on whom the vengeance of an offended people fell. By no means. If truth has been told of their character and doings, they justly deserved chastisement. But was there no civil process by which their deeds could have been brought to light, and the punishment due to their enormities inflicted upon them? If not, then the legislature of the state have been strangely unmindful of their duty.

Nor have we selected this as a solitary instance of popular violence. Others have followed, of a character equally exceptionable, and they, therefore, show the necessity of lifting up the voice against them. The mobs of Boston, New-York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and other places, have all been but an exhibition of the same spirit of insubordination—of the same disposition to usurp the powers of the magistrate, and set the laws at defiance. We know, indeed, that these violent movements are not peculiar to our country, nor to popular governments. Neither a monarchy nor an aristocracy is exempt from these tumultuous assemblages, and those excitements which lead to similar deeds of desperation. But where have we a similar example, on which the government of the country did not look with indignant disapprobation at such deeds of violence? Where else have we an example, where the people were encouraged to a repetition of their outrageous conduct, by the silence of the supreme power? Such a dangerous precedent will be pleaded in future, unless it shall have been frowned upon by those to whom the administration of the laws is committed. And even in those places where the authority of the magistrate was brought to bear upon the mob, and the military power of the country was called into action to enforce law and restore order, the slowness of their proceedings in some instances, and the manifest reluctance with which they discharged their duties in others, seemed but to add fuel to that destructive fire which was raging to such a fearful extent. We do not mean to question the purity or patriotism of the magistrates. They, doubtless, acted from the best of motives. They hoped that mild measures and remonstrances would have the effect to calm those turbulent spirits, and to bring them to a sense of their duty. They found, however, that this experiment failed; and after the mischief was done, and the deeds of violence were perpetrated, the mobs were dispersed by a show of authority. This we consider a mistaken policy. The law should be enforced with a promptness and energy which will teach the lawless that they cannot indulge in the violence of passion, in robbery, and murder, with impunity.

We need hardly stop here to say, that no man in the community is safe while this lawless spirit is permitted to vent itself: this is known to every one. Any citizen, however innocent, becoming obnoxious to the populace, is liable to be outraged in his person or property, whenever they shall see fit to indulge their splenetic disposition against him. This, therefore, is one of the evils to be deprecated. The lawless despotism of the mob must be destroyed, or the iron despotism of a military government will take its place. We must destroy *it*, or *it* will destroy *us*.

2. Another fearful evil which prevails to an alarming extent is, the *abuse* of the press. The *freedom* of the press, under proper regulations and restrictions, is one of the greatest blessings with which a free government can be favored: its abuse is one of its greatest curses; and unless checked and controlled, will, sooner or later, contribute to the destruction of that very freedom which is its safeguard.

It is not, therefore, the *freedom* of the press against which we speak; but it is that *abuse* of this freedom, which is exemplified in personal detraction and slander, and more especially in that rancor

which is manifested by one party against the other. The highest authority has said, "Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people." And one of the most comprehensive set of moral rules for the conduct of a religious community, has forbidden its members to "speak evil of ministers and magistrates." But such rules are no more heeded by the generality of our citizens, than if they had been written in the sand. On the contrary, the character of our magistrates is assailed uniformly by the adverse party with all the virulence of partisan madness; not chiefly because their conduct is morally or politically bad, but because they belong to the dominant party, and must therefore, if possible, be put down. And while the adverse party thus indiscriminately denounces its antagonist, the latter sets up its plea of justification, and manifests its sense of injury by retaliating upon its opponent in a similar strain of abuse and invective. Thus each party is immaculate in its own estimation, while its antagonist is every thing that is bad. Is this conduct likely to serve the interests of truth? to promote virtue? or to exalt the character of the nation?

The suffrages of a free people in the choice of their rulers is considered one of the safeguards of our liberties. But while partisan politicians are chiefly intent upon blackening the characters of each other, and as eagerly engaged in justifying their own party, what becomes of the freedom of elections? Instead of selecting the best man in the community to serve the public interests, *because* he is the best, or the most competent, the chief, if not indeed the *only* inquiry is, Does he belong to the party, and will he, therefore, serve its interests? Thus the interests of the party are sought to be promoted at the sacrifice of the interests of the country. Is this the wisest course to preserve our liberties, and to secure the peace, the prosperity, and permanency of our government? We do not say that bad motives always influence men in this partisan warfare. No doubt they often persuade themselves that their party is right and the most patriotic; and that if their measures can be adopted, it will secure the best interests of the country. Nor do we deprecate the existence of all difference of opinion on the subject of politics. These differences, were they stated and conducted in a suitable manner, free from those violent expressions of wholesale slander and personal recriminations, might produce a healthy action in the body politic, and serve to purify the political atmosphere. A perfect calm is as much to be dreaded as a violent storm. But what we condemn is, that spirit of blind zeal which sees nothing good and true in an antagonist, nor yet any fault in those of its own party. Do not those unqualified censures, this impugning of motives, and this mutual recrimination, tend to destroy confidence in our rulers? Who, if he believe what is said in these vehicles of abuse, is willing to confide his interests to their keeping?

We allow, that "great men are not always wise." We allow, that magistrates may err; that bad men may get into office; that when "the wicked bear rule, the people mourn." This is admitted. But how is the evil to be remedied? Is it by wholesale abuse and slander? Is it by a sweeping condemnation of the whole, merely because they dissent from us in political views? Does not every body see, that this unwise course of conduct goes to destroy all confidence in the accuser as well as the accused? For our part, we have become so ac-

customed to this sort of abuse, that when we look into a strong partisan paper, and read the violent strictures upon public men and measures, we do not allow ourselves to be influenced by it. So little confidence is reposed in what is retailed under the influence of this bitter spirit, that we immediately suspect the whole as the tricks of the party, resorted to for the purpose of securing patronage, and of sustaining some particular interests. This is the natural, the unavoidable effect of those measures of violence. If, then, the press would inspire confidence in its integrity, let it give evidence that its sole object is to promulgate the truth, and to seek, not the interests of a party, but the good of the country. Let it, in its animadversions upon public men and measures, discriminate "between the righteous and the wicked;" give due credit for every thing which is good, let it be found wherever it may; make suitable allowances for human weaknesses; and then its censures upon those who are at fault will be believed, and its warnings be heeded. We are no more in favor of wholesale and indiscriminate praise and mere partisan eulogy, than we are for those broad and sweeping accusations which pass sentence of condemnation upon all, because they happen to belong to a party. Discriminate between truth and error, between the good and the bad, right and wrong, and evince an honest intention to deal out equal justice to all, and the press shall become a faithful sentinel to warn the people of their danger, and at the same time a powerful prop in support of our liberties and our civil institutions. A love of country requires this: much more does Christianity sanction and command it.

But were this abuse of the freedom of the press confined to the political newspapers, there would not be so much reason to apprehend danger. Within a few years, religious periodicals, of various sorts and sizes, have been multiplied in our country. At the commencement of these, they were hailed by the Christian community as harbingers of peace and good will, and it was hoped that they would tend greatly to purify the moral atmosphere, and to present the rays of truth through a clearer medium to the minds of the people. Nor have we been altogether disappointed. Through this medium religious intelligence has been widely diffused, the benevolent enterprises of the day have been greatly aided, and many truths but partially known, have been announced and promulgated far and wide; and hence there can be no doubt, but that this sort of periodical literature and intelligence has been beneficially increased, carrying with it light and love to many hearts; nor would we say a word to limit its circulation, or to circumscribe its influence. Let it fly as "upon the wings of the morning," until it shall reach the utmost bounds of the habitable globe.

But we have, nevertheless, feared that even these papers have not always been free from the defects we have already noticed. Instead of manifesting that strict regard to truth, justice, and love, which should characterize a religious journal, the spirit of party, of denominational jealousies, and of personal recrimination, has too much predominated. We, doubtless, must come in for our full share of censure on this subject. With whatever care and cautiousness an editor may have watched against the demon of party, it is to be feared that he has not always been frowned into silence. Nor has this partisan warfare been confined to a difference between one denomination and another,

but brethren of the same family have lifted up the heel against each other, each one contending for his peculiarities and opinions with much of that asperity of feeling and biting sarcasm which mark the conduct of political journalists. This spirit and conduct, so far as they have prevailed, have been productive of animosity, strife, and envy. Hence some denominations are now bleeding at every pore, and are literally torn to pieces by factions. How much the injudicious management of the religious press has contributed to this unhappy result, it would be well for all concerned to examine, and be more guarded in future. Editors, like all others, are fallible men. They have, equally with their readers, prejudices to combat, peculiar opinions of their own either to be sustained or sacrificed for the public good, and are liable to be biased by the same influences, unless well fortified by a prudent regard to the good of the community, which move and determine the conduct of all other men; while their position gives them a command over the opinions and feelings of their numerous readers, which involves a fearful responsibility. They sacrifice, therefore, either for good or ill, to a vast amount. Should not this thought suggest the necessity of a cautious conduct on the part of those who have command of the public press, and more especially of the *religious* press?

Such, indeed, is the vitiated taste of the public mind, that a paper which deals in personal abuse and individual detraction is more likely to be extensively patronized than any other. Hence the avidity with which such are sought after and read—a melancholy proof this of the depravity of the human heart, and of the facility with which means can be furnished to feed and pamper its vitiated appetite.

The unrestrained freedom of the press, when wielded in the cause of truth and virtue, is one of the greatest safeguards to free institutions. But, like all other good things, it opens a door for the most flagrant abuses; and in the hands of raw and inexperienced men, is susceptible of incalculable mischief; and more especially so, when it is controlled by those who are destitute of moral principle, urged on, as they frequently are, by a malignant hatred to a wholesome restraint, and to that order and subordination, which are essential to the well-being of human society. In this state of things, no sooner does a man take it into his head that his own interest can be advanced by resorting to the press, than he hastily puts his thoughts to paper, and, if he can enlist a sufficient number in his favor to commence the publication of a daily or weekly sheet, he pours forth upon the community the effusions of his distempered and distorted brain, regardless of truth and honesty, reckless of the reputation of his neighbor, and equally indifferent to the interests of his country. And what is more astonishing still, if you presume to lift up your voice against this violent abuse of the press, you are denounced as an enemy to its freedom! These moral vampires, who feed themselves upon the characters of their countrymen, assume to themselves the right not only to dictate what shall be published, but they also seem to flatter themselves you are bound to read them, and pay them for their slanders. If you warn the people against their vituperations, and endeavor to guard the community from their contaminating influence, you are instantly stigmatized as an enemy to free discussion. Should not such men

consider that we have the same right to refuse to patronize and read as they have to publish? that we have the same right to condemn their vile trash as they have to pander it upon the public? Or, are they so blinded to the perceptions of equal rights that they have persuaded themselves that the freedom of the press consists altogether in the right to slander unmolestedly, to pour forth their political and moral heresies without opposition, and to poison the fountains of truth without censure!

Who will say that these things have not a deleterious influence upon us as a nation? Shall we become a nation of personal revilers? Shall we become distinguished for reciprocal recriminations? Will not such a course of conduct weaken the bonds of our civil compact, and ultimately drive us into that anarchy which is subversive of all order and good government? When mutual respect and confidence are destroyed, where can mutual safety be had? All those, therefore, who wish well to their country, should unite in frowning such principles and practices into silence. Let all such make the voice of reprobation be heard against this vile abuse of the freedom of speech and of the press, which leads to the indulgence of a licentiousness so hateful in its character, and so destructive to the tranquillity and prosperity of our beloved country. Let, indeed, the press itself take a bold, decided, and unflinching stand against such flagrant abuses of its freedom and independence. This it owes to its own character. What man, who values his reputation as an editor, is willing to identify himself with those hireling vassals who shout for the multitude, regardless of the rights of truth, probity, and honor, and who cater for the raven appetites of those who fatten themselves upon the spoils of such as are slain by those who delight in butchering the characters of their fellow-men!

We say, therefore, that every honest patriot who has any thing to do in controlling the press, owes it to himself and to his country to refrain from this merciless warfare upon human beings. And if such men would come forward fearlessly, and lift up their voice with that independent boldness which becomes men of truth and probity, in favor of morals and against that desecration of freedom we are now deprecating, the augean stable would soon be cleansed, the demon of discord would be compelled to confine himself to those only who are worthy of his society, while the virtuous and good would rally to the rescue, and seize on the golden moment to save our land and nation from the grasp of its hireling enemies.

3. Another evil, of no small magnitude, is the tendency which is manifested, in all our public men, to throw the government into the hands of the populace, and then to call their voice the voice of public sentiment. We confess that we have been no less disgusted than astonished at hearing our public speakers, apparently with a view to court popular applause, harp upon the "sovereignty of the people," and the "voice of their constituents," when they have been solicitous to carry some favorite measure; knowing, at the same time, that this sovereignty and constituency knew no more about the measure in question, until they heard it announced by their delegate, than they did of the secret movements of the caucus which nominated him to his office. And these men have rung the changes upon the "sovereignty of the people" so long, and with such a sick-

ening repetition, that the people have at length determined to let us know that they are indeed our sovereigns in the broadest sense of that word; that they are, in reality, above all law and order, superior to the magistrate, and have the right to act in their collective capacity without any reference to either law or justice. Hence the mobs which have disturbed and disgraced our country. Hence civil courts have been set at defiance, magistrates insulted, the regular process of justice impeded and outraged, while the echo from our halls of legislation, "the sovereignty of the people," has been made the basis of these riotous proceedings. Such are the perversions of truth! Such the abuses of those principles which lie at the foundation of our social and civil compact!

But we do not wish to be misunderstood upon this topic. We mean not to say that the people do not possess the original right of self-government, and that, therefore, the government did not emanate from them. This is admitted. But what we mean to say is, that having declared their preference for the form of government which they wish to "reign over them," they are bound to submit to it; to have it administered as the constitution of their own framing has directed; and to allow the laws to have their full "force, power, and virtue," according to their meaning and design; and to acknowledge that whenever an attempt is made, by a tumultuous assemblage of the people, to usurp the powers of government, to control the magistrate in the lawful exercise of his high trust, or to supersede his powers by the interference of a mob, and thus to trample the laws beneath their feet, they are rising against the government of their choice, and contributing most effectually to prostrate the liberties guarantied to them by the constitutional compact. Against this evil, therefore, let every true man raise his voice.

4. We are not certain that crime increases in our country; but it is unquestionable that virtue is essential to the stability of our institutions. Read the history of the world, and you will find that the prevalence of wickedness, and the indulgence of luxury, idleness, and profaneness, have always been the precursors of the downfall of nations. It is easy to see how these things naturally work the destruction of good governments. Riches beget pride, and pride leads to the gratification of the senses, and this to all manner of licentiousness; and all these together produce that effeminacy of spirit and manners which incapacitates man for either self-government or for defence against the invasions of an enemy. As wealth, therefore, increases among us, habits of industry are laid aside, and indolence, self-indulgence, and licentiousness, with all their train of evils, will pour in upon us like an overflowing flood, and sweep our institutions from the face of the earth. In addition to the natural results of these vices, they provoke God to anger against us, and thereby expose us to that destruction which comes upon those against whom his wrath is kindled. The awful judgments which came upon the Israelites, at different times, as punishments for their defection from the laws of their God, should admonish us of the danger to be apprehended from similar provocations of his just indignation. He is not only *just*, but also *impartial* in the distribution of his rewards and punishments. And think you that He, who punished the old world for their shameful defection from his laws, their rebellion,

against his government, and so often interposed his authority when the descendants of Abraham gave themselves up to their own hearts' lusts, will spare us if we provoke him to anger by similar acts of rebellion against his righteous government? The very thought that he will do so is an indication that his judgments linger not, because it is an impeachment of the holiness and justice of his character.

5. What tends to enhance our wickedness, and to hasten the day of retribution, is the introduction of a vicious foreign population. We have no objection to an increase of population. Were it of the right character,—intelligent, virtuous, and industrious,—it would augment our national strength, and thereby add to our capabilities to defend ourselves against foreign aggressions. But is this the character, generally, of that flood of immigration which is inundating our country? Very far from it. The greater proportion of those who come among us are an ignorant, vicious race of beings, who are encouraged by their own governments to people our shores because they are a nuisance at home. These bring their vices with them; and, however insignificant they may appear in the estimation of some, they are no sooner naturalized here, which, indeed, requires but a short probation, than they have as much weight at our polls, and thereby have as great a share in the government of the country, as the wisest and best among us. This, therefore, is an evil of almost an uncontrollable character. They corrupt our morals, and, uniting their suffrages with those of our own citizens, who are equally reckless of the character and interests of their country, they often exert a preponderating influence over our municipal and state authorities.

To say nothing of their religious principles, which, in general, are averse to that republican simplicity by which our nation should be distinguished, their very political breath has a contagious influence, breeding civil disease and death wherever it is inhaled. As to their religion, if we may judge of its character by its fruits, it has none of that purifying and hallowing influence which pure Christianity always carries with it, and which tends to exalt man to his true dignity, and secure to him his rights and privileges. Surely a foreign population of this character, unless proper means are adopted to purify its morals, to rectify its principles, and to correct its political biases, must exert a deleterious influence upon our republican institutions, and should, therefore, be guarded against with all that vigilance which true patriotism always inspires.

In the midst of these alarming evils which prevail in our land, and threaten to undermine our free institutions and prostrate our civil and religious liberties, the lover of his country anxiously inquires, *Is there no remedy?* To this important inquiry we answer, most emphatically, *There is.* CHRISTIANITY IS THAT REMEDY. Let its pure and hallowing principles be promulgated. Let its renovating power be felt in the hearts of our fellow-citizens, and its holy precepts exemplified in practical life, and all is well. This divine system of religion presents an invulnerable shield to the Christian patriot, which will ward off every blow of the adversary of his country's rights, and enable him to defend himself against every intruder into the fair fields of liberty and happiness. What does it inculcate? It makes the laws of eternal truth, justice, and

goodness, the basis of all human conduct; and though it finds man in possession of passions and propensities which lead him to war against these laws, yet it proposes a remedy even for these heart evils; and no sooner are its prescriptions taken and its injunctions obeyed, than the disease is removed, and the patient is restored to sound moral health. This is, therefore, the sovereign remedy for every evil we have mentioned. Do not all men see, that whenever the ruler and the ruled are governed by these laws all unrighteousness must cease? Let love, peace, and good will pervade all hearts, and actuate every man in his intercourse with his fellow, and where is there any room for rebellion against the laws of truth, justice, and goodness? This is so manifest in itself that it needs no argument to make it more so.

The conclusion, then, is this:—That it is the imperious duty of all who wish well to their country, to use their influence to propagate this religion far and near. Let the press aid the pulpit in this grand enterprise. Let those of its conductors who see and deplore the evils arising from the abuse of this powerful engine, lift up their voice in favor of just laws and civil and religious order. If all such were to unite their energies to suppress the licentiousness of those presses which pour forth their slanders, and propagate their political and moral heresies over our land, who can calculate the amount of good they might do?

What shall we say to the professedly *religious* press? We say, Let its conductors cease their bickerings one against another. Let these set an example to the others of their love of truth, of Christian moderation, of respect for the personal reputation of their fellow-men, their Scriptural regard for magistrates, for the laws of their country, and for that order and subordination which are essential to social existence, and they shall contribute mightily to advance their country's welfare. Let them all unite to inculcate a suitable reverence for the constitution of their country, a love for its civil and religious institutions, and a just regard for its enactments. Let all the secular and religious conductors of the press unite in frowning indignantly upon those editors who pollute their pages with personal abuse, with detraction of individual character, and with sentiments of immoral tendency, and which lead to insubordination and anarchy and to rebellion against the constituted authorities. If we can succeed so far as to make these vehicles of slander and abuse unpopular, we shall have rendered a service to the rights of humanity, to the interests of our country, and to the happiness of the present and future generations, of an untold amount. Let, then, theeffort be made. The cause is worthy of a mighty effort. If we succeed, we shall have saved our country. If we fail, we shall have deserved success by the very effort we made in so noble a cause, and, therefore, our reward is no less certain.

We would call upon all men who value their country's welfare, and who have the smallest influence, to use that influence in a cause so deeply interesting as this. Let the presidents of our colleges, the principals of our academies, the teachers of our common schools, together with all that are concerned in the education of our youth, employ their great influence in teaching the fear of God, a reverence for Christianity, a love of justice, truth, and goodness, and

veneration for magistrates, and a just regard for law and order. Let them feel and fully realize that their individual interests are identified with the interests of their country, and that both are involved in the propagation of the pure principles of Christianity. Let all parents and guardians of youth enlist in the same cause, and the work shall be done.

If it be true that the people are the fountain of civil power, how indispensable is it that this fountain should be pure! How else can the government be in the hands of good men? If, then, we allow a foreign population, destitute of religious and political knowledge and principle, to infect us with their poisonous breath; if we allow our youth to riot with them in indolence, luxury, and wickedness; if we neglect to raise them to the dignity of intelligent and responsible beings, by the appliances of intellectual, moral, and religious culture; then may we expect the fair fields of our extensive and constantly extending republic to be speedily overrun with the briars and thorns of religious and political heresies, which will ultimately destroy those trees of liberty planted by our fathers, and which have been nurtured by our patriotic statesmen.

How shall this corrupt mass be purified? Can philosophy do it? In the ten thousand experiments which it has tried, it has been found a "physician of no value." Can mere mental culture do it? This is equally inefficient. Neither of these can reach the seat of the disease. They may, indeed, enlighten the understanding in political science and civil jurisprudence; but they cannot reach the *heart*, where is the chief seat of the disease. Here, therefore, to the *heart* the remedy must be applied; and Christianity alone can do the deed. This applies itself to the heart; and, if its remedies be taken, and its prescriptions followed, a radical cure is effected here; and if "the tree be made good, the fruit will be good also." Then, when the heart is changed from bad to good, if the understanding is enlightened, the judgment accurately informed on the principles of moral and political science, as well as on the great fundamentals of religion, the people will be prepared and qualified to discharge their duties with an enlightened patriotism, whether in or out of office. That magistrate who is under the influence of these principles, and is actuated by the motives inspired by love to God and man, can be guilty of no acts of cruelty, of sanctioning no oppressive measures, nor of neglecting those duties which are essential to the welfare of the state. And those citizens who are under the influence of the same judgment and motives, will most cordially co-operate with all such magistrates in seeking the peace and prosperity of the community at large.

Under these impressions, we once more call upon all who love their country, to use their best endeavors to diffuse this Christianity among all orders and ranks of men. Let the ignorant be instructed in its doctrines and precepts, the profligate reformed by its power, and all regulated in their social intercourse by its morals, and the state shall be safe, the country shall be blessed and happy, and our civil and religious institutions shall be preserved from deterioration, and be handed down to future generations in all their purity and integrity. Thus shall we bequeath to our posterity an inheritance more precious than gold, and more enduring in the blessings it confers upon mankind than the everlasting hills.

For the Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review.

Art. VI.—LETTER TO THE CHRISTIAN SPECTATOR ON THE WITNESS OF THE SPIRIT.

Mr. Spectator,—There is one truth which the discussion respecting the witness of the Spirit between you and ourselves is well calculated to evince. It is this: that controversy, unless carefully guarded from degenerating into a mere utterance of the spirit of strife, is a two-edged sword, cutting one way as well as another—injuring the right as well as the wrong. It is likely to produce this effect, particularly when carried on through the medium of works issued at regular intervals, perused by distinct classes of readers, who read what is sent them, not because they desire information on any particular subject, but seek information because they have already bought the vehicle which conveys it. In such a case each writer has every advantage with his own readers, and none with his adversary's. For the former, he is so deeply concerned as to seek their good opinion by any means in his power; for the latter, so little as to give himself no concern as to what they think or how they feel.

It is possible, in any controversy, for those who have the truth, to defend it by insufficient arguments, or by arguments which, though they go not the whole length of conviction, are yet of some force. It is quite possible, even for those who are in the right, to misplace a word, to distort an illustration, or having a complete view in their own minds, yet not to state it fully to others. It is possible (for there is no man that liveth and may not sin) that though generally courteous and fair, they may occasionally give rein to bitterness of feeling and expression.

Under such circumstances, as flies pass over all a man's sound parts to light on the sores, so the opposing party, all for himself and for the truth only as it serves himself, may feel as though it were his privilege to display in full proportion the unsound, giving his reader no hint that there is a sound argument which he cannot answer; to dilate upon and magnify the harshness of his opponent's spirit and expression, without any intimation that though that spirit is *occasionally* irregular, yet it is *generally* such as it should be. This is the trick of the trade; and that class of men who in all professions can understand nothing of a trade *but* its tricks, will not fail to resort to it.

In rigid fairness, the whole argument on both sides should be placed before all who read on either side. The necessity, however, of this (which cannot perhaps be expected in all cases) may be obviated in a great degree by a fair and ample statement, on each side, of the arguments, objections, and illustrations on the other.

But I am not about to inflict upon you any lengthened exhortation to duty in this respect. What I think of you, and of your manner of treating the present subject, will appear shortly. Only let me observe, that as in your first piece there was not any such quotation as the case required from Mr. Wesley, whose doctrine you professed to be examining, so in your last,—though there be a few curtailed extracts

from the opponents whom you *seem* to be answering,—yet there is not any quotation calculated to evince either the tenor of their arguments or the spirit in which they carry on the discussion. This is a suspicious circumstance, which you will no doubt account for in your own way.

What I wish chiefly is, to remind myself publicly of my own obligations, and to insinuate into the minds of the readers of this periodical, to consider whether the writer before them seems to deal with his opponent in the spirit of fairness. Perhaps the present series of remarks will not be found to be very regular or methodical; but if I have my wish, you will be able to understand, in each leading remark, precisely what I mean. Besides remarking generally upon the subject, and your manner of treating it, I shall endeavor to make good the following positions, though they will not be formally separated from the body of the remarks,—viz.: That you have misrepresented Mr. Wesley—that you have misrepresented us, the writers in the Methodist Magazine—that you have misrepresented, and even caricatured, the doctrine apart from its propagators; and finally, *proh pudor!* you have misrepresented yourself.

1. In the *first* place, I have a few remarks to make respecting the application of epithets by one to another. I shall make such remarks upon these in passing as may seem to be necessary to bring out their true character, though my prominent design is to let our readers know precisely how *you* designate *us*, and how we designate you.

You say on p. 171, vol. ix, of the Spectator, "Neither of the writers has attempted a defence of the real doctrine of Mr. Wesley, or replied to our remarks with a disposition to meet the question as it is. They signify their belief in the doctrine—do their utmost to evade and mystify the subject, and spend the chief of their strength in giving utterance to some very bitter railing against the Christian Spectator." To this you add on page 174, "We repeat it, that neither Dr. Bangs nor his coadjutor argue to the real question, although both evince that they know what it is, and profess an entire coincidence with Mr. Wesley."

Now what is the full import of these sentences? Do we indeed do our utmost to mystify and evade? Do we *indeed* spend the chief of our strength in giving utterance to some bitter railing? Unfortunately for *us*, *your* readers cannot judge of the truth or falsehood of that remark; but, as I lay it before *our* readers, *they* can. Let them determine for themselves. Your assertions are not worthy even of contradiction. I repeat them here, that others, and perchance you yourself, may be sensible of the nature and strength of the feelings with which you write.

"One or two of Dr. Bangs' misrepresentations we feel called upon to notice. In one instance he so misrepresents our remarks upon Mr. Wesley's character as to make us say he was at times absolutely insane,"—p. 171. In reference to this, it is conceded, and that too with gladness and singleness of heart, that Dr. B's article presents your use of the epithet "insane," in reference to Mr. Wesley, in too strong a light; nevertheless as the misrepresentation was occasioned by misapprehension, and consisted in an exaggeration of the strength, not in a misstatement of the essential import, of the expression, he feels his conscience no more oppressed by the memory of it, now that it is rec-

tified, than he feels of hesitancy in making an acknowledgment of his mistake. The readers of the Magazine are requested to judge for themselves. These were your words—"There we find the true expression of its peculiar elements," i. e., of Mr. Wesley's mind—"the insane as well as the sane." Let your language be compared by the reader with Dr. B.'s alleged misrepresentation of it. You proceed to say, "We are accustomed to regard dogmatical and vindictive partisanship as a *species* of insanity: how far Dr. Bangs was under its influence, in this instance, we will not take upon us to decide." That also must pass unanswered.

"There are some statements," you say on p. 173, "in the Methodist Quarterly that constrain us to prefer a more serious charge against Dr. Bangs." "He deliberately represents to his readers that we affirm that the Holy Spirit has no influence in the conversion of a sinner; and that we entirely exclude the divine agency from the work of cultivating human nature, and fitting it for heaven. THIS IS NOT TRUE; and if Dr. B. read our remarks he had the means of knowing that we expressly affirmed the contrary." I had intended to remark upon this passage somewhat extensively, but I perceive it were labor lost. I remark, 1. Dr. B. does not represent you as *affirming* that the Holy Spirit has no influence in the conversion of a sinner. He says, "After *thus* excluding the Holy Spirit, &c.," meaning that you inculcate such a *doctrine as leads* to his exclusion. If he anywhere represents you as *affirming* that the Holy Spirit has no influence, &c., his remark has escaped my notice. 2. You say, if Dr. B. had read your remarks he had the means of knowing that you affirmed the contrary. I find no such affirmation to the contrary, though I have read your piece, *word by word*, for the purpose of finding it. You do indeed use language which *implies* some agency of the Holy Spirit; but that does not falsify Dr. B.'s remark. Do you not know that the Pharisees rendered the commandments of God of none effect by their traditions? Yet they did not deny that God had commands. So Dr. B. did not mean that you in terms deny the Spirit's influence, but that your doctrine is such as to leave no place for him. What use shall I now make of that most *emphatic* sentence which you have so forcibly obtruded upon me, *This is not true?*

Speaking of Mr. Wesley you say, "whom Dr. Bangs pronounces the most cautious writer of his age." Dr. Bangs pronounces no such thing. He says, (Meth. Mag., vol. xvii, p. 245,) "who, perhaps, was *one* of the most cautious writers of his age."

There are other expressions of like character, tending to show the esteem in which you hold those who differ from you, which I had intended to present; but it is not very necessary, and the time fails.

It is not necessary that I should present, in full tale, our remarks which are personal to you. If the reader is curious he will find them where they can take no new coloring from my fancy, in the Methodist Magazine, already referred to. I solemnly declare, however, that there is nothing there at all equivalent to the language which I have quoted from you, and nothing to justify that language. You are styled a self-confident reviewer—you are said to be deceived by your own prepossessions—it is intimated (ironically) that you may have criticised Mr. Wesley, without having read him, &c. Dr. Bangs' arti-

cle is conceived in a tone of sarcasm, and the second article has something of the same character. This, I believe, is the head and front of our offending, our *argument against yours* excepted.

2. It is not possible for me to meet that assertion of yours, that we evade and mystify in such a way as to destroy its intended effect. Doubtless you intended it for *your* readers: I can only answer it for mine.

However, that there may be no doubt, I will briefly enumerate what Dr. Bangs and his coadjutor have said and done in those "annihilating strictures" of theirs. The two pieces differ in this, that while the one examines the doctrine chiefly, the other is more exclusively directed to your remarks upon the doctrine. Dr. B. first and at length gives Mr. Wesley's statement of the doctrine—a thing which should have been done by you. He then proceeds to defend it by an appeal to Scripture and by the experience of the saints of the Most High in all ages. He then confirms it by an appeal to the recorded experience of several eminent persons in the Calvinistic department of the church, thinking, no doubt, that the testimony of these men would be spurned, least of all by you. These are the prominent points of his piece, though he, in conjunction with his coworker, examines your remarks in detail, giving to each one all the attention which the most fastidious opponent could desire.

When you remark that, though we know what the real question is, we neither of us manifest a disposition to meet it, do you mean that we are knaves, or fools, or both? It is of no great importance to *me* what you mean. I would choose, in such a controversy, rather to be spoken of, than to speak in that way.

3. What you say of Mr. Wesley's character demands a passing notice. All you can desire respecting your use of the word "insane" has been cheerfully granted you. You intended to intimate, not that Mr. Wesley was an insane man, but that his mind contained certain insane elements. But if that were all you meant, why do you spend so much strength in proving him a mystic, after you had defined a mystic to be one destitute of that essential element of a Christian character termed by the apostle a sound mind? Did you there misrepresent Mr. Wesley or yourself? You dwell much upon Mr. Wesley's ghost stories, and upon his credulity. "During the last century," say you, "he has not a parallel in this respect, in any man who possessed a moiety of his claim to intelligence."

Did you never hear that Samuel Johnson and Robert Hall were strongly inclined to believe in the marvellous? Were not they of the last century? or had they no claim to a moiety of Mr. Wesley's intelligence? Mr. Wesley's intelligence ranks high for one destitute of a sound mind.

Touching the ghosts, however, there are a few remarks to be made. Credulity and incredulity, as I believe they rest upon one foundation, so they generally go together in the same person. Take the man who is credulous in one line of inquiry, and lead him in a new direction, and you will see his incredulity. The infidel, who denies the being or at least the revelation of God, can yet admit omens, and swallow the most prodigious stories, illustrative, not of the agency of unseen *beings*, but of eternal fate and invisible chance. Byron, the profligate

and skeptic, could rail at truth, revile religion, and stand in awe of the word *Friday*.

Credulity and incredulity have their basis in a disposition to take some great leading principle for granted upon the authority of others. When that principle is a negative, it forms incredulity; when affirmative, it is credulity. Yet one may be credulous or the contrary, under very different circumstances. If the principle admitted be universally received, it will scarcely pass under the name of credulity, though it be such in reality. How then are we to discern that credulity which consists in the passive reception of commonly received opinions? I answer by this: that the reception of such opinions by the wise man leans upon its proof—you can perceive his mind turning thitherward, like the needle to the pole. On the other hand, the credulous receiver of such opinions shrinks from the word *proof*—the idea that there is any necessity of such thing never crosses his mind. Watch him, and you will see that he at once sets down any man for a credulous fool who dares to ask for proof. It seems to him a point so plain, so much a matter of common sense, that he who doubts or waits for evidence is certainly destitute of a sound mind.

Upon these principles, what should be our estimate of Mr. Wesley? It is a currently received opinion—not that there *are* no ghosts or disembodied spirits—but that they never manifest themselves. Did Mr. Wesley affirm the contrary? No. But he did that which the credulity of fools can never pardon; he obstinately refused to receive this opinion at the dictation of the mass, and submitted it to the decision of fact. He gathered up facts from the lips of others, and these facts he boldly submitted to the inspection of others. Those who have their minds made up on these subjects so soon as they are born, or rather so soon as their friends and acquaintance choose to give sanction to one side or the other, can never understand how one should hesitate respecting them, unless it be either through credulity or incredulity.

As to the matter of ghostly appearances, it is sufficient to say that there is no proof against them, save the fact of their not having been witnessed. Yet that does not destroy the *possibility* of such things, nay, nor their reality. When therefore we hear a man depreciating another as credulous, because he looks around to see if there be not proof of the truth of some opinion which is not commonly received, the reflecting will soon determine to whom the attribute of credulity belongs. A man may indeed very properly accord in judgment with the mass of those about him; but when this acquiescence of his is accompanied by the spirit of bitterness and contempt against all who feel not the same assurance with himself, we may be sure that there is lack either of honesty or of sense—that he either pretends to believe more than he does believe, or that his faith rests upon the authority of other minds than his own.

Your quotation of Mr. Wesley's remark on the difference between the frame of the mind and the state of the soul, serves you nothing, even with the help of your own caricature. Besides the palpable reasonableness of his distinction, you will please observe the inquiry was respecting the then current use of certain terms—a matter which surely Mr. Wesley could determine better than you, without any mysticism. Your remarks on that quotation indicate two things, which I shall be

happy to show at length when opportunity serves. 1. That your false theology rests upon false metaphysics. 2. That you are very apt to misrepresent yourself.

4. I have now some remarks to make upon your method of arguing.

First, under this head let me tell you of some things which you ought to have done, but have left undone. 1. You should have given at full length, from the pen of Mr. W. himself, a statement of the doctrine. This you have not done. 2. You should have examined Mr. Wesley's Scriptural proofs. This you have not done. 3. If you chose to draw in Mr. Watson, you should also have given at least a glimpse at his proof and illustration. This you have not done. 4. Coming to the writers in the Methodist Magazine, as they give you various passages of holy writ, these you should have examined, and not have slipped them by with, "It means no such thing." 5. But, if you could not answer their Scripture arguments, yet, to save appearances, you might at least have attempted to account for the fact that the most eminent men in your own church profess to have experienced this very blessing.

I could wish you had seen fit to do all this, as this would have been the proper course of a negative argument. But as you have chosen both to conceive and to argue the subject in your own light, it becomes me to consider to what purpose you have done so. I do not, just now, examine your argument of the subject proper, but, in a general way, the prominent characteristics of that method of arguing which you pursue. The subject itself will be examined shortly.

I ask you, then, first, Is your confusion or amalgamation—if that term be not polluted by bad associations—of Mr. Watson's argument and illustration perfectly fair?

Strictly speaking, your controversy was with Mr. Wesley alone. Our defence was of him alone. Your article was entitled, "John Wesley on the Witness of the Spirit;" and though, all things considered, it was doubtful whether you intended through the doctrine to hit Mr. Wesley, or through Mr. W. to hit the doctrine, yet both title and article adhered well to this one topic, "John Wesley on the Witness of the Spirit."

In your second piece, both title and tenor are curiously changed. It is now, "*Wesleyan Methodism* on the Witness of the Spirit." I will not say the change was made for the purpose of mystification and evasion; but it seems to afford you great advantage for these things.

The doctrine of Mr. Wesley is not responsible for the illustration of any subsequent writer. He and the writer mentioned are by no means the same, as it is manifest you yourself have already discovered, inasmuch as while you object to Mr. Wesley's doctrine in general terms, yet when your objections become specific they are directed against statements made by Mr. Watson. Had you confined yourself to Mr. Wesley, you never would have conceived it as an objection to the doctrine, that it represents the witness of adoption as necessarily preceding justification and regeneration. Nevertheless, though the expressions you quote from Mr. Watson give some show of plausibility to the objection, had you considered all that he has said on the subject, you would have perceived that he could mean no such thing, as you have represented. Neither do any of those who at all understand the doc-

trine mean any such thing. He and we mean this, that the witness of our pardon must precede the exercise of the grace received in regeneration—must precede the fruits of regeneration. But here the sense of terms is confused by the New (metaphysics of) Divinity.* As in that system there is no soul, but only spiritual operations, and no basis of religious feeling, but certain passing voluntary exercises—as regeneration on that system consists in this or that exercise—of necessity, perhaps, when we speak of the *fruits* of regeneration, you understand *regeneration itself*.

It is to be lamented that the differences between the churches of Christ have latterly assumed such a character as to involve the very unseen elements of thought, and almost to preclude the possibility of mutual conviction by this, that each one, under the influence of some peculiar philosophic theory, attaches to terms certain almost invisible and yet important shades of meaning for which the other can make no allowance. This is a state of things for which there is no remedy, save in a rigorous adherence to Scripture terms, and to the Scripture sense of terms.

Let the conclusion of this observation be, that though you begin with Mr. Wesley, yet, lest you should refute nobody, you end with Mr. Watson, whom you refute only by misunderstanding him.

I remark, secondly, on the manner of your argumentation, that it is *tortuous* in the extreme.

What I mean is about this: Suppose that in your former piece you had (not affirmed, but) implied false philosophy, which is exposed by the respondents. How do you mend it in your second? I will tell you: By answering that false philosophy, as though it had been advanced by us. Is that a trick of the trade? or a slip of the pen? Is it a misrepresentation of us, or a misrepresentation of yourself?

Of this gyratory movement I will give you a specimen. In your former article you remarked—"Regeneration, the change wrought, evidences itself. It is a matter of consciousness. If regeneration takes place in our hearts, we are capable of perceiving it, just as we perceive any other change of character." "To talk of its evidences as something apart and distinct from its nature, is to use language without precision." See Christian Spectator, vol. viii, p. 358. This implies that the soul is a subject of direct inspection; so that its state and moral character, and any change in them, may be observed by the eye of consciousness. Now this is false philosophy, as was distinctly pointed out in the Methodist Magazine for 1836, page 283. Read then the following extracts from your own writings, and see how coolly you can, when permitted, beat people over the head with their own walking sticks. "The mind, the spiritual substance we call the soul, does not come under the cognizance of the senses, and it cannot be directly contemplated by consciousness. Therefore we cannot so inspect it as to perceive and be conscious of such an impression on the soul as Mr. Wesley describes." You here misrepresent *all* parties—Mr. Wesley,

* The above is the proper sense of Neology. The piece under examination abounds in error, resting upon a concealed substratum of metaphysics. It would be a service to the public if some competent hand would digest for it the three following points:—1. New Divinity theologically. 2. The Metaphysics of New Divinity. 3. Anti-New-Divinity Metaphysics.

yourself, us. For an unravelling of the snarl which you twine about that word, "impression," see below. It is a more gross resort to the same kind of proceeding when you say, vol. ix, p. 174: "This knowledge is gained, not by such direct inspection of the soul as must be possible and actually takes place upon Methodist principles, but by the best possible means, viz., consciousness—consciousness of having the fruits of the Spirit."

Besides this, you, in one instance at least, attach to the language of the opposite party more than that language will warrant. Of this I have time and disposition to give you but one instance. On page 177. you say, "If a sinner has such faith, even the Methodist Quarterly admits that he knows it by the best possible means, viz., consciousness." "Do they reflect that forgiveness is already promised to him who has such faith in Christ as turns him from sin to righteousness, and therefore to know we have such faith is to know we are forgiven?"

In the first place, observe that little word *such*. How important it is! and how easily intruded where it has no business! Now I *did* admit that a man might know himself to possess faith; but I did *not* admit that he might know himself to possess *such* faith. A man may indeed be assured by consciousness that he has faith in Christ; but that he has justifying faith, or such as turns from sin to righteousness—he can know only by the fact that it does justify, and does turn from sin to righteousness.

5. We now approach the borders of the subject itself—to which let us draw near with a true heart, in full assurance of faith, having our consciences sprinkled from dead works to serve the living God. At the outset you undertook to tell us what is not the question. "The question at issue," say you, "is not whether a Christian may know that he is converted, although Dr. B. shifts his ground and endeavors to make this the question, and that, too, while he professes strong belief in the genuine doctrine of Methodism, which he well knows is a very different thing. According to Dr. B.'s own showing, (for which he will accept our thanks,) it is admitted on all hands that it is a Christian's privilege, not merely to hope, but to know that he has passed from death unto life." Vol. ix, p. 174. Your thanks are superfluous. Dr. B., not having shown any such thing, claims nothing for it. He does not even thank you for the compliment in the former sentence seeing it so much exceeds the modesty of his demands. What we are thankful for is, that *you* are of the *all* by whom it is admitted that a Christian may know that he has passed from death unto life. You proceed,—"The question is not whether the Holy Spirit has an agency in producing holy affections." Certainly. You are correct. But when you add, "Wesleyan Methodism maintains it to be a fact of experience, that we actually perceive the Holy Ghost operating upon the soul to inform us of our adoption and to produce this joy,"—you are totally incorrect.

By and by, I shall state the question more fully; but for the present let me remark, that our doctrine of the witness is divisible into two propositions, viz.,

1. That the believer knows his adoption into the Divine family.

2. That he knows it by the testimony of the Divine Spirit—that he has a superhuman attestation of the fact. Upon the first of

these there is no dispute between you and us. We divide upon the second.

Now in defence of that second proposition, I might say many things. As for instance, if he is not to know it by divine attestation, how else *can* he know it? You will answer, By the fruits of regeneration.* I would reply, that those fruits are incompatible even with settled uncertainty on the subject, which uncertainty of course must exist, on your system, until the fruits are produced.

However, what I wish now to observe is, that we conclude the source of this assurance to be the Holy Ghost, not by any means because we perceive the Holy Ghost operating, but for the following reasons: 1. The Scriptures represent the Holy Ghost as thus operating. 2. The nature of the case requires such an operation on the part of the Holy Ghost. 3. The nature and circumstances of the assurance which believers have determine it to be from God. I will not now establish these points at length; but thus much may suffice to end that dream of yours, about believers, beholding the Holy Ghost operating upon the soul.

6. Previously to entering upon the subject itself, I wish to make some remarks upon the various terms which have been employed in designating the subject-matter of our discussion; as it is upon the terms which the poverty of language compels us to employ that cavilers are enabled to hang their objections. I trust, indeed, that all which precedes has been carefully examined. Nevertheless, whatever is made of the past, if the reader is anxious to know what we have to say on the point at issue, let him attend thoughtfully to what follows. I would say prayerfully too, not because of the importance of our remarks, but because of the importance of the subject, and of the reader's own deep concern in it.

In reference to the language necessarily employed on such a subject, there are a few considerations which, to a candid mind, will appear to be of great consequence. The perfection of metaphysical language, said one who understood himself, consists in its freedom from any necessary allusion to objects of sense—in its not suggesting any picture or figment of material things, by which our conception may be obscured or ever made false. But this perfection cannot be fully attained. Those expressions—to retain in memory—to comprehend—to imagine—do all contain, more or less distinctly, an allusion to certain operations of sense, from their analogy to which the use of them did originate.

But if this perfection of language cannot be attained in our day, much less could it in the days of Mr. Wesley. If it could not be attained in the description of things intellectual, much less could it in describing the things which are eternal. We are under a necessity, in both cases, of using language which must prop up itself by the support of external things.

Such being the case, how easy for a captious person to pass by

* I have before noticed the confusion in the sense of the terms, "regeneration" and "fruits of regeneration," arising from very discernible causes. I now observe that we probably have very different ideas even of the fruits of regeneration. For instance, they would mean, by love to God, a principle of action; we, a certain condition of the sentient part of the soul, if I may so speak. However, we approximate near enough to justify the argument.

the essential meaning, and to play with the image! The easiness, however, with which it can be done does away any obligation to give credit to the sophist for wisdom or penetration, even though his effort to darken counsel should prove successful.

The terms employed by Mr. Wesley, in his elucidation of our subject, partake necessarily of the defective character which has been mentioned, though there is an additional consideration in his case which, to the candid, will appear of some weight. It is, that he wrote for those whose honesty and love of truth would induce them to search out his real meaning from under the veil of obscuring imagery in which the poverty of language compelled him to envelope it.

The two prominent terms to be noticed are—"voice of God"—and, "impression on the soul." It is upon these that the friendly Spectator fastens his observing eye, and in them can see naught but deformity. These he understands as though they were meant to convey the notion of a visible impersonation of the invisible God; some sense of him operating and of ourselves operated upon. They are to be explained, however, into a very consistent sense:—1. By the nature of the subject. Of whose voice do we speak? Is it not the voice of God? And is it not well known that, literally, he has no voice? One would suppose candor might think of this. When one man communicates his mind to another, he does it by voice. Hence, by a very easy figure of speech, when God communicates to any being, in any way, we say he speaks—it is his voice. Who is it that hears? Manifestly, the soul of man, which hath neither eyes nor ears. As, by God's speaking, we mean his making communication, so, by our hearing, we mean simply our receiving the communication.

The other term—"*impression*"—is to be explained in the same way. Every body knows what is meant by it, in sensible operations; every body may know its meaning in the things of the Spirit. It is simply the being brought to a new state of mind or feeling.

Figurative terms are, of course, liable to some variety in signification. If there is any thing not already accounted for in Mr. Wesley's use of these phrases, it may be readily explained by a very common figure of speech. The Spectator knows well that we very frequently use a word which denotes an act to signify the result of that act. It is in that way these expressions may be sometimes used—the voice of God, signifying not God speaking, but the thing spoken; and yet not the thing, *as spoken*, but the mere thing;—impression denoting not the act of changing the mind, but the new state of assurance into which it is brought.

Weigh these things, and you will see that there is no ground for several of your objections. As, for instance, that we pretend by our doctrine to explain the *method* of the Spirit's operation, whereas we mean simply the *result* of it, in producing a certain assurance. Neither is there any ground for your supposing we represent the human soul, as matter of direct contemplation. We do not: but only that it is aware of the thing communicated—of the truth impressed upon it.

7. Perhaps, by all these remarks, we are prepared the more profitably to examine the doctrine itself.

We have, for our side of the question, two great points:—I. The attestation and the nature of it. II. The relation which that attestation bears to the testimony of our own conscience.

By reason of the peculiar character of the subject, it being about spiritual things, and that experience of the believer which is most emphatically *sui generis*, which, indeed, the world knows nothing of, it is very easy even for one who comprehends to misstate it, and even to appear a dunce to one who shares not in his experience. The attestation of which we speak is, all its circumstances considered, most exclusively solitary in its kind. Yet there are experiences—mental phenomena—which somewhat resemble it, and it is by that resemblance that I propose to illustrate the subject; only cautioning the reader that he is not to fancy me authorizing the supposition of any resemblance beyond that which I specify.

As far as I understand the subject, I have already conveyed as accurate a notion as is possible to me in the following paragraph:—"This is the spirit of adoption by which *he* cries: it is the spirit of Christ *itself crying*—in many cases, doubtless, a simple state of mind, like the child's conviction of his own identity. Ask him (the child) if he is conscious of his own identity—he does not comprehend you. Perhaps, if you persist in explaining terms and asking proofs, you will make him doubt, at last, whether he be the same—the *very* same—he was yesterday. Nevertheless, he acts (not thinks, nor feels)—he acts that he is the same. So with the babe in Christ. He acts out, with his very heart, in his inmost soul, that God is his Father." Meth. Mag., vol. xvii, p. 279.

The similarity above intimated between this experience and the primary laws of belief, I believe to hold good, and to form a very proper basis of illustration. Fix your mind upon any one of those laws, and you will perceive in them the following characteristics. They are not propositions believed, or reduced to shape as ideas in the mind, but they are truths acted upon. Suppose a man, who is perfect master of all his thoughts and feelings and actions, convinced by argument of his personal identity; this man would think and feel in all things as though he were unvaryingly one. Now, we are all so constituted by nature, that we think and feel just as such a man would; nature supplying the place of argumentative conviction. This is, if I may so speak, the frame-work of the soul. It is as though, having pre-existed, we had finished our former career by fixing in the mind this one proposition of our identity; nay, not by fixing in the mind the *conviction* that we are such, but the *habit* of acting and feeling as though it were so; which habit is all that remains, at present, of our pre-existent state. This is what I affirm to be the character of the Spirit's witness. It is woven, as it were, into the very texture of the believer's soul, that he is a child of God. Observe, it is not a proposition in his mind, *I am a child of God.* Perhaps the meaning of those words he does not understand; perhaps, if he did, he would be ashamed to apply them to himself. Nevertheless, watch his emotions; listen to his words; study his conduct; and you will perceive there is concealed under them the conviction that he is of God's family. The idea of a pre-existent state can be very appropriately brought in here. The finale of the man's sinful career has been the casting of him into this new mould

of feeling and action; and the habit supposed may be considered as standing in the place of regenerating grace. All these illustrations may be summed up in one. "Ye have put on the new man," says the apostle. And hath not this new man, in the midst of his new hopes and new fears, his new loves and new hates, also a new primary law of belief to guide his untutored thoughts? I fancy he has, and that law is the one before us.

I am not now arguing, but stating the doctrine. Yet I cannot resist the temptation to say, even here, that I do not see how any one who has ever witnessed, either in himself or another, the passage from death unto life, can doubt the truth of all this. Behold that singularly acting man. How happy he *looks!* how triumphingly he *talks!* how lovingly he *demeans* himself! Has not something new come upon him? Is not the fibre of his soul altered? Has not a new proposition seized upon his understanding? Undoubtedly there has. And what is it? It is this: I have found out that God loves me as a father loves his child. Nay, it is not a proposition. The *suddenness* and *universality* of the change forbid the supposition that he has only received some new truth, and is now setting himself to act upon it. It is manifest that God has re-adjusted his soul, so that as before he acted upon the supposition of his identity, so now he acts upon the supposition also of his adoption.

This conviction, however, is given under widely different circumstances. God does not deal with all men in the same way. Some men cannot fix their thoughts steadily upon any thing but an object of sense. To the varying constitutions of men God undoubtedly accommodates himself. It is contrary to the instinct of a son to suppose that he will not. In other cases the experience itself does undoubtedly create imaginary appearances, and give rise to hallucination, as may have happened in the case you mentioned. You perceive Mr. Wesley makes every provision for this variety of cases. "Meantime let it be observed," he says, "I do not mean hereby that the Spirit of God testifies this by any outward voice; no, nor always by an inward voice, although he may do this sometimes. Neither do I suppose that he always applies to the heart (though he often may) one or more texts of Scripture." The basis of the matter is that which I have described, though there is precisely that variety which Mr. Wesley hints, rather than describes, in the preceding passage. But observe, that in all this there is no sight of God or of the Holy Ghost operating. There is, indeed, about the enraptured spirit an atmosphere of heaven; it is as one might fancy it would be if God were there; but there is no sight nor sound of God. It is simply an *assurance*.

The difference between this and the primary laws of belief may be briefly specified. 1. Those are universal. Whoever is a man has them. 2. They are permanent, and continue while sanity continues. 3. They are natural. But this belongs only to the people of God; it belongs to them, not as men, but as Christians; and ceases when they cease to be such. It is not natural, though undoubtedly it would have been so had not man fallen. There is also a difference occasioned by the fact, that the old fabric of thought and feeling still exists, and may lift up itself against the new.

The analogy referred to, however, still holds in other respects.

The laws of belief, it was stated, are not written upon the understanding as formal propositions. Yet they do become such. By subsequent investigation we conclude that these are the voice of God, and will never lead us astray. Our faith in them seems to be twofold. 1. The instinctive, involuntary faith which all men have. 2. A faith arising from the operations of our own minds. Here, if anywhere, that awkward phrase is apt, we are judgmentally convinced.* So with that which we are endeavoring to illustrate. It does not stand out in the mind like the conclusion of an argument. Neither is it in the shape of a postulate, or self-evident truth. It is a somewhat in the mind's structure, yet, by subsequent investigation, it becomes a proposition. Here, too, there is a twofold faith like that above described; and this duplex character of it may account for some curious phenomena. First, a man may sometimes be seen who both doubts, and yet firmly believes in his own adoption. He believes by this spontaneous impulse; he doubts by the impulse of his own thoughts. Not being sufficiently enlightened in the things of the Spirit—being perhaps a hypochondriac—he cannot in judgment acquiesce in the decision of that something within which tells him he is a child of God. *Secondly*, you will often see a man, who palpably is a child of the devil, yet go on unhesitatingly as though he were a Christian. It is very much *like* an instinct, but is not the thing. The old fabric of his *essential* nature, as before remarked, still remains; and among the array of its powers, is habit. He has a habit of feeling and acting like a child of God.

It is precisely in this, that a distinct assertion of the doctrine is necessary, that when men experience its truth they may know what to make of it. The untutored believer probably concludes more than once that it is mere delusion before he will yield to it; and this too, even though the Spirit should sit upon his tongue, and, seeing him too infantile to do it, cry for him, Abba, Father.

Suppose an individual, who is unguardedly impressed with the necessity of proving every proposition which he admits into his understanding, should come at length to know that those foundations of reasoning which we call the primary laws of belief rest upon naught but the dictate of nature—what would be the consequence? He would not cease to act upon them when acting spontaneously, but those processes of thought which depend upon the self-regulative will would be utterly confounded. So with this matter. An individual denying the doctrine, or uninstructed in it, finds himself insensibly led on by the assumption that he is a child of God, which he fancies he must first make good by a long process of self-observation and thought. What is the consequence here? Why, in spontaneous action and feeling he still goes on that assumption; but in those processes which depend upon a previous conviction of his own mind, he will do otherwise. The difficulty is heightened by that which I have already noted. The system of his old thoughts remains. There has been generated a *habit* of act-

* I could wish the intellectual philosophers had handled this subject as they should. With all humility I petition that one of them in his next will distinguish between these primary laws, and, 1. Self-evident truths. 2. Deeply rooted prejudices. 3. The fixed, immovable persuasions of hypochondriacs, maniacs, &c., &c.

ing without any such principle of belief as this—a habit of acting upon the contrary—and of believing nothing but what has been proved. If the man persist in resisting that which is within, the result will be an impervious darkness. And yet I believe there is room for the following remark. In the laws of mind, the strength of our persuasion does not depend upon our opinion of the Author of nature. The atheist is as undoubting as any body. So with this. The doubter of the fact whether there be a witness of the Spirit does not doubt the witness itself. All those who have passed from death unto life will be found relying at last upon this primary evidence.

8. It is a serious question, then, How shall I, who have received this assurance, know it to be from God?

Upon contemplating myself, I perceive a something singular. I talk and act as if I were a Christian—I pray as if I were a Christian. Nay, the very current of my thought runs upon that supposition. There is something new in my views of the divine Being. It never occurs to me now that he may be angry. I talk to him as one might expect a son to address his father. It is manifest that there is a lurking something within which leads to the assumption of my adoption. The question is, Whence came this assumption, and what am I to do with it?*

In reference to this question it is sufficient to observe that the persuasion is so circumstanced that, unless its falsity can be shown, its truth both will be and ought to be assumed.

The man, however, knows that it cannot come from himself. Habit does not produce it, for he never formed such a habit. His own efforts have not created it, for he made no such effort: neither could he thereby create such an effect. All that remains is the possibility of diabolic influence, and that is removed by the circumstances of the case. Satan might possibly counterfeit a voice or a shape; he might insinuate a proposition into the understanding; but he could not thus alter the entire habits and feelings of the soul.

All this I might dwell upon at length. But I will now unfold to you a great mystery, which is this, that there is no need of any examination or ratiocination at all. Do you not perceive that though there be a conviction that one is a child of God, the person who has it is not responsible for it at all, whether it be good, bad, or indifferent? All for which he is responsible is the cry; and as that cry, by the apostle's showing, is in the heart, it is good in any case. That cry, if *hearty*, is a good one, even though the exciting occasion were a suggestion of the devil. I do not indeed believe that the devil *could* cause such a state of mind. But it is the province of subsequent reflection to determine that. He who cries, Abba Father, *in his heart*, does the thing that is right. He cannot do it otherwise.

O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of

* The misfortune of differing from Mr. Wesley will be mine only; therefore I do it with some little freedom—particularly as I cannot well do otherwise.

I cannot accord fully with that expression of his, if intended to describe the experience of all, "That soul is *absolutely* ASSURED this is the voice of God." It may be, many have this experience, but not all I am sure. For another unimportant instance see forward on Rom. viii, 16.

God! How unsearchable are his ways, and his judgments past finding out!

Your remarks lead me to suspect that you have forgotten the time at which this testimony is borne. It is at the precise moment of spiritual birth. If you will consider that, you will perceive how admirably, how exactly adapted to meet the case is this evidence. What kind of evidence does a person so situated need? He needs, 1. A clear and strong assurance. Nothing else can scatter the cloud of guilty fear; and yet, 2. An evidence not from himself; for, at that time, such an evidence he cannot have. Neither would he have time to examine it. 3. He wants an evidence which he himself could not make. For if it were not such, his guilt and fear would impel to the manufacture of it. 4. Yet he wants an evidence which shall require no long trains of thought.

All this he has in such a witness of the Spirit as has been described—begetting the persuasion of adoption *insensibly*, but the feeling of an adopted person *sensibly*. Now, I say that, though there be here an assumption of his adoption, yet he is not at all responsible for it. All for which he is responsible is the feeling, and that feeling is right in any case.

9. We have now to consider the relation between this testimony and conscience.* A brief consideration of the characteristics of conscience will make our way clear.

First, observe that conscience can condemn but cannot acquit. If thy heart condemn thee, God is greater than thy heart. Yea, I judge not mine own self, for I know nothing by myself; yet am I not hereby justified: but he that judgeth me is the Lord. 1 Cor. iv, 4, ☞ Paul walked in all good conscience long before he was adopted, even while a servant of sin.

Conscience testifies to the *habit* of the soul—to the character of our motives and springs of action. It necessarily includes within the sphere of its operations many acts and many moments. From this circumstance may be inferred, 1. Its unfitness as a *primary* witness, in that it cannot testify at the moment of adoption, though that be the very time when testimony is needed—nor to our restoration to a gracious state after we have fallen.

Its adaptation to the work of detecting delusion, which is the office assigned to it by Mr. Wesley, is also apparent. A deluded person is either under the influence of a factitious persuasion—a something which he has excited within himself—or, upon self-examination, he thinks he finds within him the marks of a Christian. In either case, his assurance will refer to his state, not at any precise moment at which he has the assurance, but to his state in general, and is very properly met by a witness who can testify to the habit of the soul. Universally, as the way to refute a false notion in the case of any man possessed of reason is to show the absurdity of it, so in the case of any man possessed of moral perception, the way

* Upon examination I perceive the correctness of my impression respecting Mr. Wesley's appeal to conscience as a test. If you will study his sermons you will perceive that he uses its testimony as a means of detecting delusion. He points the self-deceiver to his fruits. This being the case, that hue and cry of yours about our calling up a fallible witness to confirm an infallible—the witness of man to confirm that of God—is all labor lost. We do no such thing.

to sweep away any vagary about his acceptance is to show the opposition between his life and God's law. We appeal to conscience, not because the really divine witness needs confirmation, but because the testimony of conscience to any man who is capable of understanding it is competent to overthrow any self-delusion which assumes the guise of a divine testimony. You object, in your first number, that, if we allow in any case that a man is to be credited in his profession of a divine testimony, we must credit every such profession. But I might object to the primary laws of belief on the very same ground. That objection, however, forgets a very important thing; that is, that neither this witness, nor the primary laws of belief, are any ground of conviction to any body but the man who has them. I am not at liberty to aver, as proof of any position, that I have a law of belief to that effect. I do, indeed, *affirm* things upon that ground; but I do not expect them to be *believed* because I have such a law, but because he to whom I affirm them has. Study this matter, and you will perceive that the relation between the witness of God's Spirit and the testimony of conscience is precisely the same as the relation between the primary laws of belief and common experience.

Conscience cannot testify to our being pardoned, or regenerated, or adopted. These are either acts of God, or changes in the moral condition of the soul. What then is its office, i. e., for what purpose does the apostle appeal to it?

1. In that passage, "For this is our rejoicing, the testimony of our conscience," &c., I do not suppose the apostle to have any reference to his regeneration at all; but to the motives by which he was actuated in his dealings with men. I know by the divine witness that I am a child of God; but what has been the *established* motive of my conduct with my fellows? That assurance does not tell me whether, in my dealings, I strive to render that which is equal and just—whether as a husband, parent, friend, or neighbor, I am careful to *apply* and *steadily improve* the grace so kindly bestowed. But this is that which, as a Christian, I desire to do for the glory of God and the good of men; this it is my rejoicing to do.

2. It was before remarked that a primary law of belief cannot be urged in argument, except indirectly—except by the admission of him with whom I argue. I say, *there is a stone in sight*, because I see it; but I do not expect another to believe it because *I* see it, but because he sees it himself. Neither can a man urge as proof of his adoption, that he has the witness of it from the divine Spirit, except indirectly. The one with whom he is conversing, having himself experienced such a blessing, and admitting the honesty and capacity of the speaker, besides knowing nothing to the contrary, may be ready to take him at his word. But we are commanded to give to other men a reason of the hope that is in us; and the only *proof*—the only reason properly so called—lies in the fruits.

10. I will now proceed to examine some of your mistakes and objections.

1. Your first and chief mistake consists in representing us as holding that this evidence of our adoption precedes adoption—that God testifies to our sonship, before we are born again. I have already remarked

that the writers mentioned mean no such thing, but simply that it precedes the fruit of our adoption. The regenerating of the soul is God's act, and requires not any *immediate* concurrence of ours. But the production of fruit does; and we of course cannot concur without a certain view of things. Let us take a particular grace, for illustration—as love to God. The basis of love, that state of the soul in which an individual *can* love God, is implanted by the divine Spirit, and is his work alone: but the act of loving God is ours, and of course cannot be put forth without our viewing God in a certain way. Now, what is that view of the Divine Being which prepares us actively to love him? Mr. Wesley answers, it is the view of God, as reconciled. When Mr. Watson speaks of this witnessing operation as preceding his moral operation, he means the full and active exercise of the grace received at pardon. And yet as the regenerating operation, the altered view of God and the exercise of love based upon those two, take place, so far as we can see, in an indivisible point of time, Mr. W. seems to have indulged some latitude of expression, and to have spoken of the witness as preceding the renovation, meaning no doubt the *manifested* renovation.

There is a difficulty here, arising from the room which description occupies beyond event. Strictly speaking, these several things are included in one mass. 1. Faith in the atoning blood. 2. Regeneration. 3. Adoption. 4. The witness of adoption. 5. The exercise of love to God. A man believes, and instantly there is a great change. Perhaps before consciousness has found time to fix upon the act of faith, like lightning from heaven there comes up from the depths of his soul, sitting upon his tongue, the filial cry, Abba, Father. He is not conscious of any of those changes. Perhaps all which he remembers is, that, as he was trying with tearful eyes and an aching heart to behold the cross, heaven sprung up in his heart. Yet, how laborious the description. Thus we proceed. 1. There was an act of faith: the man believed in Christ. 2. Hereupon he was pardoned, &c., through the catalogue. O that God would write a Dictionary of the Spirit! Then would I explain this. After turning it around and around, looking at it above and below, near at hand and afar off, I seem to myself not yet to touch the spot—not to give precisely that shade to the idea which I wish. That, however, will be no occasion of surprise to you, who know how vague and unsatisfactory an account was given by the chief of philosophers of the primary law of belief, which has furnished our analogy. As I have introduced it, let me recur again to the analogy between man and the new man. 1. Look at the body of man. What is it? Is it not a machine *in action?* God has touched it with his ethereal breath, and all its wheels are set in motion. What is the animating principle of it? It is life. It must be endued with life ere it can be set moving. And yet that life is not a separate something, which can be taken out and contemplated by itself. Though there must be life *before* there can be motion, yet you do not understand that things were adjusted thus: 1. The body was endued with life. 2. It was set in motion: but the life was in the motion; it was set moving, and so lives.

2. Look at the mind. That also is a machine in action. As soon as the child has a mind, he is complete in every part. The primary laws of belief, the substratum of intellectual and sentient being, are all there; and yet all we see, and all the child realizes, is the simple and *functional* exercise. You say there must first be a thinking substance before there can be thought; a sentient nature, before there can be sentience; primary laws of belief, before there can be ratiocination. And yet you do not suppose the God of nature to proceed thus: 1. To implant a thinking nature, and then comes thought; 2. A sentient nature, and then comes sensation; 3. A primary law of belief, and then comes belief. Those former are not things which may be viewed, though they may, in a sense, be conceived, separately—nay, they do not *exist* separately. Is not the whole thinking nature in every thought? the whole sentient nature, in every sensation? The whole fabric of primary laws,* in every act of believing? The child which thinks, feels, and believes, has no idea of all this substratum and preliminary beforehand. As he grows up, however, he concludes, by the power of a primary law, that there must be a thinking substance. And yet even now he does not suspect that he is guided by a primary law, until again coming to consider how it is that he is brought to the conclusion that he is a thinking substance, he perceives that he is led by an impulse of his nature, whence he comes finally to the notion of primary laws of belief. But mark: that primary law of belief, that thinking substance, that sentient nature, are not separate entities, but are all bundled together in this one thing, an emotion of desire—an expression of want—a manifestation of joy

* I use the established phrase, though it convey a false idea. These should be entitled a description of that part of our nature by which we believe, and believe *truly*.

—a sigh of anguish, or any one of those external signs by which the living soul within proclaims itself to the beholder without.

Now the new man has his thinking substance. But it is not given to him in an insulated state. He has his sentient nature. But that is not a separate substance, first deposited by the side of the thinking nature, to be used as a mechanist puts together the parts of his machinery. He has his primary law, which I have specified; but that is not apart from the act of filial confidence based upon it. So soon as the new man exists, he exists in action. His power to think, &c., does not exist, except as he feels and thinks. The first manifestation of his feeling is action, and his first act is that of the new-born babe, the cry, Abba, Father.

To follow out the analogy, though variety of circumstances must occasion variety of phenomena, this man for a while thinks and feels, scarcely knowing that he is a man. Time brings leisure for introspection, and he then comes to conclude that these spiritual emotions must have a spiritual nature; in other words, that he must have been born again. Passing onward and inward, in his reflections, he perceives that in his actions and conduct there is a spontaneous, firm persuasion that he himself is a child of God. Now it is precisely here that danger lies. It is precisely here that the necessity of an explicit and full declaration of the doctrine lies; that the child of God may be enabled to understand his own experience. As a man needs to know, in some measure, the laws of his own nature, that he may not produce discord by an untimely or an unintelligent interference, so the spiritual child needs to know the laws of his spiritual existence, that he may not intermeddle with the invisible and delicate machinery which the God of grace has so miraculously endued with spiritual life.

Please attend now to the observations immediately ensuing.

When Mr. Watson and Mr. Wesley say that this evidence must precede holiness and the moral operation of God in the soul, they mean *active*, manifested holiness; they mean that it is implied in our loving God as a Father, that we are aware of His being a Father. But it is not chiefly that our loving God follows as a conclusion from a premise. It is not that the child reasons in his heart, thus,'God loves me as a Father; therefore I, as a son, will love God. But this fact, that he loves God with filial affection, both *requires* and *implies* the truth of the *instinctive assumption* that God *is* his Father.

Consider again the phenomena which accompany the primary laws of belief. A person says, I shall be punished to-day. For what? For stealing yesterday. That remark *implies* that he is the same he was yesterday. But that thing is not in the (formal) reasoning. Neither is the person in many cases distinctly aware that that is in his reasoning. But that is the mould in which his thoughts are cast; and in the sense of Mr. Wesley and Mr. Watson, *this man must be aware of his identity* before he can reason thus. So when they say, a man must be aware of his adoption before he can be holy, they mean that by the grace of God he must be *cast anew*, if I may so speak, that his thoughts and feelings may run in this new mould, *I am a child of God.* Observe, now, the phenomena of natural birth. Amid sorrow and anguish he is forced into the present state. Within the little compass of an infant are all the elements of a man—soul, body, and spirit. The thinking, feeling, believing apparatus is all complete, and all in action. But what is it you see? Is it *first*, a thinking substance; secondly, a sentient; thirdly, a law of belief; fourthly, a body, and lastly, all these put together to make a babe? Nothing of all this, but there is a cry of anguish, and straightway the beholders are sure he lives. And yet must there not be all this *before* the child can give signs of life?

So must there be all this before the new man can live. Behold *his* passage into life. Amid the cries and dying groans of the old man, he comes into being. Here, too, are all the elements of newness of life—a pardoned, regenerated sinner adopted into the heavenly family, and beginning to enact the part of a member. But what do you see here? Is it first, pardon; secondly, regeneration; thirdly, adoption; fourthly, a certifying of the same from heaven, and then all things thus made ready, he is set upon acting his part as a child. Nay, what *you* see, and what the child realizes, is the temper and language of spiritual childhood. There was a cry, either in the heart only, or with the lips, Abba, Father; and straightway the angels who had ministered at the progress of his birth exult in its consummation, and cry as they ascend upwards, Unto us a child is born! And yet were not all these *before* he gave signs of life? That is, are they not necessary conditions of it? Certainly they are. But all those necessary conditions are things shown by, and existing in that to which they are necessary.

II. It is time your objections were now examined.

Your first objection is, that this doctrine denies the sufficiency of the promises; not of the promises in general, I suppose, but of that one, Believe and

thou shalt be saved. "Certainly," you say, "if any thing is true, it is true that to deny the view we are maintaining, and teach that a penitent sinner cannot know he is accepted until the fact is communicated to him by special revelation, is to deny the sufficiency and authority of the Scriptures on this point—is to deny that the divine promise is worthy of confidence—is to doubt whether the veracity of Heaven may be relied on—in fine, is to maintain that we have no substantial evidence of the divine placability." "Take an illustration. Suppose a band of dark and designing conspirators," apprehended in acts the penalty of which is death. But instead of executing the penalty, "their sovereign places them on probation, and promises forgiveness to all who truly repent." "Now if one of these men repent, how shall he know that his sovereign pardons him? Truth and common sense reply that the means of knowing it is the promise given him when he was placed on probation."—Spec., vol. ix, p. 179. To all which I answer, that suppose this person should enter into the assembly of the innocent, would he not be asked, Friend, how camest thou in hither? Wast thou not convicted of conspiracy? Upon which he would undoubtedly produce a certificate of his pardon, or be speechless. Or suppose the prince standing by at the time of the man's repentance, what kind of prince would he be, if he would not say, I forgive you? Our doctrine does not destroy the virtue of that promise, seeing it still accomplishes its beneficent purpose of informing men how they may *find* pardon. You say farther, "If the divine promise is not a means of knowing the believer is accepted, the only reason why it is not such a means is, that the divine veracity is mistrusted?" I think not. It is not that the divine *veracity* is mistrusted, but our *fulfilment* of the term. The offended, and not the offender, should say whether the condition has been met.

You object, secondly, that this doctrine is not warranted by Scripture, for a full answer to which I refer you to Mr. Watson, Mr. Wesley, and Dr. Bangs.

Passing over for the present all other passages, let us attend to two:—Rom. viii, 16: We have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father. For the Spirit itself witnesseth with our spirits that we are the children of God; and Gal. iv. 6: Because ye are sons, he hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying within you, Abba, Father.

You ask, Do these texts teach that the only conceivable means of knowing we are accepted, is an immediate revelation? I answer, they say nothing about what is conceivable. Neither do they *say*, this is the *only* mode, yet it is *a* mode.

Do they teach, you ask, that every believer must expect an immediate revelation? Yes, such a revelation as I have described. Observe, *because ye are sons.* Wherever the reason holds, the rule holds. Whoever is a son, for that very reason he has the Spirit of God's Son sent forth into his heart, crying within him. "Do these texts even treat of the *manner* in which a believing sinner gains a knowledge of his *justification*, or refer to this point at all?" As pointed out they do. Not otherwise.

The following remarks present an interpretation of these passages, somewhat different, perhaps, from that of others, though agreeing with them in the main particular. You have here the chief Scriptural argument, and if you can meet this interpretation with a better, I will refrain from any appeal to Scripture on the subject. 1. I do not understand, by any means, that the divine Spirit approaches the human, visibly and audibly, communicating the fact of his adoption, though the manner of the approach may be more or less direct according to circumstances. *In the first instance*, there is no such proposition as this, I am a child of God, *standing out* in the mind. 2. I do not understand the apostle to represent the Holy Spirit and our spirit as concurring to *testify* to our adoption, but as concurring *in the cry.*

The time at which this transaction takes place is the time of pardon, adoption, and regeneration. The subject of the operation is a human being, just born into the heavenly family, and now about to act his part. A part of the change which has passed upon him is the implantation of the law of belief, as before represented. What now is the Spirit's work? I answer, As God, when he had fully fashioned the body of Adam, breathed into it, and set it in action;—as a mechanist, having adjusted all the parts of his machine, touches some leading parts, and all the parts are put in motion: so the divine Spirit, having adjusted all the parts of this spiritual machine, puts it in motion—sets it crying; in other words, stimulates this new-born child to act a filial part.

The concurrence of our spirit consists in the promptitude with which we recognize our parent, and address to him the cry. We have, then, in these texts three things: 1. The preparatory operation of the Spirit in renewing and qualifying us to cry. 2. His then setting our new spiritual organs upon their work, as God by his breath did at first set in motion the lungs, the heart, the lips.

Hence the apostle says, the *spirit* cries. 3. *Our* spirit, yielding to the impulse of the divine, and lifting up the cry. Hence the apostle says, *whereby we cry.*

You object, thirdly, on page 182, that in one of its particulars the doctrine contradicts the Scriptures, and disturbs our faith in that discourse of the Saviour where he teaches that the Holy Spirit's operations in Christian experience are perceived only by their effects. But if you will consider carefully what has been said, you will perceive there is ground for no such objection. "We have already remarked," you proceed to say, "upon the practical tendency of this part of the doctrine, and shown that this reference to inward impressions, as the leading evidence of acceptance with God, gives a dangerous and destructive prominence to reliance on frames and feelings." In the former number I endeavored to distinguish between this experience and the feeling of him who receives it; and I trust prolonged remark is not now necessary. Take the feeling of joy, for instance. Is not that as plainly distinguishable from the assurance of adoption, as the delight occasioned by the sight of a long-lost friend is from the sight itself?

Recur to the instance already mentioned of a man reasoning to-day about the bearing of his yesterday's conduct upon his present condition. The feeling of identity there is the basis of his reasoning; nay, it is *in* the reasoning. Yet is it not the subject of direct contemplation. So this is the basis of the believer's love, joy, peace, &c. This is in them; yet it is not immediately seen. I hope this brief illustration will clear up, if not the subject, yet our views of the subject. You perceive that this conviction is a something out of the man's own power; a something which he cannot counterfeit, except by an obstinate resort to the spirit of self-delusion.

You are pleased to remark, p. 190, "The fact of Methodists employing a test evinces that they do not experience any such revelations, and that they *practically* feel the falsity of their doctrine." You seem to use that word *practically* by way of softening the expression. However, you are wide of the mark. Methodists *do* experience such revelations; they do *not*, either practically or theoretically, feel the falsity of their doctrine.

Speaking of the case of a certain female, which you had adduced, you say, "We supposed Methodists would admit delusion in this case, and we maintained that upon their principles it could not be detected." Pray, if upon their principles it could not be detected, why did you suppose they would admit it? Your *assumption* that there was delusion, is a specimen of the *credulity* before described. "The writer contends that no delusion can be detected in the case"—for the best of reasons, as he thinks; that is, there is none. "We did not suppose an intelligent Methodist would carry his principles quite so far; but, since he does it, we cannot understand why he does not glory in being termed a mystic." With all humility, Mr. Spectator, I *do* glory in being so termed, that is, if you mean by a mystic such a person as Mr. Wesley; or rather, I am ashamed that I have so little of *his* mystical spirit.

Your fourth objection, having been fully met already, requires no particular examination.

12. I had intended to remark upon some other topics, particularly upon what you say of regeneration. A comparison of our views of that subject with yours, would, I think, be productive of benefit. Manifestly, if we are right on that subject, the entire fabric of New Divinity is wrong; whereas, if you are right, we are altogether in the dark. I hope a competent hand, guided by a sound heart, will set the two in array against each other.

In conclusion, Mr. Spectator, suffer me to say that though in the course of our brief discussion we have used both irony and plainness of speech, yet I trust there will be no continuing root of bitterness. You chose to exercise your right to express your views of John Wesley and Wesleyan Methodism on the witness of the Spirit. It were superfluous in me to say we have no objection to be examined. I suppose you will not ask whether we have or not. You have here our answer. I trust there is in it neither anger, nor malice, nor guile; neither bitterness, nor bigotry, nor excess of self-esteem. If there be, pray tell me. (if you choose to say more.) I do not wish to provoke debate, but I certify you that from *frank* and *manly* discussion we (Methodists) fear nothing. I should be happy to see in the Spectator a full account of the new birth, the manner in which the sinner is brought to it, and the fruits which follow after it, compared, if you please, with Methodist views on the same subject. "Search us and prove us; and see if there be any evil way in us,"—and may God enlighten your eyes to discern clearly.

Having now used all the time and space which circumstances allow me, I conclude with a petition, caught from your own lips, "May the triumphs of truth multiply until all minds are free."

W. M. B.